

COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR
OF THE
PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES

BY
R. PISCHEL

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY
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50/-

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words :—

(a) *m* has been replaced by *m̐*,

(b) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrişna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

Āśvina, 5, *Śakābda* 1879.

Subhadra Jhā

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST

IN WHICH ARE CONTAINED THE
MOST IMPORTANT PASSES OF HIS REIGN

FROM HIS ASCENSION TO THE THRONE
UNTIL HIS DEATH

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I. INTRODUCTION.

A. The Prākṛit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*, "element", "basis", and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemaçandra, 1, 1, *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatra bhavaṃ tata āgataṃ vā prākṛtam*, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākṛit". Likewise Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatra bhavaṃ prākṛta-mucyate*; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṃ prākṛtam | prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam*; Siṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, 2, 2: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtā-dāgataṃ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in PETERSON, Third Report 343, 7: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatra bhavaṃ vāt prākṛtaṃ smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṃha, Prākṛta-śabdapradīpikā, p. 1: *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtāyāstu vikṛtiḥ prakṛti matā*, and Prākṛtasañjivani in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11: *prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtaṃ yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see § 16.

§ 2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda, 5, 2, teaches — *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣṭaṃ tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*, "one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākṛit, whence the Apabhraṃśa language". A quotation, in Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 10¹; limits in this view, *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*, "from Sanskrit originated the best Prākṛit, and from which the Apabhraṃśa language". According to Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākṛit: *māhārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ*. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākṛit. When the Indians speak about Prākṛit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī². According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākṛit languages³, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākṛits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī: *śeṣaṃ māhārāṣṭrīvāt*. So do the other grammarians.

1. FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 1.—2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 7, 11 f.; MUIR, OST. 22, 43 ff.

—3. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; but compare MUIR l. c.

§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vr. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Paisācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī as Prākṛit. Hc. would include in it also Ārṣa (§ 16), Cūlikāpaisācī, and Apabhraṃśa. He is followed by Trivikrama, Siṃharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trivikrama excludes Ārṣa, while Siṃharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākṛit into four classes, *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṃśa, paisāca*. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī and Māgadhī under *bhāṣā*, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,

is nothing but a form of Māgadhī, that is not very much different from Śaurasenī, Dākṣiṇātyā, which has no special characteristic, and Bāhikī which belongs to Māgadhī. Under the *vibhāṣā* he includes the following five dialects: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhīrikī, Śākkī, and denies the status of being considered as a *vibhāṣā* to Oḍrī and Drāviḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Viāḍa, and Uparāgara, the 11 Paisācī dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcālā². Rāmatarakavāgiśa³, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paisācī as the different Prākṛit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the Vibhāṣā is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra, 17,49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākṛitacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatarakavāgiśa in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon, p. 181.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīśvara 5, 99, and Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṃśa at all (§ 3). It would, however, be wrong to conclude therefrom, as was done by LASSEN¹, that this dialect is younger than Vr.² Therefore, with Bloch³, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṃśa to be Prakrit. As Nāmīśadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvvalāṃkāra 2, 11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prākṛit, Saṃskṛit and Apabhraṃśa: *yaduktam kaiścid yathā | prākṛitam saṃskṛitam caitadapabhraṃśa iti tridhā*. To this group belongs Daṇḍin, who in his Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prākṛit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṃśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (*miśra*)⁴. Under Apabhraṃśa Daṇḍin includes the language of the Ābhiras etc., when used in literary works (*kāvyeṣu*): in treatises (*śāstresu*) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 2 in a citation includes the language of the Ābhiras under the *vibhāṣā* (§ 3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāñcālā, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kāliṅgya, Kārnāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṃśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this Rāmatarakavāgiśa holds that Apabhraṃśa should not be included under the *vibhāṣā*, in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṃśa. According to him, Māgadhī, as a literary language, is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as a popular language⁵. Ravikara, in BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. The one is based on Prākṛit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (*deśabhāṣā*)⁶. While Sanskrit and Prākṛit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣita i. e. Paisācī (§ 27) and under 2, 3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the different states: *apabhraṃśastu tacchuddham tattaddeṣeṣu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alāṃkāratilaka 15, 3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhī, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skillfulness shown by

him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit. Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa⁷. I. A. 10,284 (Rudraṭa, Kāvyaālankāra 2,12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṁśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: *śaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṁśaḥ*. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvyaikalpala-tāvṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 2², 1169.—2. WEBER, IStr. 2, 57; PISCHEL, KB. 8, 145.—3. Varaurci and Hemacandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.=KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavicaandra in Kāvyaandrikā, in LASSEN, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa 2,7 ff., p. 56.—5. LASSEN, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 2², 46.—6. Somadeva in his Kathāsaritsāgara, 6,148 mentions *saṁskṛtam, prākṛtam* and *deśabhāṣā* as the different languages; *bhāṣātrayaṁ yaṁ anuśreṣṭha saṁbhavet*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṁśa the popular languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra 17,46 declares that the place of Apabhraṁśa in a drama is as important as that of Śaurasenī, inasmuch as beside Śaurasenī, a provincial language could be used in it, and that optionally: *śaurasenāṁ saṁāśṛtya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṭake iathavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayoktṛbhiḥ*. We need not take into consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, rather of the popular theatres of the type of *yātrā* of Bengal¹ or that of the musical plays of Hindusthān² and the popular theatres of Almora³ and Nepal⁴, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandraṇṭyam⁵. This Apabhraṁśa, has never been called Prākṛit, but probably Apabhraṁśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākṛit (§ 4), to which it can be traced back ultimately (§ 2). It is presented before us in some of the Prākṛit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṁśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by the term Prākṛit, the literary languages. Pṛihvidhara, in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v., edited by STENZLER = p. 493 of GODBOLE'S⁶ edition, says expressedly: *māhārāṣṭrīyādayaḥ kāvyā eva prayujyante*. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by the earlier poets (*pūrvaiḥ kavibhiḥ*) in Prākṛit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa 1,35 remarks that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the kind are used in conversation under the name Prākṛit, and Rāmatar-kavāgīśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṁśa in the *vibhāṣāḥ*, when they are used in dramas etc. (§ 4). We have, therefore, to differentiate between the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from which evolved the modern Gujarātī and Mārwārī⁷ and Śaurasenī Prākṛit, the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and that on the model of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyrics and of artificial epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: Ap. *kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu radīe*, thus in Śaurasenī Pkt. would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kidam radīe*, but in Māhārāṣṭrī, with the elision of *d* it would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kaam raīe*. Erroneously Hc. lays down that Apabhraṁśa generally follows Śaurasenī Prākṛit (§ 28). Similarly be

it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṃśa, whence has developed the modern Marāṭhī⁸, in addition to Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians, as well as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭa-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal⁹ and a Māgadhi Prākṛit, i. e. Māgadhi of the grammarians¹⁰. For Paisāci see § 27, and for Arṣa see § 16.

1. WILSON, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus 2³, 412 ff.; NISIKĀNTA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883) p. 1 ff.—2. F. ROSEN, Die Indarsabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung.—3. S. v. OLDENBURG, Zapiski Vostochnago Otdelnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obsščestva 5, 290 ff.—4. KLATT, De trecentis Cānakyae poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873) p. 1 ff.; FISCHEL, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG, (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5 ff.—5. Das Hariçcandranṛtyam, An old Nepalese Dance, published by A. Conardy (Leipzig 1891).—6. From this springs the quotation from Lalitadikṣita in GOPBOLE, p. 1.—7. FISCHEL, Academy 1873, p. 398; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxv.—8. GARREZ, JA. VI, 20, p. 203 ff. (Paris 1872); wrongly HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxii.—9. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxiv. In Academy 1. c. I have wrongly designated Pāli as Māgadha-Apabhraṃśa, against which E. KUHN, Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik (Berlin correctly 1875) p. 8. I corrected the mistake in Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 316.—10. The theory enunciated by me in the Academy, 1873, p. 379 f. has been here improved upon on various points. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xvii ff. is substantially in agreement with me. On so many details I differ from him, as is shown in the following paragraphs. SHANKER PĀṆPURANG PĀṆḌIT has confused Apabhraṃśa with Prākṛit in Gaṇḍavaho p. 4 LV. ff.

§ 6. So the Prākṛit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets¹. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākṛit dialects², which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium³. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākṛit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOEFER⁴, LASSEN⁵, BHĀṆḌĀRKAR⁶ and JACOBI⁷. All the Prākṛit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in saṃdhi rules, the change of the intervocalic *d*, *dh* to *l*, *lh*; the suffix *-ttaṇa*=Ved. *-tvana*⁸, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in *-āe*=Ved. *-āyai*; the ins. plur. in *-ehim*=Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā, jā, ẽttha*=Ved. *tāt, yāt, itthā*; *te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* "eye"=Ved. *paśo*; AMg. *vaggūhim*=vagnubhiḥ *saddhim*=sadhṛim; A. *divē*=Ved. *divē dive*; J. Ś A. *kidha*, AMg. A. *kiha*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*, Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nākim*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*¹⁰; Mg. *-āho, -āhu, A. -aho*=Ved. *āśaḥ*; M. JM. A. *kuṇai*, JŚ. *kuṇadi*=*kr̥noti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śasvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṃsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khamba*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukha* "tree"=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *sōccham* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the (AMg.) infinitive in *-ae, -ttae*=Ved. *-tavai*; the absolutive (A.) in *-ppi, -pi, -vi*=Ved. *-tvī*, in *-ppīnu*=Ved. *tvīnam*, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākṛits impossible¹¹.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 201, 223; SØRESEN, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indian (København 1894), p. 220 ff. FISCHEL De gr. Pr. p. 30. ff. should be corrected accordingly.—2. FRANKE, BB, 17, 71. I doubt if ever there was a

living language for the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. XLII, note 7.—3. In GGA. 1884, p. 512, I had suggested that classical Sanskrit was based on the dialect of Brahmvartā. Cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* p. xxvi, note 11, for further literature on this topic.—4. De Prākṛita dialecto § 8.—5. *Inst.* p. 25 ff.; *IAlt.* 2², 1163, note 5.—6. *JBoAS.*, 16, 315.—7. *KZ.* 24, 614, wherein he says that Pāli and Prākṛit are essentially a later form of Sanskrit.—8. v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40, 673.—9. FISCHER and GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* 1, p. xxxi, note 2.—10. *Ved.* 2, 235 f.—11. WEBER goes too far when he (*IS.* 2, 111) does not see in Prākṛit anything, but a degenerated old Vedic dialect. Cf. § 9.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prākṛit languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Aśoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stūpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. SENART has designated the language of these inscriptions the “monumental Prākṛit”. This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with KERN², that Pāli is an artificial language, though both Pāli and Prākṛit, like Ārṣa (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prākṛit dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as *Leṇa dialect*, after *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* “hole”, which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of *Lāṭa dialect*, from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* “pillar”. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prākṛits. Some examples from the concluding portion of Aśoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of *likh*, in Gīrnār as *lekhāpitā*, in Shāhbāzgarhī as *likhapitu*, in Jaugḍa as *likhāpitā*, and in Mansehra as [*l*] *likhapita*, a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (SENART 2, 597). The *Leṇa*-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: *ba[m]dhāpayati*, *kīdāpayati*, *pidāpayati*, *va[m]dāpayati*, (*Hāthigumphā* Inscription p. 155. 158. 160. 163)³, likewise Pāli: *likhāpeti* that is very often found also in Prākṛit [§ 552]; Aśoka’s *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāviṣa* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka’s *likhāpajisam* (Gīrnār. 14, 3), Mg. *lihāvaiṣsam* (Mṛch. 136, 21).—Gīrnār *prajūhīlayvam*, from *hu* (to offer a sacrifice) with *pra*⁴, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Pāli and Prākṛit.—In Gīrnār, *samājamhi* and *mahānasamhi*, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khālsī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, that is *mahānasamsi*, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect are found *ja[m]budipamhi* (Karle Inscription, No. 1)⁵ *thuvamhi*=*stūpe*⁶, *anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6^a)⁷, *tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11^b. 19)⁸, also *tiraṇhumī*, that is to say *tiraṇhummi*⁹. To these correspond in Prākṛit M. JM. JŚ. AMg. the locative forms in *-mmi*, AMg. *-msi*. One notices further the use of *asti* in the plural, as in Prākṛit *atthi* (§ 498), and that of *se*, that is exactly so found in AMg. I shall, from the *Leṇa*-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in *i*- and *u*-, whereof the gen. sing. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, i. e. *-ssa*; it is so in Prākṛit, where the gen. sing. even of the *n*-stem ends in *-sa*. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 488. He is followed by SØRENSEN, l. c. p. 187.—

2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14 f.—3. Actes

du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885), 3, 2.—4. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, 132 f. — 5. Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By JAS. BURGESS and BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (Bombay 1881) p. 28.—6. SENART, I. c. 2. 472. — 7. Arch. Survey of Western India 4, 101. — 8. Arch. S. of W. I, 4, 106. 114.—9. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is no more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 5, 21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations (*apabhraṃśāḥ*); thus for example, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), the *apabhraṃśāḥ* are *gāvi*, *goṇi*, *gotā*, *gopotalikā*¹. Of these, in Prākṛit, the most usual form is *gāvi*, that in JM. is *goṇi*, which has as its masculine, the form *goṇo* (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1, 3, 1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions *ānapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressly considers all such verbal forms as Apabhraṃśa². The inscriptions of Aśoka (SENART 2, 559) and the Leṇadialect (Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 104. 110) have *ānapayati*; to it corresponds Ś. Mg. *ānavedi* (§ 551), whereas Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. KIELHORN has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for *vaṭṭati*, *vaḍḍhati* and *supati*. The Prākṛit equivalents to these are: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 289. 291), M. *suvaṭṭi*, *suai* JM. *sujaṭṭi* (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Prākṛit words into three classes: 1) *saṃskṛtasama*, "Sanskrit-like" (C. 1, 1; Sr. in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as *tatsama*, "that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)", (Triv. in FISCHER, I. c. p. 29; Mk. fol 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍāśa 1, 32; Dhānaka on Daśarūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭa-lamkāra 2, 2; and *samānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); 2), *saṃskṛtabhava*, "originated from Sanskrit" (Sr.), commonly designated as *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin.; Dhānaka), also as *saṃskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *tajja* (Vāgbhaṭa), and *vibhṛaṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); and 3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśi* (Deśin. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin.; Dhānaka), also *deśiprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimata* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 37)³. The words that have the same form both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit are *tatsama* words. Thus for example, *kara*, *komala*, *jala* *soma*, etc. The *tadbhava* words are classed as *sādhya* *mānasakṛtabhavaḥ*, and *siddhasaṃskṛtabhavaḥ*. To the former class belong the Prākṛit words, that presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (*sādhya* *māna*). BEAMES has appropriately called them "early *tadbhavas*"⁴. They are the independent basic elements of Prākṛit. The latter class includes the Prākṛit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit words, like AMg. *vanditā*=Skt. *vanditvā*. Although a large number of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskritic origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

1. WEBER, IS. 13, 365 — 2. KIELHORN, ZDMG. 39, 327. SØRENSEN I. c. p. 180 f. — 3. Cf. also BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 11 ff; FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 30 f.; BB. 3, 235; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxxviii ff. Designated as the fourth class by Bhuvanapāla in WEBER, IS. 16, 59 are the words that depend upon the *samānyabhāṣā*. — 4. Comp. Gr. 1, 17. 5. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 1.

§ 9. The Indians include under the *deśya* or *deśi* class very heterogenous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymologising that some of them call a word to be *deśya*, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhavas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as *deśi*, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6,104) or *pāsaṃ* (Deśin. 6,75), is connected to AMg *pāsaī*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. in BB. 3,260), Skt. *siṅyati*. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākṛit is not to be found in that language: thus *acchivādānaṃ* (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5)=*akṣi+patana*; or *sattāvīsaṃjoṇo* (the moon; Deśin. 8,22; C. 1, 1 p. 39)=*Simhadevagaṇin* on Vāgbhaṭā-lamkāra 2, 2)=*saptāvīṣṇati+dyotana*¹. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus *joḍam* (constellation; Deśin. 3, 49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13, 17 f.); or *tuppo* (anointed Pāyāla 233; Deśin. 5,22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāṭhī *tūpa* (clarified butter; ghee)². Lastly there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus *gaharo* (vulture; Pāyāla 126; Deśin. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6. 93), what is rightly equated as=*grdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihunḍuo* (Rāhu; Deśin. 7, 65; Triv. in B B. 3, 252)=*vidhūmtudah*³. Among the *deśya* words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as *dhātuvādeśa* "root substitutes" by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars (Vr. 8,1 ff.; Hc. 4,1 ff.; Ki. 4, 46 ff.; Mk. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous⁴. As the name indicates, by *deśya* people have come to understand also "provincialisms". In Hemacandra's *Rāyaṇāvalī* (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the *dhātuvādeśa* have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākṛit. Many such *deśi* words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākṛit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāṭhas also⁵. It is possible that stray non-Aryan words may have been got included in the *deśi* words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Aryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12, gives an etymology of the word Prākṛit, according to which the basis (*prākṛti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākṛit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākṛit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭri of artificial poetry, such as Gaṇḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of *deśi* words is diminishing, while⁷ they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with SENART⁸, that all the Prākṛits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.

1. Not=*yojana* The 24 *nakṣatras* are meant.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,335.—3. Cf. Deśin. I. 3; BÜHLER, *Pāyālacchī* p. 11 ff.; SØRENSEN l. c. 225 ff.—4. Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in WEBER's, observations on Hāla.—5. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* (Berlin 1883), p.53 ff. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL. *Altind. Gr.* p. LI ff.—6. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* § 140, 2; PISCHEL, BB. 3, 236.264; 6, 84; BÜHLER, WZKM. 8,17 ff.; 122 ff.; FRANKE, *ibid.* 321 ff.—7. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 326, wherein it has been remarked that in the notes on Rāvaṇavaho, there is much valuable material. SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. LVI.—8. L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extracts from the reviews of the *Séance de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Paris 1886), p. 17 ff.; *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi* 2. 530 ff. SENART has not, however, as already mentioned under section 7 above, taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense.

§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Prākṛit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman¹, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigraharājanātaka. The first one was published by BÜHLER, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by LEUMANN, *ibid* 2,483ff. and by PISCHEL, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.=Pallava Grant. BÜHLER has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravējjā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto*; the more frequent change of dental *n* into a cerebral *ṇ*: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus *kassava*, *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kaḍa*; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in *aggittthoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *savattha*, *ruṭṭhika* etc². All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other inscription in the Leṇadialect³. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Prākṛit. But in no way is absolutely pure Prākṛit. *ya* stands beside *ja*: *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: *siṇakhaṇḍavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike* etc⁴. The following are gross irregularities against Prākṛit: *kāmcīpurā*; (5, 1) for *kaṁcīpurā*; *ātteya*^o (6, 13) for *atteya*^o *vatsa*^o (6, 22) for *vaccha*^o; *cāttāri* (6,39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *vitanāma* (5,7) for *vitārāmo*; *dūḍha* (6, 31) for *duddha*, *dattam* (6, 12) for *diṇṇam*; *dattā* (7, 48), i. e. *dattā* for *diṇṇā*. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial⁵ one. For a history of Prākṛit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so called-Gāthā dialect⁶ are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munsiff DEBI PRASĀD, JRAS. 1195, p. 513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

1. Published by FLEET, IA. 9, 100 ff. Almost unusable. Cf. BÜHLER. EI.1,2, note.—2. BÜHLER, l. c. 2. ff.—3. SENART, *Piyadasi* 2, 489 ff. 518 ff.—4. BÜHLER l. c. p. 2 ff.—5. To it applies even more accurately what SENART l. c. 2,494, says on the Leṇa-dialect: this language is, then, neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated.—6. That this name is not appropriate has been remarked correctly by SENART, l. c. 2,469 ff. His suggestion to call the language "mixed Sanskrit" would, however, meet with little approval. Further references have been given in WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. xxxix f.

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbharājanātaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ajmīr. They have been published by, KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Prākṛit dialects. Māhārāṣṭrī, Sauraseni, and Māgadhī. KONOW has shown, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study

of Prākṛit², that the Prākṛit forms closely agree with the rules of Hemacandra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolutive in-*dūṇa* in Śaurasenī; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭrī form in-*ūṇa*; Hc. 4,280 requires *yjeva*, whereas Somadeva has *jjeva*; in consonant-groups in Māgadhi, Somadeva has *ś*, whereas Hc. 4,289, prescribes *s*; the former lays down *śta* for *rth*, against *st* of Hc. 4,291 and *śka* for *hka* against *ska* of Hc. 4, 296. 297³. Hence it follows that the absolutive in-*ūṇa* may be an error committed by Somadeva himself; even-*dūṇa* may be wrong (§584); *śta* for *rta* as well may be an error committed in course of transmission inasmuch as in 566,9 we find *yahastam*=*yathārtham*. But as regards *śka* for *hka*, *śka* could hardly, with KONOW⁴, be considered to be a slip on the part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript. The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by KONOW l.c. p. 479, I add the following: Ś. *tujjha* (554, 4; s. §421); *jjeva* (554,4; 555,18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *nimmāya* (554,13; s § 591); the passive *viloijjanti*, *pekkhijjanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jampijjadi* (568,6), the forms that are admitted by Hc. for *viloiṇti*, *pekkhiṇti*, *kariadu*, *jampiadi* (§535); *kitti* (555,4) for *kim ti*; *rayanāim* (555,15), *raaṇa* (560,19) for *radanāim* and *radana*; *gihida* (560,20) for *gahida*; *eārisam* (563,3) for *edārisam*. The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhi are:—*peškiyyamdi* (565,13) *peškiṇti*, *peškiyyasi* (565,15) for *peškiṇti*, *yāniyyadi* (566,1) for *yāniadi*, *pacakkhikaḍam* (566,1) for *paccaṣṭi*⁵; *yahastam* (566,9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9.11) for *niyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567,1) for *yeva*. These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as *tama-pasara* (555,11), *pacakkhāim* (555,14), *śśalāvam* (565,9). Moreover, most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolutive in-*ūṇa*, and the passive in Ś.-*ijja*, and Mg.-*iyya*, may be mistakes committed by the author himself, as even Rājaśekhara, (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of *n* in place of *ṇ*, and interpolation of *y*⁵ suggest Jaina influence. A second fragment found in Ajmīr, of Harakelināṭaka, is ascribed to Vighararājadeva himself, and is dated November 22, 1153⁶. The grammar of Hemacandra, at the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197⁷, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhi, that, here only has been handed down to us in a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians, (§ 23).

1. GGA. 1894, 478ff.—2. IA. 20, 204.—3. KONOW, l. c. p. 481.—4. l. c. p. 482.—5. KONOW, l. c. p. 480.—6. KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201.—7. BÜHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

§ 12. When one refers to the Prākṛit language in general terms it is the Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 2), that derives its name from Māhārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prākṛit. As shown by GARREZ (§ 5) Māhārāṣṭrī, no doubt, has unmistakable points of contact with the Marāṭhī language.¹ No other dialect has been phonetically, modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen nowhere else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite different have assumed the same form. Thus :—M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *kṛta*;

kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti ; *kā=kāka, kāca, kāya* ; *gaā=gatā, gadā, gajāh* ; *maa=mala, mada, maya, mṛga, mṛta* ; *vaa=vacas, vayas, vrata, °pada* ; *sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.² Therefore, it was not without reason that BEAMES designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.³ It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the *Gāhās=Gāthās*, that are, for us, collected in the *Satasai* of Hāla, and the *Vajjālagga* of Jayavallabha⁴, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as *Gāhā*, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708, 709. 815 ; *Vajjālagga* 3.4. 9.10 ; p. 326, 6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in *Mudrār.* 83, 2.3, and is addressed by Virādhagupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Śaurasenī in dramas, and that in their songs (*āsameva tu gāthāsu*) they should speak Māhārāṣṭrī. Priyaṇvadā calls the stanzas, 55, 15. 16 of Śak. *gīdaam=gītakam* in 54, 8 ; Śakuntalā calls it *gīdīā=gītikā* (55, 8) : the verses recited by the spy in *Mudrārākṣasa* (34, 6ff.) are called, after 35, 1, *gīdāim*, "songs". The actress sings (*gāyati*) her song in M. : thus for example Śak. 2, 13 ; Mallikām. 19, 1 ; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*vīṇām vādyaṇṭi gāyati*) ; *Unmattar.* 2, 17 ; cf. *Mukund.* 4, 20 ff. ; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said *nepathye gīyate* ; e. g. Śak. 95, 17 ; *Viddhaś.* 6, 1 ; Kāleyak. 3, 6 ; *Karṇas.* 3. 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.⁵

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. KUHN (KZ. 33, 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.—2. Some examples have been given by SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gaṇḍavaho* p. LVI. LVIII.—3. *Comp. Gram.* 1, 223. 4. BHANDARKAR, Report 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5 ; (p. 326, 9) from which originated *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5). The word is derived from *vajjā=vrajyā* (B. R. s. v.) ; WEBER, *Hāla*², p. xxxviii ; PISCHEL, *Die Hofsichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and *lagga* (indication, mark ; *Deśin.* 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. Its translation by *Padyālaya* is wrong.—5. WEBER, I. Str. 3, 159 f. ; 279 ; *Hāla*² p. xx

§ 13. For a knowledge of M., the most essential work is the *Sattasaī* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were already published by WEBER, under the title "Über das Saptasatakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1870.¹ WEBER brought out the addenda and corrigenda to his edition of the work in ZDMG. 26, 735 ff. ; 28, 345 ff., which were followed by a complete edition with a German translation and word-index. *Das Saptasatakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1881.* WEBER dealt upon Bhuvanapāla's commentary on Chekoktīvīcārālīlā in IS. 16, 1 ff. DURGA PRASAD and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB, have, besides, furnished us with an edition of the work that is indispensable on account of the complete printed commentary and several good readings, under the title *The Gāthāsaptasatī of Sātavāhana with the commentary of Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa*, Bombay, 1889 (*Kāvya-mālā* 21). WEBER fixes as the earliest limit to the date of the collection, at the 3rd. century A. D., and in any case, according to him, it was compiled earlier than the 7th century, and he has, in the introduction to his complete edition, dealt elaborately with the six different recensions of the work, of which the recension of Bhuvanapāla is the seventh (p. xxxvii ff.). We observe from the *Sattasaī* that there was in M. a literature that was very extensive. Originally, the name of the author of each of the stanza was appended to it (H. 709). Of these names unfortunately, we know only a few, many, whereof are in corrupt

form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Sātavāhana, Śālīvāhana, Sālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Harivṛddha (Hariuddha) and Pōṭṭisa were mentioned also by Rājaśekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuddha = Nandiṛddha and Hāla as well," and in the v. l. Pālittaa, Campaarāa and Malaa-sehara are also named.² By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittaa is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālitta is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by WEBER³; this Pālitta might be identical with Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśin. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśi (*deśiśāstra*). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. l., with certainty, to be Māllaschara in KONOW's edition and Malayāśekhara, i.e. °śekhara in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhimāna, whose full name was Abhimānacihna, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a *deśiśāstra*, that had a *ṛtti* to each *sūtra*, and in which Abhimāna gave his own examples, (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12.17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220. 369, and according to Deśin. 6. 58. 72 ; 8, 17, was a writer on Deśi, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśi in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 13. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājita, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mṛgāṅkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājaśekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājita did never use Sanskrit : because it is likely that Rājaśekhara himself might have translated into Prākṛit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣitāvalī, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 1024, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūdāmāṇi, fol. 7^b (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr. 265).⁴ In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravarasena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvaṇavaho or in Gaṇḍavaho. Because this Vākpatirāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahumahavīa according to G. 69, and Madhumathanavijaya, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, fol. 31. (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, p. 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūdāmāṇi fol. 7^b) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasāi presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.⁵

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by GARREZ in JA. VI, 20, 197ff. —2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v. l. of Karp. 19, 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 316.—5. The two editions by WEBER are respectively indicated as H¹ and H²; H₁ however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākṛit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjālagga of Jayaballabha (§ 12), a Jaina belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to BHANDARKAR, l.c. p. 17, it is divided

into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2=H. 2 ; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H. ; an immediate publication of Vajjālagga is very much desirable. A *chāyā* thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallahaṃ, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that WEBER collected in the supplement to H.¹, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Kāvyaṇṇakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasāi, so that H.² p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2 ; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4^b and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 *aṇṇaam laḍahattanaam* (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruyyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarśinī fol. 24^b (Ms. BÜHLER, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāraratnākara fol. 20 (Ms., BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also are the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 *jo* (so it is to be read) *parharium*, 988 *taṃ tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989, *tāta jāanti*, and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viṣamabāṇalīlā, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12.20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (*kaviyutpattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., KIELHORN, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvyaṇṇakāśadīpikā, fol. 65 (Ms. BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 244), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇalīlā ; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111. 62¹ ; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; and it is noted by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viṣamabāṇalīlā. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍai*. The stanza no. 243, 20² proves that he wrote also in Apabhraṃśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time³. The Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas ; they number nearly 350, according to ZACHARIAE⁴, of which nearly 150, and according to JACOB⁵ nearly 113, are taken from Sattasāi, nearly 30⁶ are from Rāvaṇavaho ; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of BOROOAH⁷, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satyabhāmāśaṃvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas *kuiā ca saccahāmā*, 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam*, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmiṇī according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9 ; 369, 21 ; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpātirāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

1. 989 also Jayanta, l.c. fol. 25 ; cf. PISEHEL, BB. 16, 172, ff—2. It is very much mutilated in the Kāvyaṇṇalā edition. On the evidence of the mss. it approximately reads as *mahu mahu tti bhaṇantiaho vajjāi kālū jaṇassu to viṇa deu jaṇaddaṇṇāi goarihoi maṇassu*.

3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. i. 59, s. v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.—4. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—5. JRAS. 1897, p. 304. AUFRECHT in WEBER, Hāla,² p. XLIII, note 1, has identified no. 78.—6. ZACHARIAE, l. c.—7. In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface p. iv f.

§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaūḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean¹ king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi². The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.³ But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)⁴. A new edition, based upon that of SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena. Bombay 1895 (=Kāvyaṃālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.⁵. He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanimitra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvyas, the Gaūḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryāmetre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.⁶ The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāraṭikā.⁷ Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)⁸ by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahumahavīa. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatik. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yaśruti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasāi in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaūḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mṛcchakatikā² as well. The Gaṇḍavaho, the Sattasaī of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭrī. Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H¹ (§ 13, note 5) p. 29 ff., WEBER has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far as it was possible with the parts of Sattasaī published till that time.

1. MAX MÜLLER, Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung (Leipzig 1884) p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa was the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based entirely on recent sources.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho, Introduction p. v. ff.—3. Annual Report of DMG. of the year 1845, (Leipzig 1846) p. 176 : Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 321 ff.—5. PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho, Introduction p. LXIV ff. The research of JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 68 f., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829 that took place in 733 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yaśovarman is wrong. The context does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yaśovarman's defeat. The type of description is very common with the writers of mahākāvya and is of not of any historical value.—6. PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho p. viii f ; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explanations are given in PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho p. vii f ; JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8. Review by JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vākipatirāja is very much overrated by PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho, p. LII ff, and JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jainas are usually considered to be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭrī. They have, from one another, been differentiated by JACOBI¹ by calling them Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Prākṛit. By Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (J.M.) he means the language of the commentators and the poets² and by Jaina Prākṛit the language of the older books of the Jaina canons³ and that of the older Sūtras.⁴ The name Jaina Prākṛit that was first used by E. MÜLLER⁵ is not a happy one, and the assertion that this Jaina Prākṛit is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī is wrong.⁶ The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old Jainasūtras Ārṣam, i. e. "the speech of the ṛṣis". Hc. 1, 3, announces that for Ārṣa, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good for Ārṣa, and there all the types of forms are permissible. Trivikrama⁷ excludes Ārṣa, like Deśya (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*, i. e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (*svatantratvācca bhūyasā*). In a quotation in Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa on Daṇḍin, Kāvyaadarśa I, 33, two types of Prākṛit are distinguished : the one is that which originated from Ārṣa, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as Ārṣa: *ārṣottham ārṣatulyamca dvividham prākṛitam viduḥ*. Nāmisadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṭīkāra 2, 12, thus derives the word Prākṛit : that its basis (*prākṛtiḥ*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called Prākṛit because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *prākṛta* stands for *prākṛtā*, "created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*)", for it is called *prākṛta*. The Prākṛit of the Ārṣa canon, i. e. the Ardhamāgadhā, is the language of gods: *ārisavayane siddham devānām oddhamāgadhā vāṇi*. Accordingly Prākṛit is the language that is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has come to be known as Sanskrit and other languages mentioned by Rudraṭa 2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, Prākṛit has been made the source of Sanskrit as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the Buddhists, the Māgadhī⁸, the Jainas consider Ardhamāgadhī, the Ārṣa of the grammarians,

the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvīra is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyaṅgasutta 98⁹ *bhagavaṃ ca naṃ addhamāgahīe bhāsāe dhammaṃ ākkhaṇṇi sāvīya naṃ addhamāgahī bhāsā bhāsijjamaṇi tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ duppapacāṭṭhapaṃyapapakkhisarivānaṃ appappaṇo hiya-sivasuhadāya bhāsattāe pariṇamaṃ*. “The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhī language : this peace, happiness and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhī undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tamed animals, the birds and the worms”. Vāgbhāṭa, Alaṅkāratilaka 1, 1 : *sarvārdhamāgadhīṃ sarvabhāsāsu pariṇāminīm* 1 *sārvīyām*¹⁰ *sarvato vācam sārvañām prañidhmahe* “we salute *Vāc* that is fully Ardhamāgadhī and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient”. In the Paṇṇavaṇāsutta 59f. the Arvans are divided into nine classes ; of them the sixth one is the *bhāsāriyā*, “those that are Aryans by language”. About them it is said, p. 62¹¹ : *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā | bhāsāriyā je naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jatttha vī ya naṃ bambhī livā pavattai*, “what is meant by ‘Aryans by speech’? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhī language, and who use the Brāhmī alphabet”. That Mahāvīra preached in Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyaṅgasutta, also in the Ovavāiyasutta § 56; it runs thus : *tae naṃ samāne bhagavaṃ mahāvīre.....addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsai | arihā dhammāṃ parikahe | tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ agilāe dhammaṃ ākkhaṇṇi | sāvīya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmenaṃ pariṇamaṃ*. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannatti, in WEBER, Bhagavati, 2, 245 ; cf. also Hc., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsā¹² : *porāṇaṃ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayam havi suttāṃ*. Thereon, remarks Hc.—although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhī follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhī.¹³ The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, *se tārise dukkhasahe jindie*=Dasaviyāliyasutta 633, 19, would read in Māgadhī as *se tālīse dukkaśahe yidindie*.

1. Kalpasūtra p. 17 ; Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī (Leipzig. 1886), p. xi f.—2. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—3. Erzählungen p. xii.—4. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—5. Beiträge zur grammatik des Jaina-Prākṛit (Berlin 1876).—6. See under sec. 18.—7. First in PISCHEL, De Gr. Pr. p. 29.—8. D’ ALWIS, An Introduction to Kachchāyana’s Grammar of the Pālī Language (Colombo 1863) p. cvii ; MUIR, OST. 22, 54 ; FRYER, Proc. ASB. 1879, 155f.—9. The text has been published by WEBER also ; Index, 2, 2, 406 ; cf. further below the passage quoted from the Ovavāiyasutta.—10. So do the Mss. ; the printed edition (Bombay 1894=Kāvyamālā 43) reads *sarvāpām*.—11. The text was published by WEBER also, IS. 16, 399, and Index 2, 2, 562.—12. LEUMANN, Das Aupapātika Sūtra (Leipzig 1883), p. 96 s. v. Addhamāgahā bhāsā suggests *niyayam*=*nijaka*, “to hold”. But Hc. himself explains it by *niyata*, and that is demanded by the sense.—13. Wrongly explained by HOERNLE. The Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇam or Chāṇḍa’s Grammar of the Ancient (Ārṣha) Prākṛit (Calcutta 1880), p. xix, note.

§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhī are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was Ardhamāgadhī¹, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from Dasaveyāliyasutta quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhī are :—change of *r* into *l* and *s* into *ś*, and the nom. sing. ending in *-e* instead of in *-o* of *a*-stems

as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to *a*-stems in declension. Ardhāmāgadhi retains both *r* and *s*, but it has the nom. in—*e*; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98² and Uvās. p. 46 it derives its name “Half Māgadhi” on that account; *ardhamāgadhi bhāṣā yasyām rasor laṣau māgadhyām³ ityādikam māgadha-bhāṣālakṣaṇam paripūrṇam nāsti*. As already suggested by STEVENSON⁴, WEBER⁵ has proved that the contact of Ardhāmāgadhi with Māgadhi is “not very close”. Besides the nom. in—*e*, the only feature that is common to both is *da*=Skt. *ta* in the past passive participle of roots in—*r*, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of *ya* must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent *pluti* in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. *usiṇa*=Skt. *uṣṇa*, is equivalent to Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form *tava*, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāṭī-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in —*ṃsi*⁶ of *a*-stem. In poetry even in Ardhāmāgadhi, in the nomin. sing. of *a*-stem, the forms in —*o* abound instead of those in —*e*; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Āyār. p. 41, 1, *abhivāyamine*, but 2 *hayapuṃvo*, 3 *lūsiyapuṃvo*; p. 45, 19, *nāo*, but 20 *se mahāvīre*, 22 against *aladdhapuṃvo* and *gāmo*; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apaḍiṇne*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *saṃvude*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *apuṭṭhe*, 15 *puṭṭho*, *apuṭṭho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faultily which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, *gāme*, 46, 6, *paḍisevamāṇe*, besides the forms in —*o*. Here, in all these places —*e* must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in —*o*, as in Āyār. p. 127ff.; instead of *maūde*, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written *maūdo*. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, in Uttaraññayaṇasutta, in Dasaveyāliyasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without, coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word *mleccha* is written as *milakkhu* in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as *meccha* (§ 84). AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form *kuṇai*, from $\sqrt{kr}$ [§ 508]. In AMg. the absol. forms in —*tṭa* and —*uṇa* are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Sūyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīśvara, who in 5, 98, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Māgadhi *māhārāṣṭrī-miśrārdhamāgadhi*.⁷ This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtlessly agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditional

Ardhamāgadhi (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanātyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned by the side of Māgadhi, Āvanti, Prācyā, Śūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇātyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers : *ceṭānām rājaputrāṇām śreṣṭhinām cārdhamāgadhi*. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkaṇḍeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhi as an independent dialect beside Māgadhi. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jainas may appear, they speak AMg. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 410 ff, has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhi, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār., and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is Amg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78 ; 183-187 ; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jīvasiddhi, about whom Dhundhirāja, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—*kṣapaṇako jainākṛtiḥ* : in the dialect of this Kṣapaṇaka, the nominative sing. forms ending in *e* agree with those of AMg. : thus *kuvide*, *bhadante* (178,4), also in the neuter *adakkhiṇe* *ṇakkhatte* (to be read as **hkh**) ; 176.1.2) ; further therein occurs also the change of *ka* into *ga*, in *śāvagāṇam* (175,1 ; 185,1 ; 190, 10) in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175,3 ; 177,2 ; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. *śāvage* (178,2 ; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in *hage* = **ahakaḥ* (§ 142. 194. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhi, and He 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapaṇaka, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāmādāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhi is the language spoken by the Bhikṣus, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. WILSON, Select Works 1,289 ; WEBER, Bhagavatī 1,392.-2. Published by WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,406, note 8.—3 WEBER, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from same hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāṅkāra 2,12, also quotes it, but he reads *māgadhiḥkāyām* for *māgadhyām*. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as *māgadhiḥkāyām* *rasayorlasau*. WEBER's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7) that *addhamāgahābhāṣā* "expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate" is wrong.—4. The Kalpa-sūtra, and Navatātva (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavatī 1, 393 ff.—6. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by MÜLLER are found also in other dialects.—7. HOERNLE, Caṇḍa, p. xix, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhi + Māhā-sāṣṭri = Ārṣa.

§ 18. COLEBROOKE¹ called the language of the canons of the Jainas to be Māgadhi, and opined that this Prākṛit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. LASSEN² considered it to be identical with Māhārāṣṭri, and HOEFER³ asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākṛit of the Jaina books, are generally foreign to the common Prākṛit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. JACOBI finds it to be older or archaic Māhārāṣṭri,⁴ and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākṛit, particularly in its earliest available form, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākṛit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākṛit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākṛit,⁵ and that it is an old Indian

dialect, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it.⁶ Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL,⁸ and after him by JACOBI,⁹ that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI¹⁰ himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER¹¹ has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhī of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in *-e* alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectal peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much further to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhī under Devardhigaṇin or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhī particularly the influence of M.¹² might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *eva* (§ 68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§ 93), the dropping of *-i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paducca*, *paduppanna*, *padoyāra*, etc. (§ 163), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in *-tāe* (§ 364), the instrumental in *-sā* (§ 364), the locative in *-msi* (§ 366^a), the nom. sing. of the *t*-stem in *-m* (§ 396), the instrumental forms like *kammupā* and *dhammupā* (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like *āikkhaī* from *khyā* (§ 492), *pāuṇaī* from *āp* with *pra* (§ 504), *kuvvaī* from *kr* (§ 508), the strong and the *s*-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in *-tṭu*, *-ittu* (§ 577), the absolutes in *-tā* (§ 582), *-tānam* (§ 583), *-ccā*, *ccānam*, *ccāṇa* (§ 587), *-yānam*, *-yāṇa* (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel *-a* (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix *-tra* (§ 87), and in that of *kṣa* (§ 323), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), and of *pa* into *ma* (§ 248), etc. These, the *yaś-ruti*, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in *-e* shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābād.¹³ At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.

1. Misc. Essays 21, 213.—2. Inst. pp. 142, 43.—ZWSpr. 3, 371.—4. Kalpasūtra, p. 18; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. xii; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7.—5. SBE. xxii, p. xli.—6. Ayāraṃga Sutta p. viii.—7. Bhag. I, 396 f.—8. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen 1849, p. 912.—9. Kalpasūtra p. 17 f., Erz. p. xii.—10. Beiträge pp. 3 ff.—11. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15 ff.; SBE xii, pp. xxxvii ff.; WEBER, IS. 16, 218.—12. Suggestion of JACOBI, Erz. p. xxii.—13. See §. 24.

§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211-479; 17, 1-90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Śvetāmbaras written in AMg. These essays were further

supplemented by the copious extracts that WEBER included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825 ; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works¹ as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions: many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Aṅga, the Āyār-āṅgasutta², which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Āyār., is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Saṁavāyaṅgā, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakahā, the seventh Uvāsagadāsā,³ the eleventh, the Vivāgasūya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension and conjugation than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovavāiyasutta and the Nirayāvaliyā, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajjhayaṇasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance ; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms : and of significance is the Dasaveyāliysutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases ; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākṛit dialects,⁴ because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was STEVENSON, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg. ; HOEFER, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional ; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yaśurti, the anaptyctic vowels, the change of *ka* into *ga*, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of WEBER ; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866, 1867)=Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444 ; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that WEBER, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jaina manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavatī, is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar : it will be quoted simply as Bhagavatī whenever the reference is to WEBER's above mentioned essay. The work of E. MÜLLER, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon WEBER in respect of phonology. JACOBI in Āyār., pp. VIII-XIV, gave a cursory resumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar.—2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become a customary that the Jaina texts like Kalpasūtra Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only HOERNLE in his edition of Uvāsagadāsā made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned

who have named them as such, and this has been done with a view to avoid error.—3. The edition of HOERNLE (Calcutta 1890, Bibl. Ind.), remains up to the present day the only edition of a Jaina work with its text and the commentary critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries, the text often remains unintelligible.—4. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 52, p. 95.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) JACOBI has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by JACOBI¹ earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. JACOBI² wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Śetubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gaṇḍavaho, Viṣamabāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jainas also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the saṁdhi-consonants, the nom. of *t*-stems in *-m*, the infinitives in *-ittu*, the absolutive in *-tā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by ERNST LEUMANN, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, Herausgegeben von HERMANN JACOBI*, Leipzig 1886. The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravatī, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Mathurā SWA 137, the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 415 ff., and in the Kāvya-mālā, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp. 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmiśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra, 2, 19 cites a stanza.³

1. Kalpasūtra, p. 18—2. Kalpasūtra, p. 19.—3. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2, for Rudra read Hari.

§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not insignificantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of *ta* into *da*, and of *tha* into *dha*, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhī, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-

gambaras as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the Gurvāvali, referred to by JACOBI,² and the extracts from Kundakundācārya's Pavayanāsāra, and Kārtikeyasvāmin's Kattigeyāṇupēkkhā, that has been published by BHĀṆDĀRKAR³ (§ 203). Śaurasenī also observes the same phonetic law ; and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in-*o*, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaina Śaurasenī. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of JM., so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Śaurasenī, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of *a*-stems ending in-*mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *nāṇammi*, *daṃsaṇamuhammi* (Pav. 383, 69 ; 385, 61 ; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of-*va=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kr.* is inflected, always showing *da=ta*, partly like M. *kuṇaḍi* (Kattig. 399, 310. 319 ; 402, 359. 367. 370. 371 ; 403, 385 ; 404, 388. 389. 391), and partly like AMg. *kuṇvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313 ; 400, 329 ; 401, 340) and *kuṇvade* (403, 384), side by side with forms that are Ś. e. g. *karedi* (Pav. 384, 59 ; Kattig. 400, 324 ; 402, 369 ; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M., JM. AMg. *karadi* (400, 332). The form of the passive is *kiradi* (Kattig. 399, 320 ; 401, 342. 350,) as in M. JM. The absolutive mostly ends in-*ttā*, as in AMg. *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64 ; Kattig. 403, 374) ; *jāṇittā* (Pav. 385, 68 ; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350) ; *viyāṇittā* (Pav. 387, 21) ; *ṇamaṃsittā*, *nirūṇjhittā* (Pav. 386, 6. 70) ; *nihaṇittā* (Kattig. 401, 339) ; also in-*ya* as in *bhaviya* (Pav. 380, 12 ; 387, 12) ; *āpiccha=āpēcchya* (Pav. 386, 1) ; *ādāya* (Pav. 386, 6) ; *āsijja*, *āsējja=āsāḍya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11) ; *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5) ; *gahiya* (Kattig. 403, 373) ; *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49), and in-*ccā* as in *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4 ; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376) ; *thiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355) ; *sōccā* (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolutive in-*dūṇa* ; *kādūṇa*, *nedūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly⁴ also in-*ūṇa* : *jāi-ūṇa*, *gamiūṇa*, *gahiūṇa*, *bhuṇjāviūṇa* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in Ś forms in-*ttā* and-*dūṇa* and such other forms as are not found in Śaurasenī of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* occurs the commonly found *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326 ; 403, 370) ; by the side of Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) is seen *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 38, 302. 303 ; 400, 323) as well as *ṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) ; moreover, here are used the forms like *muṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 303 ; 399, 313. 316. 337), *muṇedaṇṇo* (the MS. has °*eya*°, Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMg. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JŚ. has much more of common characteristics with AMg. than with JM., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.

1. BHANDARKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), pp. 106 ff. ; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823 f.—2. Kalpasūtra pp. 30.—3. l.c. pp. 379-389 ; 398-404. The references are given according to page and verse: cf. also PETERSON, Fourth Report pp. 142 ff.—4. In the manuscripts, exactly as in those of the dramas, very often the M. forms are given in lieu of those of Ś.

§ 22. Among the Prākṛit dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Śaurasenī occupies the first place.¹ As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śūrasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā.² According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Śaurasena dialect, and according to 17,51, the heroines

of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Śāhityadarpaṇa, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Śaurasenī is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśarūpa 2,60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Śāhityadarapaṇa 173 4 ; Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcchakaṭikā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā³, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śaurasenī ; *prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ śaurasenyaḥ*. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for *mūrkhā* should be used *murukkha* ; the voc., sing. of *bhavadī* is *bhodi* ; for *vakra* is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś.⁴ : the voc. sing. of a stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses *hi*, *hī*, *bho* to express his joy,—*hī*, *māṇahe* to express wonder (*adbhute*) and *avida* to express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate *nam*, *iva*, and perhaps also for the future. Pṛthivīdhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285, *hī hī vidūṣakasya*, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, *hī māṇahe viśmayanīrvede*, is likewise recorded as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śaurasenī is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śaurasenī very briefly. Vr. 12,2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree,⁵ and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. *śeṣaṁ mātāhārāṣṭrīvāt*. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads of *śeṣaṁ prākṛtavat* and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śaurasenī of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śaurasenī of the dramas with the result that the Śaurasenī texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled.⁶ Even Ki. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BHĀṆḌARKAR'S edition of Mālatīmādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study.⁷ In every cases, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrāṅkṣa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdār's series and edited by TARANATHA TARKAVACASPATI (Calcutta Saṁvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN'S edition of Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.⁸ Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākṛit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2,4 *bho kim ti tue hakkarido hage mañ khu eññim* (text *eññim*) *chuhā bāhei* contain three dialects : *hakkārīdo* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eññim* and *bāhei* are M.; subsequently the

text is much more in M. than in Ś. In Mukundān. 58,14.15, both Ś., *kadua* M. *kāūna* stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājaśekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājaśekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramañjarī, 7,6 ed. KONOW=11,2 ed. Bombay, have *ghēttūna* in place of the only Ś. form *genhūa*, an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584): 9,5=13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form *suhāa*, that is wrong in Ś. (§ 361); further the following are the dialectical irregularities *tujjha* 10,9=14,7 and *majjha* 10,10=14,8 (§ 421.418), *vva* 14,3=17,5 for *via* (§ 143), locatives like *majjhammi* 6,1=9,5 for *majjhe kavvammi* 16,8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§ 366^a), ablatives like *pāmarāhiṃto* 20,6=22,9 for *pāmarādo* (§ 365), etc. In Rājaśekhara, we further find many dialectical errors in the use of deśi words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājaśekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says *rājaśekharaśya mārāṣṭrīyāḥ prayoge ślokeṣvapi drśyata iti kecit*, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of *da* for *ta* in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *da* in Ś. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvaśī,⁹ these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§ 203); in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JS. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in-*do* and the loc. sing. in-*e* are used: in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc.; the *i*- and the *u*-stems have in the gen. sing. only-*ṇa*, and not also-*ssa*; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely: the opt. had only the endings-*eam* (I. sing.) and-*e*; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M.; the future is formed only from *i*-stems; the passive is obtained only in-*īa*; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in-*ia*=Skt.-*ya*, etc.¹⁰ In flexion and in vocabulary, in which Ś. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by Vr.

1. Even Śūrasenī is often wrongly called Sūrasenī.—2 LASSEN, IAlt. 1², 158, note 2; 796 Note 2 2², 512; CUNNINGHAM, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374.—3. PISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 16f. — PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 26.—5. PISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That Hc. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, has been shown by LEUMANN, IS. 17, 133, note 1.—7. PISCHEL, Hemacandra, 1, xlf. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakaṭikā, edited by STENZLER, Śakuntalā, edited by PISCHEL, and Vikramorvaśī, edited by BOLLENSEN; in the second line comes the Ratnāvalī edited by CAPPELLER, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW, when the present work was in the press. But Rājaśekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for Ś.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. PISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Śacuntālī Pro Supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae 1874.—10. PISCHEL, Jenaer Li-

teraturzeitung 1875, pp. 794 ff.; JACOBI, Erzählungen, pp. LXX ff. Further details have been furnished in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 23. Māgadhī has been transmitted to us in a worse condition than Śauraseni. According to Kohala, in MK. fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc.; according to Bharata 17, 50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 81, eunuchs, Kirātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhiras, Śakāras, and chamberlains; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatik., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Śak. 93 ff.; Vikr. 37 ff., Veṇis. 17ff.; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvatīp. 36 ff.; Priyad. 2f; 28ff.; Pratāpar. 132ff.) The following speak Mg.: in Mr̥chh., the Śakāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhila, the servant of Vasantasena, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cārudatta, the two Cāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Cārudatta²; in Śak. 113ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadamaṇa, the little son of of Śakuntalā; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Orissa; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f., the servant who prepares seats; in 174-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk; in 197 the messenger³; in 256-269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś., in another rôle at p. 567 f.; in Veṇis. 33-36 the Rākṣasa and his wife; in Mallikām. 143.144 the elephant drivers; in Nāgān. 67 68, and Cait. 149f., the servant; in Caṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Cāṇḍālas; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāsyārṇava 31, Sādhuhimsaka; in Laṭakam. 12ff., 25ff., the Digambara Jaina; in Kamsavadha 48-52, the humpbacked; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mr̥chhakaṭikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of BROCKHAUS is worthless, and I have used the Pūṇā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians; among the other stray texts, like those of Mr̥chh. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, *rasorlaśau* is followed rigorously; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *-e*; according to 4, 301, = Vr. 11, 9, *hage* is substituted for *aham*, and more rarely also for *vayaṁ*. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4.7, that prescribes the retention of *ya*, and substitution of *ya* for *ja*, of *yya* for *dya*, *rya* and *rja*. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement,⁴ on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Veṇis., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts

of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mṛcch. 22,4, for instance, in STENZLER's edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in GODABOLE's edition, occurs the passage *tava jjeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭadu*: according to the grammarians it should be read as *tava yyeṽva haṣṭe ciṣṭhadu*. The MSS. DH in GODABOLE read *ṽva*, C. *jjeva*; almost all the MSS. have *haṣṭe* and *ciṣṭadu*, i.e. *ciṣṭhadu* as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār. 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) *yyeva*, and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *ṽva*; likewise Venis. 35. 7; 36,5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic *cha* is substituted *ṣea*, I have strictly observed in the Śakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mṛcch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of *stha* and *rtha* into *sta* (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of *rā* into *la*, of *sa* into *śa*, the retention of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja* and *rya* into *yya*, of *ṇya*, *nya*, *jña*, *ñja* into *ñña*, of *ccha* into *ṣea*, of *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* into *ṣṭa* etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of *a*-stem in *-e*; in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with Ś. with which it agrees also in the transformation of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*.

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāḥ*.—2. It is attested by Pṛthivīdhara, in STENZLER, p. v and GODABOLE, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks Ś; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have *ale ale*, in 161,16, *māledha*, in 165, 25, *ale*, and in DH in GODABOLE, p. 449 9 also there is *māledha*. In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=484, 12 ed. GODABOLE H, *āvutte*. Wrongly analysed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 4. Cf. § 42.—3. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. § 24 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch., ed. STENZLER, p. V=p. 494, GODABOLE's edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Śākārī, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Kī. 5,99; Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173.6. LASSEN, Inst., pp. 422 ff, has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Śākārī is a Māgadhī dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.: *māgadhyāḥ śākārī | sādḥayātīti śeṣaḥ*. Further Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 9,22, ed. STENZLER, p. 240=p. 500 of GODABOLE's edition, has shown that in this dialect a *y* was pronounced before the palatals, viz. *yeiṣṭha*=*tiṣṭha* (§ 217). This *y* was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance from the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vṛacada Apabhraṃśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of *ta* into *ḍa* in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha*, beside in *-aśśa* (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in *-āhim* (366^a) and the voc. plur. in *-āho* (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Śākāra, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṃśa, and consequently the classification of Pṛthivīdhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhī and Śaurasenī, and is rightly considered likewise by LASSEN, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhī. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be Ś., Mg. as well as Śākārī. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhī dialects belongs also Bāhlikī, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52=Sāhityad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Piśāca countries. (§ 27).

Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *kṣa* sometimes as *hka* and sometimes as *śka*, of *rtha* sometimes as *śta* and sometimes as *śta*; and of *śka*, sometimes as *śka* and sometimes as *śka*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *ś* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17. 18) that the boundary of the *-e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gaṅgā and the sea are full of *-e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. HOERNLE¹ has divided all the Prākritis into two groups: "the Śaurasenī Prākrit tongue" and the "Māgadhī Prākrit tongue" and has drawn a line of demarcation between the two groups from Khālsī, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahabad, and in the south through Ramgarh upto Jaugada². GRIERSON³, who is in agreement with HOERNLE, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhī, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allāhābad and that of the Marāṭhās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dhauli and Jaugada,⁴ there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps, was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south.⁵ Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khālsī, Delhī, and Mirāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhī is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg.⁶ and the old Mg.

1. Comp. Grammar, p xvii ff.—2. Caṇḍa, p. XXI.—3. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihari Language, Part I (Calcutta 1883), p. 5. ff—4. SENART, Piyadasi 2,433 ff.—6. GRIERSON, Seven Grammars, Part III, (Calcutta 1833).

§ 25. In Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 29-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dhakki, named after Dhakka th it is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. LASSEN, Inst. p. 5, and Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. p. V=p. 493, ed. GODABLE, record Dhakki, along with Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, and Śābarī among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dhakki was a transition dialect between Māgadhī and Apabhraṃśa. According to Pṛthvidhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *la*, and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal² *ś*; *lakāraprāyā*¹ *dhakkavibhāṣā samskṛtaprāyaḥ dantiyātālavyasaśakāradvayayuktā ca*. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *śa* into *śa*, which, as well as *ś*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading STENZLER reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 *are re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but GODABOLE reads in 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1, *ale*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in STENZLER (30, 16; 31, 4. 9. 15; 39, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddhu* = *ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *palivevida* = *parivepita* (30, 7), *kulu kulu* = *kuru kurn* (31, 16), *dhāledi* = *dhārayati* (34, 9; 39, 13), *puliso* = *puruṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in

more cases *ra* remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have *jūdiara* (29, 15 ; 30, 1. 12 ; 31, 12 ; 36, 18), but only in 36, 18 = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with *la* (v. 1.); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Śaka 1792) at p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhipahāleṇa* against *reṇa* found in all others ; while all the editions in the following line have *ruhirapaham* *aṇusa-rēmha* in stead of the expected reading *luhilapadham* *aṇusalēmha*. In the verse 30, 4. 5, by the side of *salaṇam* for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has *śalaṇam*, there is *ruddo rakkhidum tarāi* in lieu of *luddo lakkhidum taladi*. Other cases are : *anusa-rēmha* (30, 13) *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), *pidaram*, *māda-ram* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjara* (34, 11, beside *puliso*!), *uarotheṇa* (36, 24), *ahareṇa rāi* (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms *daśasuvannāha* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *daśasuvannam* (31, 4 ; 32, 3 ; 34, 9. 12 etc.), *sunṇu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like *jasam* (30, 9), *ādamsaāmi* (34, 25), *paḍissudia* (35, 5); the palatal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like *samaviśa-mam*, *sakaluśaam* (30, 8. 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used *samavisamaṇam*, *aikasaṇam* (read *adi*°); but in spite of this he has erred in using *kaśśa* (114, 9) for *kassa*, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With *la* and *śa* Dhakkī becomes close to Mg., and with the endings *u=ah*, and *-am*, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to Apabh-ramśa. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside *deulu* (30, 11) there occurs *deulam* (30, 12) ; by the side of *esu=esaḥ* (31, 12 ; 34, 17 ; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10); beside *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16 ; 30, 2) as well as *paaccha=prayaccha* (31, 4. 7. 9 ; 32, 8. 12. 14 ; 34, 24 ; 35, 7) ; by the side of the nom. in-*u*, as in *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *vippadīvu pādu=vipratīpaḥ pādah* (30, 11), *dhuttu, mādhulu, niṇṇu=dhūrto māthuro nīpuṇaḥ* (32, 7), *viḥavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-*o*, as in *baddho* (31, 12), *°ppāvudo puliso=°prāvṛtaḥ puruṣaḥ* (34, 12), *ācakkhanto* (§499) (34, 24), *°vutto=°vṛttaḥ* (31, 3), and also in-*e*, such as *pādhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25 ; 31, 1), *laddhe gohe=laddhaḥ puruṣaḥ* (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectical peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word *baddho* (31, 14) in Mg. for the correct word *baddhe* that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is *tha* in *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), for for which should be read *mādhulu*; as for *pāṭhe* found in all the editions (30, 25 ; 31, 1), and also in Mg. (31, 2), the manuscripts DH of GODABOLE, p. 88, read *pāde*, K has *pādhe*, a form which including the ending is correct only in Dh. Thus we have in 30, 16 *kadham=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapaham=rudhirapatham*. The correct form would be *luddhilapadham*. As in Ś. and Mg., so also in the case of Dh. as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect.³ Cf. § 203.

1. So correctly reads STENZLER ; GODABOLE reads at p. 2 and p. 494 *vakāraprāyā*.
—2. So correctly reads GODABOLE.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 414 ff., holds that the gambler speaks Dākṣiṇātyā and Māthura, the Avāntī dialect. See § 26. BLOCH's decision is wrong, in Vr. und Hc. p. 4.

§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to Prthvidhara, in Mṛcchakaṭikā, the two police officers, Viraka and Candanaka, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of Avāntī. About this dialect all that he says is that it has *sa* and *ra*, and that it is full of proverbial expressions : *tathāi*

śaurasenī-avantijā prācyā | etāsu danīyasakārātā | tatrāvanijā rephavatī lokokti-vahulā. The quotation from Pṛthivīdhara is =Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51=Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the *dhūrtāḥ*, whereby according to the scholiast, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 36, are meant the dice-players. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvantī to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvantī as a *bhāṣā* and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence : *āvantī syānmāhārāṣṭrī śaurasenīyāstu saṁkarāt | anayoḥ saṁkarād āvantībhāṣāsiddhāsyāt | saṁkaraścaikaṣminneva vākya bodhavyaḥ.* In this dialect are found, for instance *hoi=bhavati*, *pēchadi=prekṣate*, *darisedi=darśayati*, etc. This description is in accord with the dialect of the two police officers, as it is given in the MSS. In the stanzas 99, 16. 17 there are found Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhēttūṇa* and *vaccāi*, side by side ; similarly in 99, 24. 25, Ś. *ācchadha* and M. *turiam, jatteha, karējjāha* and *pahavai*; in 100, 4 there is *darisesi* ; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* and Ś. *khudido* occur side by side : again in 100, 19 ; 101, 7 ; 105, 9, is found *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccāi* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjai* (100, 15); in 103, 15 there is *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sāsijjai*; the second one is a pure M. form and the first one an admixture of M. *kahijjai* and Ś. *kadhiadi*; many other examples are to be found in prose and poem. Accordingly the definition enunciated by Pṛthivīdhara might appear to be correct. But so far as it respects Candanaka, the latter's own statement as given in 103, 5 goes against him: *vaam dakkhiṇattā avattabhāṣiṇo..... mlecchajātīnām anekadeśabhāṣābhijñā yatheṣṭam mantrayāmaḥ* : we southerners speak unintelligibly; because we are expert in languages of many barbarian contries we speak just as we like. Candanaka, therefore, describes himself as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) that is proved also by his own statement found in 103, 16: *kaṇṇāḍakalahappaoam karemi*, "I proceed to fight in the manner of Kārṇāṭa. Therefore, it is very much improbable that the language in what he should have spoken is Āvantī, on the other hand, it is to be assumed that his language is Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 148 calls as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to 17, 52=Sāhityad. p. 173, 5, is spoken by hunters and police officers in the drama. Mk., fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) rejects it as an independent language because it does not have any distinctive characteristic (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). LASSEN, Inst. pp. 414-416, assigns the Dākṣiṇātyā language to the unnamed gambler in Mṛch. and he is inclined to believe that in the language of the police officers in Śak. pp. 113-117, there are vestiges of this dialect. Both of his views are wrong. The dialect used by the gambler is Dhakkī (§ 25) and the language of the police officers in Śak. does not differ on any point from the common Ś., as already observed by BÖHTLINGK¹. As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show doubling of the aspirates, I believed earlier² that this must have been the distinctive characteristic of Dākṣiṇātyā. But the doubling is found also in Mg. in one of the manuscripts and it is in no way linguistically important, rather it is just an orthographical device (§ 193). So far as we have been able to see up till now it seems that Dākṣiṇātyā must have been very close to Āvantī which is spoken by Viraka, and that both of them were very much akin to Ś. Apart from the dialectical admixture, there are a number of forms that are against idiomatic usage in Ś. Thus: *vaam* for *amhe*, *do=dvau*, and remarkable is the change of *tya* into *ta* in *dakkhiṇattā* (§ 281). The form *darisaanti* occurs also in Ś. in Mṛch. 70,25.

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240.-2.GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.

§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is *Paiśācī*. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Kī., 5, 96, and Śimhadeva-
gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called *Paiśācika*,
and Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṭālaṃkāra, 2, 12 calls it *Paiśācika* and
in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name *Paiśācīkī*: Hc.
4, 303-324 deals with *Paiśācī* and appends to it, 325-328, *Cūlikāpaiśācika*.
Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them
call the second dialect *Cūlikāpaiśācī*. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1)
referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. *kāñcīdeśiyapāṇḍye
ca pāñcālagaudamāgadham | vrācaḍaṃ dākṣiṇātyaṃ ca śaurasenaṃ ca kaikayam |
śābaram drāviḍam caiva ekādaśa piśācakāḥ*. Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats
only 3 *Paiśācīs*., namely *Kaikeya*, *Śaurasena* and *Pāñcāla*; because they
alone were used as literary dialects: *kaikēyaṃ śaurasenaṃ pāñcālam iti ca tridhā
| piśācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣitāḥ* *Kaikeya*, according to
Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and *Śaurasena* upon *Śaurasenī*: the
only difference that *Pāñcāla* maintains in comparison with *Śaurasena*
consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of *ra* into *la*.
RV., in LASSEN, Inst., p. 22, recognizes only two classes of *Paiśācī*:
Kaikeyapaiśācam and the second one whose name has been handed down
to us in the corrupt form *Caska*. In any case, in accordance with the grade
of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according
to LASSEN, Inst., Appendix p. 6, *Māgadha* and *Vrācaḍa* (read thus for
Brāvḍa) are called *Paiśācikas*. Lakṣmīdhara, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 13,
derives the name P. from the countries, of the *Piśācas*, in which it is spoken,
and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier
age: these countries are *Pāṇḍya*, *Kekaya*, *Bāhlika*, *Sahya*, *Nepāla*, *Kuntala*,
Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in
their corrupt forms: *Sudeṣa*, *Bhota*, *Haiva*, and *Kanojana*. These names
point towards the north and the west of India. A nation is referred to as
Piśācas in the *Mahābhārata* 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by
the word *Piśāca* only demons, (*bhūta*) of this name (*Kathāsarit-
sāgara*, 7, 26, 27). Thus it is referred to by *Bhāmaha* in his commentary
on Vr. 10, 1: *piśācānām bhāṣā piśācī*, and, therefore, he calls it also
bhūtabhāṣā "the language of the demons", (*Daṇḍin*, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1, 38;
Sarasvatik. 95, 11. 13; *Kathāsaritsāgara* 7, 29; 8, 30; HALL, *Vāsavadattā*
p. 22 note) or even *bhūtabhāṣita* as well as *bhautika* (*Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* 3, 1.
3), *bhūtavacana* (*Bālarāmāyaṇa* 8, 5 = *Sarasvatik.* 57, 11). There is the
popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a *bhūta*
is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon CROOKE¹ assumes that
like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a
Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians make no mention of this phonetic char-
acteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg.
was named as such after the name of some people or country and the name of this country or people was similar in sound to *piśāca* and
that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as
the dialect of the *Piśācas*, meaning demons. The nation of the
Piśāca or *Paiśāca*, except in the passage of the *Mahābhārata* referred to
above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the
Kekaya and *Bāhlika*, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a
Mg. dialect (§ 24), *Kuntala* and *Gāndhāra* are mentioned very frequently.
According to *Daśarūpa*, 2, 60, the *Piśāca* or *Māgadha* language is espe-
cially spoken by the *Piśācas*, the people of lowly origin, etc. According
to *Sarasvatik.* 56, 19; *Sāhityad.* p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the
Piśāca; *Bhojadeva*, *Sarasvatik.* 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by
high class characters: *nātyuttamapātraḥ prayojyā piśācī śuddhā*. The example

given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpaśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rôles, according to Sarasvatik. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Paśāci at the same time, by means of the popular play of words *bhāṣāśleṣa*, which is comparatively easier in Paśāci than in any other Prākṛit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Śaurasenī is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that, of CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do strictly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. *matana*=*madana*; *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; P. *patesa*=*pradeśa*; CP. *nakara*=*nagara*; *kiri*=*giri*; *mekha*=*megha*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *rācā*=*rajā*; *cimūta*=*jimūta* etc. (§ 190. 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including *na* into which is transformed also *ṇa* and the change *la* into *ḷa*. HOERNLE², on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to *ṇa* into *na* and *la* into *ḷa*, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART³ was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadic cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Shābhāzgarhī⁴, in the Lāt⁵-dialect and in the Leṇa-dialect⁶; in the NIA. languages the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dardū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages⁷ and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the north-west in India.⁸ P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa (Kathāsarits. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Brhatkathā. 6, 52; Bālarāmaṇya 8, 4, 5; Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by *grāmyabhāṣā*, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, Alankāratilaka 15, 13, was composed Bhimakāvya. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Brhatkathā was written in P. by Guṇādhyā,⁹ whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER¹⁰ as the first or second century A. D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316. 320. 322. 323¹¹ and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Paśāci respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibāṣikas, are said to have used Paśāci¹²

1. An introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Shābhāzgarhī 1, 172 ff.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*kamboca*), 376 (*paṭi-pāṭayacham*, etc.); 397 (*tuphe*, etc.) 6. HULTZ, ZDMG. 37, 549; 40, 66, note 5.—7. MIKLOSICH Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I, II (Wien 1874) p. 15 ff.; IV. (Wien 1878) p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khāl*=Hindi *ghūr* in FISCHER, Beiträge Zur Kenntnis der deutschen Zigeuner (Halle a. S. 1894) p. 42 and *Kaṣa khās*=Gyp. *khas*=Hindi *ghās*=Skt. *ghāsa*.—8. FISCHER, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Guṇādhyā was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir. as is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL,—Vāsavadatā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22f., note.; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 302ff., LEVI, JA., 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷaṃkāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 33. I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāsarits. 11, 48, 49 agrees in

certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEW, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BENEY) 1,248, note 3. (St. Petersburg, 1860).

§ 28. Apabhramśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one—, i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prākṛit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-416, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms *dhruṃ*, *traṃ* (4,360) *tudhra* (4,372), *prassadi* (4,393), *brōṣṣiṇu*, *brōṣṣi* (4,391), *grhanti*, *grnhēṣṣiṇu*, (4,341. 394. 438), *vrāṣu* (4,399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds *ka*, *kha*, *ta* *tha*, *pa*, *pha* generally become *ga*, *gha*, *da*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.¹ The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramorvaśi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognizes 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Paisāci (§ 27). Similarly Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (*sūkṣmabhedatvāt*), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, *nāgara*, *vrācaḍa* and *upanāgarra*, a classification that is adopted also in Ki. 5, where the second variety has been designated as *vrācaṭa*. The chief variety of A. is Nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vrācaḍa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: *sindhudeśedbhavo vrācaḍopabhramśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of *y* before *c* and *j*, and the change of *śa* and *sa* into *śa*—the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Prthvidhara to the dialect of Śākāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial *ta*, *da* into *ṭa*, *ḍa*, and as it seems, the retention of *ṛ*, with the exception of *bhr̥tya*, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vrācaḍa springs Upanāgara. Ki. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also *Śākkī* or *Sakkī* as an Apabhramśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ehu*² *je* = *eṣa yadi*, found in Piṅgala 1, 4^a, according to Ravikara in BOLLENSEN on Vikra. 527, belong to Vārendrī bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengal.³ On Dhakkī, see §25. Thus it is clear that A. extended from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prākṛit. Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahaṭṭhabhāṣā⁴ = Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varnamarkaṭi, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prākṛtaiḥ avahaṭṭhakaiḥ*. Hc., in Deśin. 1,37 says that *avajjhāo* = *upādhyāyaḥ* has not been mentioned by him as it has *prākṛtam apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Apabhramśa word *āśiao* is equivalent to *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara, 17, 141, the pure

Māhārāṣṭrī words *eso tho kkhū majjāro*⁵ are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A., therefore, actually is *prakṛto'pabhraṁśaḥ*, "Prākṛit—Apabhraṁśaḥ". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the inchedible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language not in a small measure (§ 6).

1. PISCHEL, Hc. I, IX.—2. BOLLENSEN has *eho* in the text and *eha* in the commentary; in the Bombay edition the text has *eo*.—3. B. R. s. v. Varendra and Vārendra.—4. The Bombay edition has everywhere. *haḥ*^o. Cf. Sarasvatik. 59.9.—5. BROCKHAUS gives the wrong form *majjhāo*; DURGA PRASAD and PARAB correctly read *khu*.

§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. 3,3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyutpattidīpikā of Udayasubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇā MSS¹. The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūṇḍhikā and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts² used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A.; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasāi. As already noted by ZACHARIAE³, the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatik. p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11^a (p. 36), 4,330,2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17^a (p. 47), and in 2,27¹ (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420,5 is found also in Sarasvatik., p. 158, and Hc. 4,367,5 is found even in Śukasaptati, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovāṣi pp. 55-72. Unfortunately SHANKAR P. PANDIT⁴ and BLOCH⁵ have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged,⁶ and, as shown by KONOW,⁷ are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Piṅgalachandaśūtra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by BOLLENSEN in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaṣi, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT,⁸ who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India.⁹ The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvya-mālā (41), of Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha Bhaṭṭa by ŚIVADATTA and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Piṅgala of this edition with that of GOLDSCHMIDT upto 2, 140.¹⁰ In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of GOLDSCHMIDT was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the

critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by JACOB, pp. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatik. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa 139, 11; 162,3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Ānandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by RICHARD SCHMIDT (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā, edited by UHLE., p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Sinhāsanadvātrimśikā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248., and in BEAMES, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt that we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alaṅkāratilaka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abdhimathana as a work written in A.

1. SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR. A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.—2. Hc. 1-IX.—3. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—4. Vikramorvaṣīyam (Bombay 1879) p. 9 ff.—5. Vararuci und Hemcandra p. 15ff.—6. PISCHEL. GN. 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin 1875, 613. Even Pañcatantra and the Mahābhārata are abridged in the south Indian recensions, but they are by no means the oldest.—7. GGA. 1894, 475.—8. WEBER, Verzeichniss, 2, 1, 269ff.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 336 ff.; 2, 75, where it has been correctly remarked that in our texts spurious passages are found in quite a good number. Thus for example a quotation from Karpūramañjarī p. 199. 200. 211. —10. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270, Nr. 1711.

§30. According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31-44¹; Daśarūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhityad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers' daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākṛit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākṛit; Mālātī and Madayantikā, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākṛit in Mālātīmādhava; the harlot Vasantasenā speaks mostly in Prākṛit in Mṛcchakatikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages:² *gaṇ'yā...cāṣaṭṭhikalāpandīā cāṣaṭṭhī gaṇ'yāguṇovavejā...aṭṭhārasadesibhāsa-visāroyā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was concomitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Śiva and Pārvatī, in two languages, Śiva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvatī, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākṛit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5.3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and

usage", expresses his readiness to speak in Prākṛit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākṛit Pṛthivīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation : *strīṣu nā prākṛitaṃ vadet*. From all this it is gathered that Prākṛit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Mālatī in Mālatīm. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā p. 253; Sitā in Prasannarāghava, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalahamsikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karmas. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrikā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardī, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāh. the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikām., Mallikā, pp. 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālīkā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 78, 14; 251, 3; Kālindī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anaṅga-senā, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddharakṣitā cites Mālatīm p. 242, Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Vidūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (*amhārisajajogge pādumagge*), in Karmas. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Kāmasavadha p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas. p. 9, and in Hāsy. p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 73ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82, 2 he introduces himself as a Prākṛit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākṛit poem³, and another one (H. 2=Vajjālagga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākṛit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarasvatik. 57, 8, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Sāhasāṅka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.⁴ Notwithstanding the praise of Prākṛit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately "common", "general", "inferior" which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful. 2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāyādh. §121; and Rāyap. §291. In Kāmasūtra 33, 9 only the deśabhāṣāḥ in general are referred to.—3. FISCHER, Hc. 2, p. 44, on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are—to Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rājasekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarasvatik. who has borrowed it from him.

B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākṛit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at

fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts¹, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratīya-nāṭyaśāstra²; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākṛit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākṛit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Saṅgītanṭyākara.³ According to DEVIPRASĀDA⁴ this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nāṭyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Śākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Śākalya, beside *tujjesu* and *tumbhesu*, reads also *tujjhisu* and *tumbhisu*, which were not acceptable to many (*etat tu na bahusammatam*) and according to fol. 71, in Ś., beside *bhodi*, occurs also *hodi*⁵. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians⁶. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛitakṣaṇa, a Prākṛit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikaṇṭhapāśa⁷ and Malayagiri⁸. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pātālavijaya and Jāmbavatīvijaya⁹. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms *grhya* and *paśyatī* that go against Pāṇini's own rules 7, 1, 37. 81 KIELHORN¹⁰ and BHĀṆDARKAR¹¹ are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed¹² to be. The word *grhya* is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in *-atī*, instead of those in *-antī*, are not rare.¹³ It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtras,¹⁴ and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian¹⁵, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākṛit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākṛit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions also one Kapila.

1. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of ŚIVADATTA and PARAB (Bombay 1894=Kāvya-mālā 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pūnā; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of GROSSET (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhyāya only.—3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 396. 686—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 2. 3.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 130 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākṛit grammarian. Cf. also WEBER IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without any mention of its author (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 86: 2, 16). It is ascribed to Kedārabhaṭṭa by D'ALWIS; An introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. XXV. Cf. WEBER, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. WEBER, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 472; LEUMANN, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 2, 557 f.—9. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 366 ff; Halāyudha s. v. sṛkvan; PETERSON, Subhāshitāvali (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff., who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 95ff. 316.—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBoAS. 16, 343ff.—12. BÜHLER, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. BHĀṆDĀRKAR I.C.—13. HOLTZMANN, Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig. 1884); BÖHTLINGK, BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on WHITNEY §449. 990.—14. LIEBICH,

Panini Leipzig 1891) p. 47 ff. The conclusion drawn by him from the Bhagvadgītā, p. 32 ff., as shown above, cannot be proved.—15. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36,365ff; PISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 97f.

§ 32. The oldest of the Prākṛit grammars that we possess is Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name¹, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown² author of the commentary Prākṛtamañjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci.³ This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Brhatkathāmañjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇādhya⁴ and reaches down upto Sāyaṇa⁵, and the lexicographers⁶ fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Saduktikarṇāmṛta contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikakāra⁷, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone⁸, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 (2,315 ed. KIELHORN) mentions *vārurucam kāyam*⁹. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikakāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali¹⁰ and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya¹¹. WEBER¹² has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, and he¹³, WESTERGAARD¹⁴ and BLOCH¹⁵ have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikakāra with the Prākṛit grammarian, that is against the view of COWELL¹⁶, MAXMÜLLER¹⁷, PISCHEL¹⁸ and KONOW¹⁹. When even Vr. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikakāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigator of Pāṇini"²⁰. By the time of Hc. Prākṛit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vr., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vr., more particularly Māhārāṣṭrī, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāsika inscriptions proves nothing at all²¹. Because the Prākṛits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākṛit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasaī be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by JACOB and BLOCH, that Māhārāṣṭrī did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākṛit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology.²² The Gītagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṃśa²³; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākṛit²⁴. The assumption of

BLOCH that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of *Prākṛtamañjarī*, confused the two Vararuci, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan *Tārānātha*. Then there is the tradition that *Kātyāyana* was a *Prākṛit* grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name *Vārttikārnayabhāṣya*, a work taken to be a grammar of *Prākṛit* and mentioned by *Appayadikṣita*, *Prākṛitam-ānidīpa* 5, among his sources of information, immediately after *vārarucā granthāḥ*, corroborates it. The identity of *Kātyāyana* with *Vararuci* can not naturally be looked upon as certain.

1. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,551.—2. In OPPERT, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, (Madras 1880. 1885) 1,290, No. 3426 and 2, 371, No. 6341 *Kātyāyana* is mentioned as the author.—3. PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. 10 f.—4. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 473.—5. COWELL, The *Prākṛita*-*Prakāśa*, Second Issue. Advertisement; PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 9. Cf. also *Prakriyākāumudiprasāda* in BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report 1883/84, p. 362, 18.—6. B. R. S. v. *Kātyāyana*.—7. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 524.—8. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 98. The *Prākṛtamañjarī* speaks about *mahākavi Kātyāyana*.—9. In what respect does this sort of reference to this *kāvya* in the *Mahābhāṣya* warrant the statement, "that this reference to bhagavān *Kātyāḥ*, as the author of this *Kāvya*, does not hold good for *Vararuci* as its author" WEBER, Istr. 3,227), I do not understand.—10. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 370.—11. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 474.—12. Istr. 3,378.—13. Istr. 2, 53ff; 3,27, ff.—14. Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Litteratur (Breslau 1862) p. 86.—15. Vr. und Hc. p. 9 ff.—16. The *Prākṛita*-*Prakāśa*², p. VI.—17. HASL. p. 148. 239ff.—18.—De gr. Pr. p. 9. ff.—19. GGA. 1864, 473.—20. WEBER, Istr. 3,278.—21. WESTERGAARD l. c.; JACOBI, Erzählungen p. xiv f.; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 12f.—22. PISCHEL, Hofdichter p. 30.—23. PISCHEL, l. c. p. 27.—24. PISCHEL, Rudraṭa's *Śṛṅgāratilaka* (Kiel 1886) p. 13 note 1.

§ 33. In any case, if *Vararuci* is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest *Prākṛit* grammarians. The title of his grammar is *Prākṛitaprakāśa*, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL: *The Prākṛita Prakāśa*: or *The Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuci*, with the Commentary (*Manoramā*) of *Bhāmaha*. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in *paricchedas* 1-9, M., in 10, P., in 11, Mg., and in 12, Ś. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity¹. The oldest of its commentators was *Bhāmaha*, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet². His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than *Udbhata*, who lived under the king *Jayāpīḍa* of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of *Bhāmaha*³. *Bhāmaha*'s commentary on the *Prākṛitaprakāśa* bears the title *Manoramā*⁴ and is lacking in *pariccheda* 12. Undoubtedly *Bhāmaha* misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14.⁵ It is uncertain if he had ever understood the *gaṇas*⁶ exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the *sūtras* and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of *Bhāmaha* from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2. 4-7. 9-17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given *hūm sāhasu⁷ sabbhāvaṃ*=H. 453 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has *hūm*. According to *Bhuvanapāla* (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is *Viṣṇunātha*: under 9,9 occurs *kiṇo dhuvasi*=H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to *Bhuvanapāla* (IS. 16, 120) it is of *Devarāja*. I cannot trace the remaining ones: the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from *Bṛhatkathā*. In 9,4 the *Gāthās* are generally referred to. A later

commentary is the *Prākṛtamañjarī* of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character : it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London⁸ and is incomplete and extends upto Vr. 6, 18. The author evidently knew *Bhāmaha*. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller than that of those given by *Bhāmaha*, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there ; his text differs in many places from that of COWELL.⁹ The commentary is not of a high value.

I COWELL p. 97 ; FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 10, 13 ; BÜHLER, Detailed Report p. 75 ; HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f.—2. AUFRECHT, IS. I 6, 207f : Cat. Cat. 1.405f. ; PETERSON *Subhāsitāvalī* p. 79 ; FISCHER, *Rudraṭa* p. 6f.—3. FISCHER, *Rudraṭa* p. 13—4. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360, wrongly calls it *Prākṛtamanoramā*. Wrong is also the statement that it is called *Prākṛtacandrikā* as well. Both the statements are based upon KIELHORN, A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces (Nagpur 1874) p. 84. No. 44. All the other sources quoted by AUFRECHT have *Manoramā*. The manuscript referred to by HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f. ascribes it to Vararuci himself.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 28.—6. It is not, therefore, certain that the *gaṇas* did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 31. As in Sanskrit, so in *Prākṛit* as well, the schools were differing from one another.—7. We must read as such in lieu *sāhusu* in COWELL and *kadhehi sāhusu* in TAILANGA, and in the translation it is to be changed into *sādhusu*.—8. Noted by AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat, 1, 360.—The more important ones in FISCHER, De. Gr. Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to *Caṇḍa*, whose *Prākṛtalakṣaṇam* has been published by HOERNLE : The *Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam* or *Caṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit*. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. HOERNLE is of the view that *Caṇḍa* had treated *Ārṣa* (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts : he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known *Prākṛit* grammarians. Against this BLOCH¹ thinks "the grammar of *Caṇḍa* is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of Hemacandra." Both the views are incorrect. That *Caṇḍa* is not so old as he is considered to be by HOERNLE is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (*vyddhamatāt*). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of HOERNLE as well as in PETERSON, Third Report (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in BHANDARKAR, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot presumably be considered, in agreement with HOERNLE, p. 1, note to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B, C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMg. and JS. side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-*āṇam* is mentioned by the side of that in-*āham*; in 2, 10, the nominative in-*e* is taught close to that in-*o*; in 2, 19, the absolutive in M., JM, AMg., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11. 12 the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one². This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26^a (p. 42) occurs A. *haū* by the side of *ham* and *aham*; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolutive of M. AMG., JM., JS' and

A; likewise in 2, 27^{e-1}. the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27^k, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11^a furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39^a is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear to be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning; 1, 11^a (p. 36) is=Hc. 4. 353; 2, 1^c (p. 37) is=Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11^a (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4, 325, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51)=Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspondences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by HOERNLE, p. XXII. There C. teaches that *se* is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc. 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of *se* in the genitive plural as well : *idantador āmāpi se ādeśam kaścid icchatī*. BLOCH³, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form *kaścit* in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of BLOCH with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. and in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says *kaścit* thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by HOERNLE p. XXIII^f.⁴ I shall, however, just add the example *caivīśam.... pi....* given under C. 2, 12^a (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1^b (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called *uddhṛta*, but in Hc. 1, 8 it is designated as *udhṛta*; C. 2, 10 has Visarjaniya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānusvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāsika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21, 22, 24; 3, 38, 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 21^b and 2, 27^f (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Āṛṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of *t*, *th*, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings-*ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.⁵ Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is note-worthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Paisāciki in 3, 38, Māgadhiḱā in 3, 39, Āṛṣa in 2, 13^{a-b} (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Saurasenī is mentioned 3, 39^a (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1^c (p. 37) is=Gaṇḍavaho (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26^a (p. 42) *teṇ*aham viddho* is clearly Hāla 441⁶. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and

was one of his authorities. The very fact that G. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (*vihaktividhāna*): in the second section he treats the vowels (*svaravidhāna*) and in the third, the consonants (*vyañjanavidhāna*). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39^a the fourth section and give to it the heading *bhāṣāntaravidhāna* "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prākṛit dialects like M., JM., AMg., and JŚ., and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work *Prākṛitabhāṣāntaravidhānā* as in BÜHLER (ZDMG. 42, 556) and BHĀṆDĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); BÜHLER and BHĀṆDĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candra.⁷ The extract quoted in BHĀṆDĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀṆDĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, *Prākṛitasāroddhāravṛttiḥ*, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to Ś. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 2¹ (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prākṛit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Apābhraṃsā. It has to be read as:—*kālu, laheviṇu joīa jīva jīva mohu galei tiṇa tiṇa dāmsaṇu lahaī jo nīameṇ appu mūci*, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". *joīa* is not=*jāyāyā*, but=*yogikaḥ*=*yogī* from *yogin*.—5. On t cf. §203.—6. cf. §417, note 2.—7. Caṇḍa is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candra, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBICH, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Caṇḍa.

§35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapālā, whose dictionary of synonyms, the *Pāiṇyalacchī*, that is *Prākṛitalakṣmīḥ*, has been published by BÜHLER: The *Pāiṇyalacchī Nāmamālā*, a Prakṛit Kosha, by Dhanapālā, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166^a). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapālā composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakheta was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundarī.¹ In stanza 1, he calls his work a *Nāmamālā*, and in 278 he designates it as *Deśī*=*Deśī*. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the *Deśīs* constitute only a quarter of the words of the lexicon, all others are either *tatsamas* or *tadbhavas* (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value.² It contains 279 stanzas in the Āryā metre, and the first one is the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapālā is acknowledged by Hc., *Deśīn*. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in *Pāiṇyalacchī* (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapālā had written another work of the same³ type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote *Rṣabhapañcāśikā*.

1. Details in BÜHLER p. 5 ff.—2. BÜHLER p. 13ff.—3. Vide §20; BÜHLER p. 9; KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see BÜHLER p. 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36. Of the Prākṛit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Prākṛit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra¹, whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the Br̥hati—and the other, the Laghu-vṛtti²; of them the Laghuvṛtti bears the name Prakāśikā and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Samvat 1929, and PISCHEL : Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil 1. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the Vṛtti, Udayasubhāgyagaṇin wrote an etymological commentary, Haimaprākṛtavṛttidibhūṇḍikā, under the title Vyutpattidīpikā, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendracandrasūri wrote a running commentary named Prākṛtaprabodha³. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections : of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Śaurasenī in 260-286, Māgadhī in 287-302, Paisāci in 303-324, Cūlikāpaisācīkā in 325-328, Apabhraṃśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also JM. and occasionally even JŚ., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JŚ. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer⁴, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as *kaścit* (2,80 : 3,81); *kecit* (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 19. 25. 103. 153); *anyaḥ* (3, 103. 117); *anye* (1, 35. 88; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); *anyaiḥ* (4, 2); *anyeṣām* (4, 327) *eke* (1, 35). JACOB⁵ is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vr. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojidikṣita had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his Siddhāntakaumudī. The sūtras of Vr. were irrefutably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākṛit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vr. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong⁶, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH⁷. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vr. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the Deśināmamālā or the Deśīśabdasamgraha, that was designated as Rāyaṇāvalī = Skt. Ratnāvalī, by the author himself (8,77). According to the evidence available at pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PISCHEL : The Deśināmamālā of Hemchandra, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880⁸. Like Dhanapāla (§35) Hc. also included tatsamas and tadbhavas under Deśī, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākṛit it is extraordinarily essential. The Deśināmamālā is divided into alphabetically

arranged eight Vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (*ekārthāḥ*), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (*anekārthāḥ*). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly: it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Deśī, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Deśī words⁹. Hc. has written a commentary to his Deśīn. as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation from earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether *ambasamī* or *ambasā* is the correct form to the learned, (*ambasāṣi ke ci paṭhanti tatra keṣāṃ cid bhramobhrahmo veti bahudrśvāna eva pramāṇam*); in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of *acchiharullo* and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (*tad evaṃ granthakṛdvipratipattlau bahujñāḥ pramāṇam*); in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words *avaḍāhia* and *avaḍakkia*, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Deśī (*asmābhis tu sāradeśinirīkṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ*); in 1, 105 he firmly holds that *udduhia* in lieu of *uttuhia* remains due to scribe's error; likewise in 6, 8 *bora* occurs in lieu of *cora*. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Deśī in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12. 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Deśī and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (*kevalaṃ saḥydayāḥ pramāṇam*). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1, 49 he does it for students. He refers by name to Abhimānaci hna (1, 144; 6, 93; 7, 1; 8, 12. 17); Avantisundarī (1, 81. 157); Devarāja (6, 58. 72; 8, 17); Droṇa or Droṇācārya (1, 18. 50; 6, 7; 8, 17); Dhanapāla (1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17); Gopāla (1, 25. 31. 45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6, 26. 58. 72; 7, 2. 76; 8, 1. 17. 67); Pādalipta (1, 2); Rāhulaka (4, 4); S'ilāṅka (2, 20; 6, 96; 8, 40); Sātavāhana (3, 41; 5, 11; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125). Of them, Abhimānaci hna, Devarāja, Pādalipta and Sātavāhana appear also as Prākṛit poets in the Sattasāi (§13) as well; about Avantisundarī BÜHLER¹⁰ conjectures that she might have been identical with Sundarī, the younger sister of Dhanapāla, for whom he wrote Pāiyalacchī. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Deśī it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with Avantisundarī, the wife of Rājasekhara, on whose inducement, according to Karp. 7, 1, the Karpūramañjarī, a drama wholly written in Prākṛit, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. Rāhulaka is referred to as a Sanskrit poet in Śaraṅgadharapaddhati and Subhāsitāvali. From among the writers in Sanskrit Hc. refers by name to Kālāpāḥ (1, 6), Bharata (8, 72), Bhāmaha (8, 39), and without naming him he cites Halāyudha (1, 5; 2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus *anye* (1, 3. 20. 22. 35. 47. 52. 62. 63. 65. 66. 70. 72. 75. 78. 87. 89. 99. 100. 102. 107. 112. 151. 160. 163; 2, 11. 12. 18. 24. 26. 29. 36. 45. 47. 50. 51. 66. 67. 69. 77. 79. 89. 98; 3, 3. 6. 8. 28. 40. 41. 58. 59.; 4, 3. 4. 6. 7. 18. 22. 23. 26. 33. 44. 47; 5, 9. 30. § 3. 36. 40. 45. 50. 61;

6, 14, 15, 16, 21, 24, 25, 26, 28, 42, 48, 53, 54, 61, 63, 75, 81, 86, 88, 91, 93, 94, 97, 99, 105, 106, 116, 121, 132, 134, 140, 145; 7, 2, 16, 17, 18, 21, 31, 33, 37, 44, 45, 48, 62, 68, 69, 74, 75, 76, 88, 91; 8, 10, 15, 18, 22, 27, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 59, 67); *eke* (2, 89; 4, 5, 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); *kaścit* (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); *kecit* (1, 5, 26, 34, 37, 41, 46, 47, 67, 79, 103, 105, 117, 120, 129, 131, 153; 2, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 29, 33, 38, 58, 87, 89; 3, 10, 12, 22, 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 55; 4, 4, 10, 15, 45; 5, 12, 21, 44, 58; 6, 4, 55, 80, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 110, 111; 7, 2, 3, 6, 47, 58, 65, 75, 81, 93; 8, 4, 51, 69, 70); *pūrvācāryāḥ* (1, 11, 13); *yad āha* (1, 4, 5 [Halāyudha], 37, 75, 121, 171; 2, 33, 48, 98 [Halāyudha]; 3, 23, 54 [Skt.]; 4, 4, 10, 21, 24, 45; 5, 1, 63; 6, 15, 42, 78, 81, 93, 140, 142; 7, 46, 58, 84; 8, 1, 13, 43, 68); *yad āhuḥ* (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other expressions (1, 18, 94, 144, 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8, 58, 93; 8, 12, 17, 28). In spite of so much of care taken by him in utilization of the writings of his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in 2, 24 he says that *kaṇṭhadiṇāra* means "an opening in a fence" (*ṽrtivivara*), and again in 6, 67 he teaches that *paero* also means "an opening in a fence" (*ṽrtivivara*), in addition to "a particular ornament" (*kaṇṭhadiṇāra*). Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom. *kaṇṭhadiṇāra*, in lieu of the locative *re*, and with the help thereof he construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by him earlier. *kaṇṭhadiṇāra* is certainly an ornament made from Denar that is worn about the neck. *poālo* "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word as *voālo* (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its preceding form.¹¹ As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the first rank"¹² that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākṛit.

1. BÜHLER, Ueber das Leben Das Jaina Mönches Hemachandra (Wien 1889) p. 15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 31.—3. In AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360 the author is said to be Naracandra. According to PETERSON, Det. Report (1883) p. 127, No. 300 and BHĀNDĀRKAR, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandrasūri. The MS. was lent out when I wanted to utilize it.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1889, 996, note 1; Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kos'a) (Strassburg 1897; Grundriss 1. 3a) p. 7; Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Mañkhakośa (Wien 1899) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1876, 797.—6. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 145.—7. Vr. und Hc. p. 21 ff.—8. Found by BÜHLER, IA.2, 17 ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the dictionary, FISCHER Deśin. p. 8.—10. Pāyālacchī-p. 7ff.—11. Another example in SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadiśvara. Scholars have attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE¹ has correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Kī. lived later than Hc. and that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition that Kī. had written his grammar before Hc. Kī.'s grammar Saṁkṣiptasāra, like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.² As regards the antiquity of Kī. it is noteworthy that a quotation in his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited by him is Murāri,³ about whom we now definitely know that he was anterior to Ratnākara,⁴ the author of Haravijaya,⁴ who lived in about the middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit

to the age of Kī. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Kī. The chapter on the Root has been published by DELIUS: *Radices Pracriticae* (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the Prākṛtapāda is said to have been published by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA in the Bibliotheca Indica-Series.⁵ It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from *bhādūko* up to *saddāviadi*,⁶ and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of BLOCH, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in LASSEN. Kī. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in LASSEN. Inst., App. pp. 40. ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A. is well in contrast to that of Vr. Kī. himself wrote a short commentary to his Saṁkṣiptasāra, wherof the Rasavati of Jumarānandin is a careful exposition and elucidation.⁷ The Prākṛtadipikā of Caṇḍidevaśarman⁸ is a second commentary on the Prākṛtapāda only. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁹ names a third one: The Prākṛtapādatīkā of Vidyāvinodā "son of Nārāyaṇa, grand'son of Vāṇeśvara, and great grand'son of Jaṭādhara". He is followed by AUFRECHT,¹⁰ who, as already remarked elsewhere¹¹, calls the author Vidyāvinodācārya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the Saṁkṣiptasāra had, by then, not been printed.¹² The introduction, that RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of AUFRECHT, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bāṇeśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother's name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinodā.¹³ It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the Prākṛtapāda is a commentary on Kī. In the subscripts the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya¹⁴ and his work Prākṛtapāda; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.

1. BB. 5, 26.—2. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 26. At the end of the eighth Pāda Kī. treats briefly Metrics and Rhetorics.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 58.—4. PETERSON, *Subhāsitāvali* p. 91.—5. cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Part first. Grammar.* (Calcutta 1877) p. 75; BHĀṆḌĀRAR, JBoAS. 16, 250.—6. This note does not belong to the book proper, rather it contains a number of Prākṛit words quoted from Vr., Mīrch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn., Veniś., Mālatīm., Uttar., Mahāv., Cait., Piṅgala., and Sāhityadarpaṇa.—7. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15; ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 22 f.; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—8. LASSEN, Inst. p. 16; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—9. Notices of Sanskrit MSS. 4, 162 ff. (Calcutta 1878).—10. Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—11. Cat. Oxon. p. 181.—12. De gr. Pr. p. 19.—13. The introduction is very much obscure, and it is doubtful if the foregoing explanation is correct. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181. In the Cat. Cat. 2, 212, AUFRECHT has the explanation quoted by me, and that clearly in following PETERSON's Ulwar Catalogue that is not available. The work is there designated simply as Prākṛtavā-
karaṇa.

§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his Prākṛtavāyākaraṇa. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand'son of Ādityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell

Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004¹, that BURNELL had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarśanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar² Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work.³ From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc. whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc, I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Deśī; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated deśyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudrīya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4⁴ Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A.D.⁵ In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (*purā kila*). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva,⁶ who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri,⁷ who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A.D.⁸ Thus we see that the hypothesis of AUFRECHT that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A.D.⁹ is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.

1. BURNELL, Classified Index 1,43.—2. Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras as well. In De gr. Pr. p. 29, I had wrongly interpreted *nija* in *nijasūtramārgam* as referring to Trivikrama himself. The title of the work is Prākṛtavākyākaraṇa and not *vytti* as is shown by an inscription that occurs in the commentary itself.—3. Communicated by PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. pp. 34-37.—4. PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 38.—5. SEWELL, A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India (Madras 1883), p. 33.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 113.—7. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 616.—8. SEWELL, l.c. p. 114.—9. Cat. Oxon p. 113.

§39. Simharāja, the son of Samudrabandhayajvan, based his Prākṛtarūpāvatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayalam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Simharāja, following the style of Kaumudī, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (*saṃjñāvivihāga*, *paribhāṣāvivihāga*) and a *saṃhitāvivihāga* on the *saṃdhi* and *lopa*, immediately with declension (*subantavivihāga*; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (*tiṇantavivihāga*; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on *dhātuvādeśa*, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (*śaurasenyaḍvivihāga*; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: *vrkṣa* for the *a*-stems, *agni* for the *i*-stems, *taru* for the *u*-stems, *khalapū* for the *ū*-stems and *bhrātṛ* for the *r*-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākṛit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns *yusmad* and *asmad*, the verbs whereof he gives *has* and *sah* as paradigms in the same manner.¹ The Prākṛtarūpāvatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-

times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthaśarman has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the Prākṛtānanda.² Similar is the treatment of Lakṣmīdhara in Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā³ and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in Ṣaḍbhāṣā-subantarūpādarśa, a "superficial tract"⁴ on declension.

1. Details in PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 39-43.—2. HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1888o, 100 ff.—3. BURNELL, Classified Index p. 43. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 11-15.—4. BURNELL l.c. p. 44.

§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. JM. AMg. JS'. important is the Prākṛtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgarī character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, foll 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed Piṅgalavyākaraṇa (Nāgarī script) and Pengale Prakrota Surva Bhala Vakaraṇaḥ (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as Pengala praukrota Surva Bhausha Vyacaranum. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgarī script: *śrīrāmāḥ¹ piṅgalaprākṛtasarvasvabhāṣāvyākaraṇam*. The second is the Oxford MS. mentioned in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopelessly so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for Ś. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between Ś. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of TAWNEY. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by AUFRECHT, l.c. it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. AUFRECHT conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to STERLING, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhāmaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, which, as assumed by COWELL¹ and AUFRECHT,² is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: *taduktam prākṛtasañjivinyām prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtam yoniḥ* (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja,³ the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema⁴, seems to me⁵ to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a Nāṭyaśāstra, Vasantarājīyam,⁶ hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.⁷ If the two Vasantarājas were identical in all events the age of MK. must have been later than the first quarter of the 15th century. Vasantarāja, who wrote Śākuna, is, with HULTZSCH,⁸ to be differentiated from the Prākṛit grammarian. MK. mentions in his work one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, Kapila, Piṅgala, Rājaśekhara, Vākpātirāja, the Saptasatī and the Setubandha⁹ as well. Chronologically the youngest of the above-mentioned authors is Bhojadeva, the writer of Rājamaṅgaṅka, the famous treatise on Karaṇa. He lived in about Śaka-Saṃvat 964=1042-3 A.D.¹⁰ MK. begins with a preamble containing an introduction on the Prākṛit dialects from which all that is essential has been detailed in the foregoing paragraphs; in the beginning

he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 4^b—65^b). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vr., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65^b—72^b) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas. Prācyā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvantī and Bāhlikī in the 11th, and Mg. with a reference to AMg. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivecanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by *vibhāṣāh* (§3), in 17.18 by A., and in 19. 20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Śauraseni the language described most accurately is Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vr. p. x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows EI. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly HULTZSCH, p. 327.—4. The name Kāṭeyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 1873, 201 f. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 changes the correct name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kāṭavema. The inscriptions, EI. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāṭeyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prākṛta-maṇjari, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; EI. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. HULTZSCH, EI. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. THIBAUT, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1899; Grundriss III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatarkavāgiśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. LASSEN has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-23. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv. worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Laṅkeśvara, whereby is meant the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prākṛtalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa, or shortly also as Laṅkeśvara.¹ Of the Prākṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments². If this Laṅkeśvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvya-mālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares saṃvat 1928), cites³ its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.⁴ and later than that of Rāmatarkavāgiśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prākṛtaśabdapradipikā of Narasimha, whereof the beginning⁵ has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Grantha-pradarśanī Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Śubhacandra wrote one Śabdacintāmaṇi, which, according to HOERNLE⁶ contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Simharāja (§38. 39) he begins his grammar with a number of Saṃjñāsūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA⁷ as Audāryacintāmaṇi and is ascribed to one Śubhaśāgara.⁸ An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which PETERSON, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛsimha, or according to 348, 21 Narasimha, whereby perhaps the author of Prākṛtaśabdapradipikā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (*śiṣuhitam kurve prākṛtacandrikām*), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Ārṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that

he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāradvāja p. 348. A Prākṛtacandrikā was written by Vāmanācārya, who calls himself Karañjakavisārvabhauma and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgala as well.⁹ A compendium for beginners is Prākṛtamanidipa of Appayadikṣita,¹⁰ the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmīdhara, Bhoja, Puṣpānātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikārṇavabhāṣya and also Appayajvan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3. 5. 6. 8-10. 13 in the Granthapradarśanī Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakaumudī,¹¹ a Prākṛtavvyākaraṇa of Samantabhadra¹², etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candrasekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhityadarpaṇa 174, 2: Candrasekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara in his commentary on Śakuntalā 175, 24, ed. PISCHEL, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākṛit. From Deśiprakāśa, quotes Pṛthivīdhara on Mṛcch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. STENZLER=40, 5 p. 503, ed. GODABOLE: *kāṇelī kanyakāmātā*. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākṛit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 9, 239, No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvaṇa, and the colophon reads as *iti rāvaṇakṛtā prākṛitakāmadhenuḥ samāptā*. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛitalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa. LASSEN, Inst. p. 9, considers according to COLEBROOKE, Prākṛitalaṅkeśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛitakāmadhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with LEYDEN, ascribes to Vidyāvinoda. In Rāmatarakavāgīśa (LASSEN, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Laṅkeśvara. The author of Śivastuti and Kālāgnirudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvaṇa. That this Rāvaṇa "is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster" as he is usually believed to be can with RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA be easily accepted. 2. The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 238 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5, 6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhraṃśa of Piṅgala.—3. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Kāvyaṃālā 1, 7, note 1.—4. Kāvyaṃālā 1, 91 note 1; EI. 4, 271.—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed.—6. I A. 2, 29.—7. Proc. ASB. 1875, 77.—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 952.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 337. 360. 564. From RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākṛtacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work.—10. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who has erred in respect of time. HUTZSCH, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinabhōmmabhūpāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21. 27.—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākṛit BLOCH has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose. 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is the latter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS. as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex

silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians.” It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Śākārī and Dhakkī. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to BLOCH², for example, the circumstance that Rohasēna, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthvidhara, but Ś. in STENZLER, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadamana, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15; 158, 15 ed. CHE’ZY. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. CAPPELLER³, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadamana and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration⁴. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc.⁵ Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramas. LASSEN, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 48.—2. Vr. und Hc. p. 4.—3. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, 124.—4. JACOBI. GGA. 1888, 71—5. Hc. 2, p. vi.

§ 43. HOFER was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in *De Prakrita dialecto libri duo*, Berolini 1836¹. Almost about the same time appeared LASSEN’s *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, *die Radices Pracriticae* was published by DELIUS, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramas, the Mṛcch., Śāk., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālatīm., Uttara., Mudrār, besides Kāvya prakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, LASSEN was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śāk., and Prab. Under the conditions, LASSEN’s work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places

in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the ground work on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of WEBER on M.A. Mg., of EDUARD MÜLLER on AMg., of JACOBI on JM. are devoted to individual dialects : they will be referred to in appropriate places. COWELL, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākṛit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prākṛit words, London 1875 is based upon Vr.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal². RISHIKESH (rather more correctly Hṛṣikeśa) SASTRI, A Prakṛita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prākṛtakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. HAAG, in his *Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. HOERNLE³ has given a general survey of the history of Prākṛit—Philology and WEBER⁴ of the recent publications (1870-1881).

1. Cf. BEN ARY, *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* 1836, 863 ff.—2. Cf. PRISCHEL, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1875, 794 ff.—3. A Sketch of the History of Prakrit Philology, Calcutta Review, October 1880. Cf. Centenary Review of the ASB. Calcutta 1885) II, p. 157 ff.—4. Hāla² (Leipzig 1881) p. vii f. with note.

§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prākṛit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to LASSEN, we have come to know of AMg. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. Ā. JŚ. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. Ś. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMg. Ś. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to Ś. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMg., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prākṛit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Aśokan dialects, the Leṇa dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately

in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt. $e^{\check{}}$, δ^1 , λa (§226), and dialectically also the independent $\tilde{n}$ (§237), $\tilde{l}ha$ (§242) and the composite sounds $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}a$ (§282), yca , yja (§217), yha (§331), $\tilde{l}ha$ (§330), $\tilde{s}ka$, $\tilde{s}kh$, $\tilde{h}ka$ (§§302.324), $\tilde{s}ta$ (§310), $\tilde{s}ta$, $\tilde{s}t\tilde{h}a$ and $\tilde{s}ta$ (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds r , $\tilde{l}$, ai , au^2 , $\tilde{s}a$ except in Mg. $ci\tilde{s}thadi = ti\tilde{s}thati$ (§303), $\tilde{h}$, voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have r , na , ya , $\tilde{s}a$ and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal.³ In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound ya , that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JŚ. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by ya .

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT denies the existence of $e^{\check{}}$ and $\delta^{\check{}}$, Prākṛtica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBI, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; FISCHER, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt. ai has been retained only in the interjection ai . see §60.—3. C. 2. 14p. 18. 44; Hc. 1, 1; Triv. and Sr. in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344, 1 ff.; Kalpacūṛpi in LEUMANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1, 2, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line bha for ma , besides $saārapiṭṭhe hi be vi$, and in the sixth line something like $pāue ṇatthi$ for $pādave ṇa hvavanti$ because very often $atthi$ stands for the plural $santi$ (§498). Neither $hvavanti$ nor $hṇti-bhavanti$ fits in metrically. In line 6 read bha for ma and in line 7 read $au aḥ ba ya$. Accordingly ba as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §201.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JŚ. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly expiatory. In S. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin.¹ The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34, 568 ff.; 35, 140 ff. Besides JACOBI, ZDMG. 47, 574 ff.; KZ. 35, 578 ff.; GRIERSON, ZDMG. 49, 395 ff.

A. SONANTS AND VOWELS

1. SONANTS

§47. r was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9); $ṛnu = ṛnam$ (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmisādhū l.c.); $sukṛdu$ (Hc. 4, 329), $sukṛdam$ (Ki. 5, 16) = $sukṛtam$; $grṇhāi = grṇhāti$, $grṇhanti = grṇhanti$, $grṇhē ppiṇu = *grṇhītvīnam$ (§588) = $grṇhītvā$ (Hc. 4, 336. 34; 2. 394. 438, 1) $kṛdantaho = kṛtāntasya$ (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhraṁśa dialects r is unknown as in all the Prākṛit languages. CP. $khṛta = ghṛta$ in Ki. 5. 102 may be an incorrect reading for $khata$, as $taṭṭahitapaka = dṛḍḥahṛdayaka$ (5, 102) shows. In LASSEN Inst. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant r might be pronounced with a tinge of a —, i —and u —¹. Like the consonantal r (§287-295) the sonantal r is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter, r following a consonant is transformed into a , i , and u . On initial r , see §56. 57, and on $e^{\check{}}$ for r , §53.

1. MAHLOW, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTEL, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 128 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a r -vowel.

§48. As the vowel pronounced with *r* was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of *r* to *a* as usual and they have enumerated under *gaṇas* the words that show a change of *r* into either *i* or *u* (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Kī, 1, 27.30.32; Mk. fol. 9. 10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5 p. 15. 43) in stead of into *a*. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from M., and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in conformity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. *a* develops for *r*, e.g. in M. *ghaa*=*ghṛta* (H. 22; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. *ghaya* (C. 2. 5) [read so with the variant reading]; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 123; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; 2, 6, 1, 9. 12; 2, 134; Vivāhap. 910; Uttar. 170. 432; Kappas; Āv. 12, 12; T. 6, 4. 7; Erz.), but Ś. Mg. *ghida* (Mṛcch. 3, 12; 117, 8; 126, 5 [read so for *ghia*]).—PG. *taṇa*=*tr̥ṇa* (6,33), likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Kī. 1, 27; G. H. R.), AMg. (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 6; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 129. 810. 812; Vivāhap. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048; Jiv. 356. 464. 465; Paṇṇav. 33. 43 etc.), *taṇaga*=*tr̥ṇaka* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 18; Dasav. 623,1), *taṇaiḷla* (fatty; Jiv. 355); JM. (Kī. 12; Dvār. 502, 31; 504, 13; Erz.), Ś. (Śak. 106. 13), A. (Hc. 4,329. 334. 339); but also AMg. *tiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 313), Ś. (Vikr. 15,11), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 358, 2.—M. *kaa*=*kṛta* (Bh. 1, 27; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 77; G. H. R.); PG. *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5, 5), *kaḍa* (7, 51); AMg. *kāya* (Uvās; Ovav.) and *kaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Sūyag. 46. 74. 77. 104. 106. 133. 136. 151. 282. 368. 465; Nirāyāv.; Bhag.; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in *akaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6), *dukkāḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359; Uttar. 33), *viḡaḍa*, *viyaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 7; Sūyag. 344; Uttar. 53), *sukaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3; 2, 4, 2, 3; Uttar. 76), *saṃkhaya*=*saṃskṛta* (Sūyag. 134. 150; Uttar. 199), *purekaḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§ 306. 345), *āhakaḍa*=**yāthākṛta* (§335); JM. *kaya* (Erz.; Kk.), *dukkaya* (Pāiyāl. 53; Erz.); JŚ. Ś. *kada* (Pav. 384, 36 [Text *kaya*] Mṛcch. 3, 19; 41, 18; 52, 12; Śak. 36, 16; 105, 15; 140, 13; Vikr. 16, 12; 21, 9; 23, 8), Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 40, 5; 133, 8; 159, 22) and *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17, 8; 32, 5; 127, 23. 24 etc.), *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11, 1; 40, 4); P. *kata* (Hc. 4, 322. 323); A. *kaa* (Hc. 4, 422, 10), *kaaū*=*kṛtakah*=*kṛtaḥ* (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in Ś. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often *kida*, e.g. Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 21; 36, 4; 63, 12; Śak. 124, 7; 154, 9; 161, 5; Vikr. 33, 11; 35, 6; 72, 16; 84, 21), Mg. (Mṛcch. 112, 16; 121, 6; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where *kṛta* constitutes the second member of compounds, thus Ś. *siddhikida* (Mṛcch. 6, 11. 13; 7, 5), *purākida* (Śak. 162, 13), *paccakkhikida* Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. *duskida* (Mṛcch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in *duhāia*=*duidhākṛta* (Hc. 1, 126; R. 8, 106), *dohāia* (R.), whereas elsewhere *kia* in M. is incorrect. A. has also *i* beside *a* for *r*: *akia*=*akṛta* (Hc. 4, 396, 4), *kiaū*=*kṛtakam*=*kṛtam* (Hc. 4, 371), *kidu* (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—*vasaha*=*vṛṣabha* (Bh. 1, 27; C. 2, 5 p. 43; 3, 13; Hc. 1, 126; Pāiyāl. 151); So. M. (G. R.); AMg. Vivāhap. 225; Uttar. 338; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61; Nāyādh. § 47), also *vasabha* (Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 7. 11; Vivāhap. 1048; Paṇṇav. 122; Aṇuog. 502; Kappas. § 114. 118); JM. *vasaha* (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and *vasabha* (Erz.); JŚ. *vasaha* (Pav. 382, 26. 43); but Ś. always has *vusaha* (Mṛcch. 6. 7; Mālav. 65, 8; Bālar. 73. 18; 93, 10; 287, 15; Pras.

44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820 ; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly *va°*).—AMg. *ghaṭṭha*=*ghṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 126 ; Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 3 ; 2, 5, 1, 3 ; 2, 10, 5 ; Paṇṇav. 96, 110 ; Jiv. 439. 4+5. 447. 449. 453. 483 ff.; Ovav.)—AMg. JM. *maṭṭiyā*, Ś. *maṭṭiā*=*mṛttikā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6 ; 2, 1, 7, 3 ; 2, 3, 2, 13 ; Vivāhap. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255 ; Thāṇ. 321 ; Paṇḥāv. 419. 494 ; Uttar. 758 ; Nāyādh. 621 ; Rāyap. 176 ; Uvās.; Ovav ; Erz.; Mṛcch. 94, 16 ; 9, 8, 9 ; Śak. 79, 1 ; 155 ; 10 ; Bhartṛharinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṛtta* (round ; Hc. 2, 29 ; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4 ; 2, 4, 2, 7. 12 ; Sūyag. 590 ; Thāṇ. 20 ; Vivāhap. 942 ; Uttar. 1022 ; Paṇṇav. 9 ff. ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas.).—AMg. *vaṇhi*=*vṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 666 ; Nāyādh. 1262), *andhagavaṇhi*=*andhakavṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33 ; Vivāhap. 1394 ; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects *r* is most frequently represented by *i*, which corresponds today to *ri*, the most usual pronunciation of *r* in India. Such words are grouped under the *ṛṣyādi* class in Vr. 1, 28 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 9 f. ; Pkl. p. 31 and under the *kṛpādi* class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. *kiśa*=*krśa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; H. ; Uttar. 750 ; Uvās. ; Śak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. *kiviṇa*=*kṛpaṇa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; G. H. ; Kappas. ; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text °*va°*] ; Mṛcch. 19, 6 ; 136, 18. 19).—AMg. *giddha*=*grdhra* (greedy ; Sūyag. 105 ; Vivāhap. 450. 1128 ; Uttar. 593 ; Nāyādh. 433. 606) ; JM. Ś. Mg. (vulture ; Vr. 12, 6 ; Mk. fol. 9 ; Erz. ; Vikr. 75, 11 ; 79, 15 ; 80, 20 ; Mālav. 28, 12 ; Śak. 116, 3).—AMg. *giddhi*=*grddhi* (Hc. 1, 128 ; Sūyag. 363. 371. 406 ; Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.), *giddhiya*=*grddhika* (Paṇḥāv. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. A. *diṭṭhi*=*drṣṭi* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Erz. ; Kk. ; Pav. 388, 5 ; Mṛcch. 57, 3. 10. 17 ; 59, 24 ; 68, 22 ; 152, 25 ; Śak. 53, 8 ; 59, 7 ; 77, 10 etc. ; Hc. 4, 330, 3).—M. *viṁchua* (Bh. 1, 28 ; H. 237), *viṁcua* (C. 2, 15 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; 2, 16. 89 ; Ki. 2, 68 [text *viñcao*, ed. Rāj. *viccuo*]), *viṁchia* (Hc. 1, 26 ; 2, 16) ; *vicchua* (Mk. fol. 10), AMg. *vicchūya* (Thāṇ. 311. 312 ; Paṇḥāv. 47. 537 ; Nāyādh. 755 ; Vivāhap. 522 ; Jiv. 257), *vicchiya* (Uttar. 1064)¹=*vṛśika*.—M. *siāla*=*śṛgāla* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 132 ; Mk. fol. 9) ; AMg. JM. *siyāla* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3 ; Sūyag. 296 ; Paṇṇav. 49. 367. 369 ; Jiv. 356 ; Kk.), *siyālaṅga* (Nāyādh. 511), *siyālatāṇe* (Thāṇ. 296), *siyāli* (Paṇṇav. 368) ; Ś. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 72, 22 ; Śak. 25, 9) ; Mg. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 22, 10 ; 113, 20 ; 120, 12 ; 122, 8 ; 127, 5 ; Śak. 116, 3), *siāli* (Mṛcch. 11, 20).—M. AMg. JM. A. *siṅga*=*śṛṅga* (Hc. 1, 130 ; Pāiyāl. 210 ; G. H. ; Vivāhap. 326. 1042 ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas. ; Erz. ; Hc. 4, 337), according to Hc. 1, 130 also *saṅga*.—M. Ś. Mg. A. *hiāa*=*hrdaya* (Bh. 1, 28 ; Hc. 1, 128 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Mṛcch. 17, 15 ; 27, 4. 19. 21 ; 37, 16 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 29, 21 ; 128, 2 ; 169, 6 ; Prab. 63, 15 [so read with M.] ; Hc. s. v.) ; AMg. JM. *hiyāya* (Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Nāyādh. ; Kappas. ; Ovav. ; etc. Erz. ; Kk.) ; Mg. mostly *haḍakka* (§ 194), also *haḷaka*, *haḷaa* (§ 244) ; P. *hitapa*, *hitapaka* (§ 191).

1. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find *u* for *r* preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is *u* in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have *u* under the *ṛvādi* class. Thus: M. *nihua*=*nibhṛta* (Hc. 1, 131 ; Deśin. 5, 50 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; H. R.) ; AMg. JM. *nihūya* (Pāiyāl. 15 ; Uttar. 627 ; Ovav. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nihuda* (Śak. 53, 4. 6 ; Mudrār. 44, 6 ; Karnas 18, 19 ; 37, 16).—M. *nivvua*=*nivṛta* (Bh. 1, 29 ; Hc. 1, 131 ; G. H. R. ; Śak. 96, 2) ; AMg. JM. *nivvūya* (Kappas. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nivvuda* (Śak. 70, 4 ; 98, 7 ; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2

ed. FISCHER]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. *pucchai*=*prechati* and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.); Ś. *pucchadi* (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. *puścadi* (Hc. 4, 295), *puścāmi* Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. *pucchimi* (Vikr. 65, 3), *pucchahu* (Hc. 4, 364. 422. 9).—M. *puhai*, *puhavi*=*prthvi* (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.); AMg. JŚ. *puḍhavi* (Thāp. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhap. 920. 1099; Paṇṇav. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Kattig. 401, 346); so also JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Śak. 59, 12) beside *puhavi* (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. *phusai*=*sprśai* (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. *munāla*=*mṛṇāla* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Śak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2. 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛṣabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga* (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. JM. *muṅga*, *muyiṅga* (Paṇhāv. 512; Thāp. 481; Vivāhap. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Paṇṇav. 99. 101; Erz.); Ś. *miḍaṅga* (Mālav. 19, 1; v. l. *miṅga*); according to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also *muṅga*; Mg. *miḍaṅga* (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading *mudaṅga* and also GODBOLE 337, 7).—JM. Ś. *vuttanta*=*vṛttānta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72. 12; 81, 2).—AMg. JM. *vuṭṭhi*=*vṛṣṭi* (Hc. 1, 137; Pāiyāl. 227; Vivāhap. 331; Kappas.; Erz.); M. also *viṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 157; Ki. 1, 32; H. 261); *vuṭṭha vṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 137); M. *uvvuṭṭha* (G. 375); AMg. *silāvuṭṭha* (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś. *pavūṭṭha* Śak. 139, 15).—M. JM. A., sporadically in AMg., *kuṇai* JŚ. *kuṇadi*=**kṛṇāti*=Vedic **kṛṇoti* (§508). On *mūsā*°, *mosā*°, beside *musā*°=*mṛṣā*° see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *dadha* and JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha*=*dyḍha* (§242).—*dhaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 130) and *dhiṭṭha*=*dhrṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. *niatta*=*nivṛtta* (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and *niutta* (Hc. 1, 132).—AMg. JM. *maccu*=*mṛtyu* (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Paṇhāv. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. *miccu* (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karpas. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *masina*=*maṣṇa* (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarar. 11, 8; 163, 4) and *masaṇa* (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. *miu*=*mṛdu* (Vivāhap. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛṣabh. 13, 13 [Text *midu*]), but always M. *maṭṭa* AMg. *maṭṭa*=*mṛduka* (Hc. 1, 127); H. R.; Vivāhap. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 350. 549); (Aṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.). AMg. *maṭṭa* (Jiv. 508); M. *maṭṭa*=**mṛdukita*, *maṭṭi*=*mṛdvi* (G.)—*vandāraa* (Hc. 1, 132) and *vundāraa*=*vṛndāraka* (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. *vaga*=*vṛka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282. 484 [text *vagga*, commentary *viga*]; Paṇṇav. 367), *vagi*=*vṛki* (Paṇṇav. 368) and AMg. *viga* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344), Ś. *via* (Uttarar. 105, 12). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. *kṛṣṇa* in the sense of “black” becomes *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṣiṇa*, *kaṇha* and as a proper name it becomes only *kaṇha*, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of “black” it always becomes *kaṣaṇa*, in the sense of “Kṛṣṇa” it becomes *kaṇha* only; according to Kalpal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes *kaṇha* and *kiṇha*; Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between *kaṣaṇa* and *kaṇha*. In the sense of “black” it occurs as M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa* (G. H. R.; Pracandap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatim. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 98, 4) Venis. 61, 10), AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa* (Paṇṇav. 101; Paṇhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha* (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Paṇṇav. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Candak. 86, 8, 9.

10 [in *kaṇhāhi*; text *kaṇa* and *kaḥva*], AMg. also *kiṇha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Paṇhāv. 285 (beside *kaṣiṇa*) Paṇṇav. 496 ff. [always interchanging with *kaṇha*]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. kaṇha* (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Paṇṇav. 61; Nirayāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns *sukaṇha*, *maḥakaṇha*, *virakaṇha*, *rāmakāṇha*, *senakaṇha*, *māhāsenakaṇha*; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 499; 37, etc. *cait.* 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6. 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as *kanha*, °*da*, *kaḥna*]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. (mostly printed as *kanha*)). Wrong is *kaṣaṇa* (Bālar. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bomb., where the variant reading in KONOW p. 48 has only *kaṣaṇa*) and *kiṇha* (Nirayāv. 79). Cf. also *kaṣaṇiya* = *krṣṇāyita*, *kaṣaṇapakḥa* = *krṣṇapakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 198. 268), *kaṣaṇasia* = **krṣṇasita* "the black-white" = Balabhadra (Deśin. 2, 23).—*vrddhi* in the sense of "growth" becomes *vuddhi* (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of "interest" it becomes AMg. *vaddhi* (Uvās). There are found also M. *parivaddhi* (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. *viddhi* (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: *prākṛta* becomes *pāyāya* in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading *pāyāya*, *pāyāya* in JM. (Erz., 2, 28) and *pāyāya* (Hc. 1, 67; Kalpacūrṇi on Āv. 6, 29), *pāia* in M., *pāiya* in JM. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjālagga 325, 2 Pāiyāl. 1) and *pāua* in M. (H. 2 [v. 1. *pāia*, Vajjālagga 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), *pāuda* in *Ṣ.* (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], *pākida* in Mg. (Venis. 34, 20).—*prṣṭha* becomes in M. *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 131; G.), *puṭṭha* (Bh. 4, 20; R.), *puṭṭhi* (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. *piṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938. 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 35. 129. Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 632. 24), *puṭṭha* (Nirayāv. §17), *puṭṭhi* (Sūyag. 292), in JM. *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Erz.), in *Ṣ. D. piṭṭha* (Vikr. 39, 3; Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikām. 145 21; 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), *piṭṭhi* (Kāmsav. 57, 9), *puṭṭha* (Pras. 44, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), *puṭṭhi* (Bālar. 238, 10); in Mg. *piṣṭa* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10), *piṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 165, 9 and in A. *piṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in *prṣṭha*, *r* is changed to *a*, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. JM. *mahivaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 129),; Pratāpar. 214, 9 [°*pa*°]; Āv. 12, 23); *Ṣ. dharaṇivaṭṭha* (Uttarar. 63, 12; Bālar. 248, 5; 287, 16); however, also, probably wrong is JM. *dharaṇivaiṭṭha* (Sagara 7, 12), *Ṣ. dharaṇipiṭṭha* [text. °*niṭṭha*; Bālar. 245, 15]. The printed text and the MSS. of Venis. 64, 18 oscillate between *kālapuṭṭha*, °*vuṭṭha*, °*piṭṭha*.—*brhaspati* forms *bahappḥai*, *bihappḥai*, *buhappḥai* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. *bahassai* (Sūyag. 709 [text *va*°], Thāp. 82; Paṇṇav. 116 [text *va*°]), *bihassai* (Aṇuog. 356 [text *vi*°]. Ovav. §36 [text *vi*°]; *Ṣ. bahappḥai* (Mallikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text *va*°]); *bihappḥadi* (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects *vrddha* is changed to *vuṭṭha* (C. 2, 5; 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav.; Erz., *Ṣ. Mṛcch.* 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anarghar. 156, 5; Mg. Mṛcch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to *vaddha*, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to *viddha*.—*vr̥ṇta* forms AMg. *viṇṭa* (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Paṇṇav. 40 [text *bi*°], *tālaviṇṭa* (Paṇhāv. 33), *pattaviṇṭa* (Jiv. 681); commonly also *vēṇṭa* with change of *i* to *ē* before a double consonant (§ 119); so M. *vēṇṭa* (Hc. 1, 139, 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Śak. 119, 6), *tālaveṇṭa* (Karp. 82, 2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text *be*°]; Paṇṇav. 40 [text *bē*°], *tālaveṇṭa* Nāyādh. § 136), *pattaveṇṭa* (Jiv. 549 [text °*bē*°]); *Ṣ. Viddhaś.* 14, 13), *tālaveṇṭa* (Vikr. 75,

10; Uttarar. 16,7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Venīś. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar. 131, 13 [so it is to be read], *tālavēṇṭaa* (Mṛcch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛcch. 21, 16). Hc. [1, 67] has *talavēṇṭa* also by the side of *tālavēṇṭa* (2, 31), Bh. (10) has *talavēṇṭaa* by the side of *tālavēṇṭaa*. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also *vōṇṭa* 1,67; he has *tālavōṇṭa* along with *talavōṇṭa* i.e., with the change of *u* to *ō* before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is *tāliyaṇṭa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṇhāv. 236. 533; Aṇuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhap. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasav. 616, 38; 626, 3) *tāliyaṇṭaka* (Paṇhāv. 488 = **tālivṛṇṭa* with a change of *r* into *a*, as in Pāli *vaṇṭa*).

§ 54. BOLLENSSEN' has propounded the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only *miatīṇhiā* or *maatanhiā*=*mṛgaṭṣṇikā* has to be declared as the correct form. PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT², in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like *mianka*=*mṛgānka* beside *mainda*=*mṛgendra*, *visamkhala*=*viśṛṅkhala* beside *sinkhalā*=*śṛṅkhalā* (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M., they say *maatanhā* (R.) *maatanhiā* (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides *mudhamia*, Ś. *miatanhā* (Dhūrtas. 16, 6; v. l. *maatinhā*), *miatīṇhā* (Anarghar. 60, 4), *maatanhiā* (Vikr. 17, 1), *maatinhiā* (Viddhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 *miatanhiā*), *miatīṇhiā* (Viddhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. *mainda* (G. R.), and M. Ś. *maalañchana*, JM. *majalañchana*=*mṛgalāñchana* (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛcch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20³, Pāiyal 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside *maanka* (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. *majanka* (Erz), in M. D. Ś. Mg. common *mianka* (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛcch. 101, 11, Ś. Vikr. 58, 10; Viddhaś. 109, 5; Karp. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 25); JM. has also *miyanka* (Erz). Beside Ś. *maa*=*mṛga* stand *miaā*=*mṛgayā* (Śak. 29, 2, 3) and M. Ś. *maī*=*mṛgī* (Śak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); Ś. *maavahū*=*mṛgavadhū* (Śak. 86, 4), beside Ś. *sāhāmia*=*śākhāmṛga* (Mṛcch. 69,11, Vikr. 81,13), AMg. *ihāmiya* (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap 58 [°ga]); likewise AMg. generally only *miga*, *miya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasav. N. 649, 7; Sūyag. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. §37) *miyasirāo*=*mṛgasirāh* (Thān. 81) *migava*=*mṛgavya* (Uttar 498), speak against JM. *maja* (Dvār. 501, 13), *majacchī*=*mṛgākṣī* (Rṣabhap. 26), M. *maacchī* (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 1. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on 2, 2.—3. The v. l. has *mia*^o and the same occurs in Viddhaś. 63,4 also.

§ 55. The *r* of nouns ending in *r* is changed into *u*, before the suffix—*ka*, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1,134); PG. *jāmātukasa*=*jāmātrkasya* (6,14), *bhātukāna*=*bhrātrkāṇām* (6,18); M. *jāmāua*=*jāmātrka* (Bh. 1,29; Hc. 1,131; Mk. fol. 10; H.); JM. *jāmāuya* (Erz.); Ś. *jāmādua* (Mahāv. 27,22; Mallikām. 209,22); *jāmāduśadda*=*jāmātrśabda* (Mallikām 209,1); JM. *bhāuvacchala*=*bhrātrvatsala* (Dvār. 503, 38; 507,30), *bhāughāyaga*=*bhrātrghātaka*, *bhāuya*=*bhrātrka* (Erz.), Ś. *bhādusaa*=*bhrātrśata* (Venīś. 59,3); Ś. *bhādua* (Vikr. 75,8); Mg. *vañcidabhāduka*=*vañcitabhātrka* (Mṛcch. 129,6); AMg. *puttanattupariyāra*=*putranapṭṭipariyāra* (Vivāhap. 482). *ammāpiusantie* (Āyār 2,15,15), *ammāpiusussūsa* (Vivāhap. 60), *māupiusujāya* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav § 11), *māuoya*, *piusukka*=*mātrojah*, *pīrśukra* (Sūyag. 817,822; Thān. 159; Vivāhap. 111), *māuya* (Nāyādh. 1430); Ś. *mādughara* (Mṛcch. 54,4); Mg. *mādūkā* (Mṛcch. 122,5); M. *piuvaha*=*pīravadha* (G. 484), JM. *nattuya*=*napṭṭrka* (Āv. 8,31); AMg. *nattui*=*napṭṭiki* (Kappas. § 109). How-

ever, *i* as well, does not occur rarely: *M. nattia*=*naptika* (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13), *taṭṭhiggaḍaṇā*=*twasṭrighaṇā* (G. 704), *māihara* (Hc. 1, 135); AMg. *māimarana*, *bhāimarana* (Sūyag. 787), *māirakkhiya* (Ovav. § 72); Ś. *mādivacchala* (Śak. 158,12); AMg. *peiya*=*paṭrika* (Vivāhap. 113); JM. *bhāivacchala*, *bhāighāyaya* (Dvār. 501, 3. 38), *bhāivahaga*=*bhrāṭṛvadhaka* (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), *bhāisoga*=*bhrāṭṛsoka* (Erz. 53,11); AMg. *am-māpiisamāna*, *bhāisamāna* (Thān. 284); A. *piimāimosana*=*piṭmāṭṛmoṣana* (Erz. 158,3); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraja*=*bhartṛdāraka* (Paṇṇav. 366), S. *bhaṭṭidāraa* (Mahāv. 28,2;32,22); Ś. *bhaṭṭidāriā* (Lalitav. 560, 9; 561, 6. 12; 562,22; 563,5; Mālatim. 72, 2.4.8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9.13; 12,5.10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like *a*—, *i*—and *u*—stems, the feminine ones, like *ā*—stems; and *māṭṛ* also is declined like *i*—and *ū*—stems (§ 389—392).

§ 56. Generally the initial *r* becomes *ri* (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Kī. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and *li* in Mg. So M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. A. *riddhi*=*ṛddhi* (Pāiyāl. 62; G. H; Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Rśabhap.; Kattig. 400, 325; 403, 370; Mṛcch. 6, 4; 21, 7; 77, 10; 94, 19; Hc. 4,418,8).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (Hc. 2,19; Pāiyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālar. 221,5; 250,18) and M. AMg. Ś. *riccha*=*ṛkṣa* (Vr. 1, 30; 3, 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Pāiyāl. 128; R.; Rāyap. 124; Śak. 35, 9; Anarghar. 156, 5).—M. JM. *riṇa* (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); Ś. *ariṇa*=*aṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 64, 22; Śak. 24, 13; 141, 10); Mg. *liṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of *i* (§ 73).—AMg. *riu*=*ṛu* (Hc. 1, 141. 209; Pāiyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nirayāv. 81); Ś. *ridu* (Bālar. 131,12).—AMg. *riuvveja*=*rgveda* (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—M. AMg. *risaha*=*ṛśabha* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Paṇhāv. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Uvās.; Ovav.), AMg. Ś. also. *risabha* (Thān. 266 [as a proper noun]; Śak. 95, 7).—Ś. *ricāim*=*ṛcaḥ* (Ratn. 302, 11).—AMg. JM. Ś. *risi*=*ṛṣi* (Hc. 1, 141; Pāiyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; Mṛcch. 326, 14 [interpolation]); Mg. *liṣi* (Prab. 46, 15. 16; 47, 1); AMg. *mahārisi* (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like AMg. *rāyarisi*=*rājarṣi* (Vivāhap. 908,915,916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), *māhaṇarisi*=*brahmaṇarṣi* (§ 250; Nirayāv. 48, 50 ff.), JM. *māharisi*=*maharṣi* (Erz.) Ś. *sattari*=*saptarṣi* (Viddhaś. 49, 4.6.8), JM. *divāyaṇarisi*=*divipāyaṇarṣi* (Dvār. 496, 7. 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, directly go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57. An initial *r* develops, not rarely, into *a*, *i*, *u*, besides into *ri*. So M. AMg. JM. Ā. A. *acchāi* P. *acchati*=*ṛcchati* (§ 480).—AMg. *accha*=*ṛkṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282,484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of *riccha*; Paṇṇav. 49,367), *acchī* (Paṇṇav. 368); cf. Skt. *acchabhalla*.—AMg. *aṇa*=*ṛṇa* (Hc. 1, 141; Paṇhāv. 150).—AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi*=*ṛddhi* (Thān. 80,178; Uttar. 110,666; Vivāhap. 55,221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33. 69; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. § 16; Dasav. 635,38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As LEUMANN rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. *riddhi*) *iḍḍhi* is the form that occurs in older texts and *riddhi*, in later texts. The same holds good for AMg. as well in the case of other forms with *ri*° that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—AMg. Ś. *isi*=*ṛṣi* (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Kī. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Paṇhāv. 448 [suṣi]; Uttar. 375. 377. 630; Vivāhap. 795,851; Śak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6; 79, 7; 98, 8; 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 7 etc.); in proper nouns AMg. *isigutta*, *isiguttiya*, *isidatta*, *isipāliya* (Kappas.), and in compounds like AMg. Ś. *mahesi*=*maharṣi* (Sūyag. 74,137; Uttar. 717,720,815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar. 4, 18); M.Ś. *rāsi*=*rājarṣi*

G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4; 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13, 16; 7, 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.).—AMg. *uu*=*rtu* (Hc. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Paṇhāv. 464.534; Nāyādh. 344.912 916.918; Aṇuog. 242.432; Dasav. 621, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. *udu* (Śak. 2, 8). Cf. § 157. On the likely M. *uu* see § 104.—AMg. Ś. *ujju*=*rju*, (Hc. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Paṇnav. 847; Aṇuog. 541.542.552.633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kamsav. 57,20), AMg. *ujjukada*=*rjukṛta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1); usually found *ujjua*=*rjuka* (Vr. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 88, 18; 90,21¹; Śak. 80, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Karpas. 20, 13, etc.), *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. *ujjuga* Paṇhāv. 381; Uvās.), *ujjuja* (Pāṇyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14, 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.), *anujjuja* (Uttar. 990).—*usaha*=*ṛṣabha* (C.2, 5 p. 43; 3,34 p. 51; Hc. 1, 131.133); AMg. *usabha* (Āyār. 2,15,21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *usabha* (Hc. 1, 24; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. *usabhajja* (Āv. 46, 21), AMg. *usabhadatta* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. *usabhasena* (Kappas.).—According to Ki. 1, 31 *ṛṇa* always becomes *uṇa*. A mention ought to be made of *riṇa* (§ 56) and *aṇa* (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. PISCHEL on Hc. 2, 98. GODABOLE 249, 9; 256, 1 writes *ujjaa*, what the scholiast translates by *ujjvala* and *udyata*.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of *r* into *i*, *u*, in the declension of *r*—stems, *r̄*—develops into *ī*, *ū*: AMg. *ammāpīṇam*, *ammāpīṇam* (§ 391.392). Skt. *īr* and *ūr* originating from earlier *r̄* are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt: M. JM. *tirāi*, *tirae* = *tiryate* (§ 537); M. *paīṇa*=*prakīṇa* (G.H.R.), *viīṇa*=*vikīṇa* (H.), *viṇa*=*vīprakīṇa* (H.R.); JM. *viīṇa*=*vitīṇa* (Erz.); M. *pūrai*=*pūryate* (§ 537); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *puṇna*=*pūrṇa* (H. R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. Ś. *jīṇa*=*jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mṛcch. 93, 9), Mg. *yīṇa* (Mṛcch. 162, 23), there is found very abundantly M. AMg. JM. Ś. *juṇna*=Vedic *jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Aṇuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Hāsy. 25, 5); AMg. *parijunna* Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thān. 540; Uttar. 63); AMg. *juṇṇiya* (Nāyādh. 348); JM. *juṇṇaga* (Āv. 41, 1). By the side of *tītha*=*tīrtha*, M. has *tūha*=**tūrtha* (Hc. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatik. 44, 12); *uttūha*=**uttūrtha* (steep, fountain; Deśin. 1, 941); PG. *tūhike*=**tūrthikān*=*tīrthikān* (5, 5); AMg. *aṇṇātūthiya*=**anyatūrthika*¹ (Vivāhāp. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thān. 147; Ovav), *paraūtthiya*=**paratūrthika*². It is wrong³ to derive⁴ *tūha* directly from earlier **tīrtha*.

1. WEBER, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 95.—2. LEUMANN l.c.—3. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 680.—4. WACKERNAGEL, Alt. Gr. 24.

§ 59. Following a consonant *l* develops into *ili*: *kilitta*=*klpta* (Vr. 1, 33; Hc., 145; Ki. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); *kilitti*=*klpti* (Ki. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Ki. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or develops into *a*: *klitta*, *katta*=*klpta*. Hc. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of *l* in *klinna* “moistened” (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 145) also. The forms *kiliṇṇa* and A. *kiṇṇa*, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from *klirna* (§ 136). Single *l* develops into *li* in *liāra* (Mk. fol. 11), *likāra* (Kalpal. p. 36)=*lkāra*.

2. VOWELS.

a) THE DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au*

§60. In Pkt., *ai* has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (Hc. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Ś. *aī*=Skt. *ayi* (Vr. 9, 12; Hc. 1, 169; 2, 205; H.; Mṛcch. 63,

13; 64, 25; 87, 21; Vikr. 28, 10; 42, 19; 45, 2; Mālatīm. 74, 5; 247, 1; 264, 3 etc). Some scholars, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, even in Pkt., permit *ai* in words like *kaiava*=*kaitava*, *airāvaṇa* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 13, 33). In fact, however, the places where *ai* is found to exist the text gives an incorrect reading (PISCHEL on Hc. 1. 1). Mk. fol. 12 rejects it outright. Generally *ai* develops into *e*, and before a doubled constant, into *e'*: PG. *vijayavejayike*=*vijayavaijayikān* (6, 9).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. erāvaṇa*=*airāvaṇa* (Bh. 1, 35; Vr. 2, 11; Hc. 1, 148, 203; Kī. 2, 31; Mk. fol. 15; R.; Sūyag. 317; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcch. 68, 14); A. *erāvai*=*airāvaṇa* (Piṅgala 1, 24); cf. §246.—AMg. *esajja*=*aiśvarya* (Thāṇ. 450). JŚ. *eyagga*=*aikāgrya* (Pav. 388, 1).—Ś. *edihāsia*=*aitihāsika* (Lalitav. 555, 2).—M. *keḍhaba*=*kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2, 21, 29; Hc. 1, 148, 196, 240; Kī. 2, 11; Mk. fol. 16).—M. *geria*=*gairika* (Karp. 80, 10), AMg. *geruṇa*=**gairuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Dasav. 619, 41).—AMg. *neyāṇuṇa*=**naiyāṇuka*=*naiyāyika* (Sūyag. 117. 361; 994 ff. [ne^e]; Nāyādh. §144; Uttar. 158, 180, 238, 324; Ovav.), *aṇeyāṇuṇa* (Sūyag. 736).—AMg. *mehuṇa*=*maitḥuna* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2, 9, 1; 2, 2, 1, 12, 2, 10; Sūyag. 409, 816, 822 f. 923, 994; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), JM. *mehuṇa* (Erz.), JŚ. *medhuṇa* (Kattig. 399, 306; text °hu°).—M. *vehavva*=*vaidhavya* (G.H.R.).—AMg. JM. *vejaddha*=*vaitādhya* (C. 2, 6; Vivāhap. 479; Thāṇ. 73; Vivāgas. 91; Nirayāv. 79; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *sela*=*śaila* (Bh. 1, 35; Pāiṇal. 50; G. R.; Mrcch. 41, 16; Karp. 49, 6; Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8; 2, 6, 1, 2; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but CP. *śaila* (Hc. 4, 326).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg. tēlla*=*taila* (§90).—M. JM. AMg. *çēṭṭa*=*çaitra* (Karp. 12, 4, 9; Viddhaś. 25, 2; Kī. 19; Āyār. 2, 15, 6, Kappas.).—M. JM. *mēṭṭi*=*maitrī* (H. R.; Kī. 7; Erz.).—M. JM. *Ś. vējja*=*vaidya* (Hc. 1, 148; 2, 24; H.; Āv. 16, 8; Erz.; Vikr. 47, 2; Mālav. 26, 5; Karp. 104, 7).—M. *Ś. ṣeṇṇa*=*sainya* (§282).—On the development of *i* for *e'* from *ai*, see §84.

§61. The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the *daityādi* class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Kī. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. *daicca*=*daitya* (Pāiṇal. 26, 99; G.); *vaideha* (Kī. °hi)=*vaideha*; AMg. *vaisāha*=*vaiśākha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside *ve°*]); Vivāhap. 1426; Nirayāv. 10; Uttar. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have *aisaria*=*aiśvarya*, wherefor AMg. has *esajja* (§60); Hc. alone has *dainna*=*dainya*, *vaijavana*=*vaijavana*; *daivaya*=*daivata*; *vaiālia*=*vaitāliya*; *vaidabbha*=*vaidarbha*; *vaiśānara*=*vaiśvānara*; *vaiśāla*=*vaiśāla*. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also *saīra*=*svaira*, which Pāiṇal. 13, 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have *vaiesa*=*vaidesa*, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. *kaiava* (G. H.), *kaiyava* (Pāiṇal. 157; Erz.). Kī. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. *vaiśsa*=*vaiśya* (Vivāsagas. 152; Uttar. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has *vēssa* (Sūyag. 373), further *vaiḍesia*=*vaideśya* and *vesaia*=*vaiśayika*; besides Kī. alone has *vaiśamma*=*vaiśamya*, Pkl. *khaitta*=*kṣaitra*. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Kī. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in *daiva*. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the *vairādi* group, wherein Triv. includes also *daiva*. Mk. fol. 12 has a *daivādi* class. According to Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word *daiva* is pronounced as *daiva*, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *v*, becomes *de'vva*. Both of them are found in Kī. as well, whereas Hc. has *de'vva*, *daiva* and *daivva*; Mk., as it seems, prescribes *de'vva* and *daivva*. But *de'vva* and *daivva* are=*daivya*; A. *daiva* (Hc. 4, 331, 340,

1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 153) *ai* is not used in this word in Ś. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of *ai* from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 148) *ai* in Ś. and Mg. develops into *e* only, and never into *ai*, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only *ai*. Thus: *kedava*=*kaitava* (Śak. 106, 6), *vesāha* (Viddhaś. 77, 7), *sera*=*svaira* (Mṛcch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18, 19). In the words, showing variation between *ai* and *e*, Ś. and Mg. always have *e*. So Ś. Mg. *dēva* (Mṛcch. 20, 24; Śak. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratn. 317, 32; Mṛcch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1, 35 *kailāsa* becomes *kelāsa*, but according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes *kailāsa* or *kelāsa*; Pāiyāl. 97 has *kailāsa*, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikr. 41, 3; 52, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 9) has *kelāsa*. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 *vaira* becomes *vāira*, and according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes also *vera*. So JM. *vaira* (Erz.), *vāiri*=*vairin* (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vera* (R.; Sūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891: Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18, 19; Prab. 9, 16); Mg. *vela* (Mṛcch. 21, 15. 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. JM. *veri* (G.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *veriya*=*vairika* (Kk.), A. *veria* (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. *velia* (Mṛcch. 126, 6).—According to Kī. *kairava* forms *kāirava*, and according to Hc. Mk. Pkl. also *kerava*. For *caitra*, Kī. prescribes *caitta*, but Hc. Mk. Pkl. have also *cētta*, and it is found in M. AMg. JM. (§60); for *jaitra*, Mk. has *jaitta* and *je'tta*, and for *bhairava*, Bh. Hc. Kī. have *bhāirava*, and Mk. Pkl. have *bherava* as well. In M. is found *bhāiravī* (G.), in AMg., JM. *bherava* (Sūyag. 129. 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 15; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), in Ś. *mahābheravī*. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. *mahābhelava* (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun *bhairavānanda* (Karp. 24, 2 ff.) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4 ff., have *bhaira*^o, which was rightly corrected to *bhera*^o by KONOW, as it is in Kāleyak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl. *vaiśampāyana* forms *vaiśampāṇa*, according to Hc. *ve*^o also; *vaiśravaṇa*, according to Hc., becomes *vaiśavaṇa* and *ve*^o, and in AMg. JM. it is *vesamaṇa* (Nāyādh. 852. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between *ai* and *e* also in the case of *vaitālika* and *vaiśika*, the words in which according to Bh. there is *ai*; AMg. has *vesiṇa* (Aṇuog.). All the gaṇas of the grammarians are ākṛtigaṇas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. *vairoṇa*=*vairocana* (Sūyag. 306; Bhag.); *vaikunṭha*=*vaikunṭha* (Pāiyāl. 21) etc.

§61^a. Like *ai*, there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also *au*: *sauaria*=*saudarya*, *kaurava*, *kaulava* (C.)=*kaurava*. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—*au* develops into *o* (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Kī. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into *ō* before double consonants: PG. *kolikā*=*kaulikāḥ* (6, 39), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6, 16); M. *kosia* (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. *kosia* (Śak. 20, 12).—Ś. *orasa*=*aurasa* (Vikr. 80, 4).—AMg. *ovamma*=*aupama* (Ovav.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha*=*auśadha* (§223).—AMg. JM. *kouya*, *kouga*=*kautuka* (Pāiyāl. 156; Sūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *komuī*=*kaumudī* (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Kī.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *komudī* (Vikr. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. *kosambī*=*kauśambī* (Bh.; Hc.; Ratn. 310, 21), Ś. *kosambīā*=*kauśambikā* Ratn. 308, 29).—M. AMg. JM. *kouhala*=*kautūhala* (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *kodūhala* (Mṛcch. 68, 14; Śak. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikr. 19, 7; Mālatīm. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Viddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. JM. *kouhalla*=*kautūhalya* (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyāl. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;

Vivāhap. 11. 12. 812), AMg. JM. also *koūhalla* (Ovav.; Kk.). On *kohala* see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. *do*=*dvau* (§ 436).—JM. *dovai*=*dyauṣ-pati* (Kk.).—AMg. *dovai*=*draupadi* (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. *dovadi* (Mṛcch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; *dōppadi* (129.6) is not=*draupadi*, but=*duṣpatiḥ*]).—JŚ. *dhoda*—*dhauta* (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. *porāṇa*=*paurāṇa* (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 74, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. *porāṇaya* (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sohagga*=*saubhāgya* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 17; Sak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 37, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. *kōṭthua*=*kaustubha* (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90).—M. *dōcca*=*dautya* (H. 84).—M. Ś. *dōbballa*=*daurbalya* (G. H. R.; Śak. 63, 1).—JM. *pavōṭta*=*prapautra* (Āv. 8,31).—M. Ś. *mōṭṭia*, JM. *mōṭṭiya*=*mauktika* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 70,25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhaś. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *sōkkha*=*saukhyā* (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kī. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatim. 82, 3; Uttarak. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. *śōkkha* (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16). M. JM. Ś. *sōmma*=*saumya* (G. R.; Kī. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarak. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarghar. 149, 9; Kāṁsav. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. *soma* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of *ai* into *aī*, a number of words show a change of *au* into *aū*. The grammarians have collected them together in the *paurāḍi* ākṛtiḡaṇa (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Kī. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have *aī* beside *e* for *ai* is very large, the number of words that have *aū* along with *o* for *au* is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits *kosala* by the side of *kāṁsala*, which alone is found in Hc. Kī. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has *koṅcheaya* by the side of *kāṁcheaya*; Mk. fol. 13 permits *moṇa* by the side of *maṁṇa*, which Hc. has, and *moli* by the side of *maūli*, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. *aū* does not occur in Ś. in *kaurava* and *gaurava*, according to Pkl., not in *paura* and *kaurava*. In lieu of *o* is prescribed *aū* in *paura* by Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *kaurava* by Bh. C. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *pauruṣa* by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in *saura* and *kaula* by Hc. C., in *gauda* by Hc. Pkl., in *kṣaurita* by Mk. Pkl., in *saudha* by Hc., in *kṣaura* by Mk., and in *aucitya* by Pkl. The instances met with are : M. *kaūla* (G.) and *kola* (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text *kau*]).—M. *gaūda* (G.), but AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41 [text *gau*], but cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510; Piṅgala 2, 112. 138).—M. JM. *paūra*=*paura* (G.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but Ś. *pora* (Śak. 138, 11; Mudrār. 42, 10 [text *pau*]; 161, 1; Mālatim. 288, 3; Uttarak. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. *pola* (Mṛcch. 167, 1. 2 [edition *pau*]); therefore, in Mṛcch. 160, 11 *paūla* is to be corrected as *polā*.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have *paūrisa*=*pauruṣa*, but JM. *porisa* (Erz.), AMg. *porisī* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), *porisiya* (Sūyag. 281), *aporisiya* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—*maūṇa*=*mauna* (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhaś. 46, 11), is certainly an error for *moṇa*, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Paṇhāv. 403; Erz.; Rṣabhap.).—M. AMg. JM. *maūli*=*mauli* (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag. 730. 766; Thāṇ. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. *moli* (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is *moli* (Karp. 112, 3; Mallikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text *mau*]), but *maūli* (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatim. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v. l. in SHANKAR P. PANDIT (131, 4), in Mālatim., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is *moli*, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as *mauli* (167,2). Presumably in both the places

the correct form would be *moli*. Hc. has *saiha*=*saudha*, but *Ś. sodha* (Mālatim. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For *Ś. Mg.* only *ho* should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Kī. 1, 42 *gaurava* develops into both *gaurava* and *gārava*, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into *gorava*, which he alone assigns to *Ś. JM.* has *gaurava* (Erz.), M. *Ś. gorava* (H.; Adbhutad. 54, 10), M. AMg. JM. *gārava* (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Paṇhāv. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. *ya* (Kī. 6). To Pāli *garu* belongs *gārava*, Pkt. *garua*, *garuṇa*=*guruka* (§ 123), Skt. *gariyas*, *gariṣṭha*. On *u* for *o* from *au* see § 84.

(b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before *r* + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant+following *ya*, *ra*, *va* or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in *Ś. Mg.* which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—*r* + consonant: PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūṇam*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇam*=**kartvānam* (§ 585, 586); VG. *kātūna*, JŚ. *kādūna* (§ 21), M. JM. *kāūna*=**kartvāna* (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. *kāum*, *Ś. Mg.* *kādum*=*kartum* (§ 574); M. *kāvva*, AMg. JM. *kāyavva*, JŚ. *Ś. Mg.* *kādavva*=*kartavya* (§ 570).—*gāyari*=**gāgarī*=*gaggari*=Skt. *gargarī* (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1, 115, 192; Karp. 86, 2), and on its analogy *Ś. sūhava*=*subhaga* (Hc. 1, 113, 192; Mallikām. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. *niṇei*=*nirṇayati* (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. *niṇha*=*nirṇayata* (Dvār. 496, 5); *niṇijanta*, *niṇijamāna*=*nirṇiyamāna* (Āv. 24, 4; 25, 34), *niṇehū*=*nirṇesṇati*, *niṇēūna*=*nirṇiya* (Erz.); AMg. JM. *niṇiya*=*nirṇīta* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A *sāva*=*sarva* (Hc. 4, 420, 5=Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of *r*+stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. *parimāsi*=*parimarśin* (Thāṇ. 313).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa*=*sparsa* (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170, 172, 257, 337; Paṇnav. 8, 10, 380; Āṇog. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. *vāsa*=*varṣa* (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivāhap. 427, 479, 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *vāsai*=*varṣati* (Dasav. N. 648, 7, 13, 14), *vāsiukāma*=*varṣitukāma* Thāṇ. 155), but *Ś. vassāridu*=*varṣartu* (Viddhaś. 99, 1; v. l. *vāsā°*); Mg. *vaśśadi* (Mr̥cch. 79, 9).—AMg. *sāsava*=*sāṣapa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by *l* + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. *phāguṇa*=*phalguṇa* (Vivāhap. 1426) by the side of *phagguṇa*, *phaggumitta* (Kappas.), *phagguṇi* (Uvās.), M. *phaggu* (H.), *Ś. uttaraphagguṇi*, *phagguṇa* (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayav. 11, 7); AMg. *vāgala*=*valkala* (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), *vāga*=*valka* (Ovav. § 74; text *vāka*), but M.Ś. *vakkala* (G.; Śak. 10, 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 84, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. *avavakkala*=*apavalkala* (G.), Mg. *niṇvakkala*=*nirvalkala* (Mr̥cch. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + *ya*: AMg. *nāsasi*=*naśyasi* Uttar. 712; M. *nāsai*, *nāsanti*, *nāsasu* (H. R.); JM. *nāsai*, *nāsanti* (Erz.), by the side of AMg. *nassāmi* (Uttar. 713); AMg. *nassai* (Hc. 4, 178, 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. *nāsai*], *nassamāna* (Uvās.), *viṇassai* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. *nassāmo*, *nassa* (Erz.); *Ś. nassadi* (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. *viṇaśśadu* (Mr̥cch. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. *pāsai*=*paśyati* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivāhap. 156, 231, 274, 275, 284, 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21, 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.); AMg. *pāsiyavvam* na *pāsai* *pāsiukāme* na *pāsai* *pāsittā* vi na *pāsai* (Paṇnav. 667), *anupassiyā* (absol., Sūyag. 122); *pāsa* (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).

AMg. *kisanti*=*kliśyante* (Uttar. 576), but JM. *kilissai* (Erz.), Ś. *adi kilissadi* (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. *sisa*=*śiśya* (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Pāīyal. 101; Dasav. N.645, 12. 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); *sisaga*=*śiśyaka*. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. Ś. *sissa* (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 35, 5; Hāsy. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3. 6. 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3. 9; 19, 13; 24, 14; incorrect *sisa* 16, 8); Ś. *susissa*=*suśiśya* (Śak. 77, 11), *sissā*=*śiśyā* (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. *sissanī* (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text °ssi°]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. *tūsaī* (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Ki. 4, 68; H.), JŚ. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400, 335), but Ś *tussadi* (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. *mañūsa*=*manuśya* (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyag. 180; Vivāhap. 79. 341. 361. 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dasav. N.653, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. *mañūsi* (Paṇṇav. 706), but also *mañussa* (Vivāhap. 362. 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26^b p.42; Pāīyal. 60; H.; Mṛcch. 44, 2. 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. *mañuśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), *mañuśśaa* (Mṛcch. 131, 10), *mañuśśaka* (Mṛcch. 113, 21).—The same lengthening takes place in Mg. in the genitive forms like *kāmāha* from **kāmāsa*=*kāmasya*, *cālittāha*=*cāritrasya*, *śalilāha*=*śarīrasya*, which in A. *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, etc. show subsequently shortened a (§ 264. 315 366); further in the genitive like A. *kāsu*, *jāsu*, *tāsu*=*kasya*, *yasya*, *tasya* (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. *karīsu*=**karīṣyam*=*karīṣyāmi*, *pāvīsu*=**prāpiṣyam*=*prāpiṣyāmi*, *peḥkhihimi*=**prekṣiṣyāmi*=*prekṣiṣye*, *sahihimi*=*sahīṣye*; *karīhisi*=*karīṣyasi* (§ 315. 520. 525. 531. 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + ra : M. *sāsū*=*śvaśrū* (H.), Ś. *sāsue*=**śvaśruke* (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. *mīsa*=*mīśra* (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. *mīśajāya*=*mīśrajāta* (Ovav.), *mīśaya*=*mīśraka* (Thāṇ. 129 f.; Kappas.), *mīśijai* (Uvās.), *mīśiya* (Kappas.); *mīśālia* (Hc. 2, 170); but *mīśai* (Hc. 4, 28); Ś. *mīssa* (Mṛcch. 69, 12; Śak. 18, 3), *mīśiā*=*mīśrikā* (Śak. 142, 10), *mīśida* (Prab. 29. 8); Mg. *mīśśa* (Mṛcch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. *visa*=*visra* (Sūyag. 753).—M. JM. *visamai*=*viśrāmyati* by the side of Ś. *vissamīadu* (§ 489).—M. *visambha*=*visrambha* (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but Ś. *vissambha* (Mṛcch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. l. and GODABOLE'S edition 213, 1]; Śak. 19, 4; Mālatim. 105., [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.])—Ś. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśrapayata* (Vivāhap. 957, *ūsaviya*=**ucchrāpita* (Ovav.; Kappas.): AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta* (Sūyag. 771. 958 [text u°]; Paṇhāv. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63. 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but AMg. *ussiya* (Sūyag. 309), *samussiya* (Sūyag. 275) beside °*usi*° Sūyag. 281), *ussaviya* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), Ś. *ussāvedi*=*ucchrāpayati* Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + va : M. AMg. JM. *āsa*=*aśva* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivāsag. 61; Uttar. 195. 217. 336. 500. 501; Nāyādh. 731. 780. 1233. 1266. 1388. 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Āṇuog. 507; Nirāyāv.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12. 13. 16. 21 24; Erz.; Kk.), beside *assa* (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11. 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyag. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff.), as Ś. always has (Mṛcch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. *ñisāsai*; AMg. *nisasanti*; JM. *nisasiūna*=*niḥśvāsyā* (Erz.); Ś. *ñisasadi*, Mg. *ñiśaśadu*; M. *ūsasai*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūśaśadu*; M. *visasai*; AMg. *visase*; Ś. *visasadi*; also AMg. *ussasai*, *nissasai*, from *śvas*, preceded by *niḥ*, *ud*, *vi* (§ 327^a. 496).—AMg. JM. Ś. *viśattha*=*viśvasta* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (Hc. 4, 366. 422, 22), equated to *sarva* by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt.=h+sibilant : M. AMg. JM.

Ś. *ūsava*, *ūsaa*=*utsava* from **ussava*, **ussaa* (§ 327^a).—M. *ūsua*=*utsuka*, by the side of AMg. JM. *ussujā*, Ś. *ussua* (§ 327^a).—M. *visaria*=**vismarita*=*vismṛta*, JŚ. *visariya*, beside JM. *vissariya* (§ 478).—M. *nisāṅka*=*niḥsāṅka* (G.H.), AMg. *nisāṅka* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 2), A., with metrical shortening, *nisāṅka* (Hc. 4, 396, 1; 401, 2) by the side of JM. *nissāṅka* (Erz.).—M.Ś. *nisaha*=*nihsaha* (Hc. 1, 4 3; G. H. R.; Uttarar. 92, 10) by the side of *nissaha* (Hc. 1, 13).—M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha*=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Ki. 2, 113; Pāīyal. 234; H. R.; Āv. 12, 31; Karp. 82, 7; Mālatim. 79, 2; Vikr. 60, 18), Ś. *dūśahattana*=*duhsahatva* (Mālatim. 81, 2) by the side of Ś. *dussaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Ki 2, 113; Prab. 44, 1) and poetical M. *dusaha* (Hc. 1, 115; G. H.).—AMg. *tejākamma*=**tejahkarman* (Ovav).—*maṇāsīlā*=*maṇāḥsīlā* (Hc. 1, 26 43) by the side of *maṇosilā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 347) and *maṇāḥsīlā* (§ 74).

§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectical. AMg. JM. *gāyā*=*ga'vyūta* (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jihā*=*jihvā* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 92; 2, 57; Ki. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāīyal. 251; G. H. R.; Āyār. p. 137, 7, 9; Vivāhap. 943; Paṇṇav. 101; Jiv. 883; Uttar. 943 (by the side of *jibbhā* § 332); Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 403; Vikr. 15, 3; 16, 12; 18, 10; Karp. 66, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 9; Caṇḍak. 17, 3; Mallikām. 90, 23; Kamsav. 7, 17); Mg. *jihā* (Mṛcch. 167, 3).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dāhiṇa* from **dākhīṇa* (§ 323)=*dakṣiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Ratn. 293, 3; Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 2; 2, 1, 2, 6; Jiv. 345; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 97, 15; 117, 18; Veṇis. 61, 6; Bālar. 249, 7); AMg. *dāhiṇilla* (Thān. 264 ff.; 358; Vivāgas. 180; Paṇṇav. 102 ff; Vivāhap. 218. 880. 1288 ff. 1331 ff. 1874.; Nāyādh. 333. 335. 867. 1349; Jiv. 227 ff. 345; Rāyap. 72. 73); AMg. *āyāhiṇa*, *payāhiṇa*=*ādakṣiṇa*, *pradakṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 1017; Vivāhap. 161. 162; Nirayāv. §4; Uvās.; Ovav. (text *ādā*²)); *pāyāhiṇa* (Uttar. 302); by the side of PG. *dakhiṇa* (6, 28), M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Pratāpar. 215, 19; Sūyag. 574; Erz.; Mṛcch. 9, 9; 155, 4; Vikr. 20, 2; 31, 5; 45, 2; 76, 17; Bālar. 264, 4; 278, 19; Mṛcch. 99, 19), Mg. *dakḥhiṇa* (Mṛcch. 130, 5; 164, 7; 168, 18; Caṇḍak. 64, 9; 66, 13; 71, 9), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* (Caṇḍak. 3, 16); AMg. *dakkhiṇilla* (Samav. 144; Nāyādh. 866. 921. 929. 930. 1350).—PG. *dūdha*=*dugdha* (6, 31).—M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* (daughter)=**dhuktā*, **dhūtā*, with a march over to the ā—declension (§ 212. 392).—AMg. JM. *bhāsa*=*bhasman* (Thān. 589; Paṇhāv. 507; Antag. 68; Vivāhap. 171. 1033. 1232. 1247. 1254. 1281. 1282; Kappas.; Sagara 4, 9), but Ś. *bhassa* (Hāsy. 27, 19; 41, 4).—*rāyagaī* (leech; Deśin. 7, 5) from **rātagati*=**raktagati*.

§ 66. As described under § 119. 122. 125, *e*, *o*, that developed from *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, whether original or going back to *r*, before consonant-groups are, in certain dialects, lengthened, and in such cases the consonant-groups are simplified. AMg. *koḍha* from **koṭṭha*=**kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 1046. 1047. 1177; Uvās. § 148; Vivāgas. 33, 34 [text *koḍḍha*]. 198), *koḍhi*-(Paṇhāv. 523) from and by the side of *koṭṭhi*-Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3), *kuṭṭhi*-(Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 1)=*kuṣṭhin*, *koḍhiya*=**kuṣṭhika* (Vivāgas. 177).—AMg. *gehi* (greed) from **geḍdhi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*gṛddhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 2; Sūyag. 97. 321. 348; Paṇhāv. 147. 148. 323; Samav. 83. 113; Vivāhap. 1026; Uttar. 217).—*ṇelaccha* (eunuch; Pāīyal. 235; Hc. 1, 174; Deśin. 4, 44) from **ṇellaccha*, **ṇillaccha*=*nirlakṣa* (BÜHLER, Pāīyal. s. v.), however, *lakṣa*=*lakṣaṇa* "sex mark".—AMg. *dehāi* (Uttar. 571)=*deḥkai* from **dikkhai*=**dykṣati* (§ 554), *dehe*=**dykṣet* (Dasav. 631, 22), *dehae*=**dykṣate* (Sūyag. 52), *dehamāṇi* (Vivāhap. 794 f.); A. *drehi* (glance; Hc. 4, 422, 6).—AMg. JM. *seḍhi* (series), from **seṭṭhi* for

śiṭṭhi*=*śliṭṭi* (Thān. 464. 546. 588; Paṇhāv. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhap. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyap. 49. 90. 258; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Anuog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇṇav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *sedhiya* (Paṇṇav. 846; Ovav.), *anusedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), *paredhi* (Rāyap. 49. 90), *visedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)¹.—M. *soṇāra* (H. 191) from **soṇṇāra*=*suṇṇāra* (v. 1. to H. 191)=*svarṇakāra*².—*ohala* (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from *o'kkhala* (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Ki. 1, 24)=AMg. *ukkhala* (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇhāv. 34), AMg. *ukkhalaḡa* (Sūyag. 250)=*udūkhala*, which occurs also as *udūhala* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMg. and *uūhala* (Hc. 1, 171) in M³. The long vowel in M. AMg. JM. *chūḡha*=*kṣubdha* (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Paṇhāv. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14, 18; 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMg. *ucchūḡha* (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Paṇhāv. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *paliucchūḡha*=*paryutkṣubdha* (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMg. JM. *nicchūḡha* (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇṇav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇhāv. 151; Āv. 16, 1; 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. *paricchūḡha* (Deśin. 6, 25; R.), M. *vicchūḡha* (Pāiyāl. 84; G. R.), M. *vicchūḡhavvā* (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with *ūḡha*, *gūḡha*, *mūḡha*, *rūḡha*. AMg., in fact, has *bha* in the root in words like *chubhanti* (Paṇhāv. 56; text **bbh°*), *chubhe'jja* (Dasav. 652, 24), *chubhittā* (Uttar. 499), *ucchubhai* (Nāyādh. 325), *ucchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), *nicchubhai* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇṇav. 827. 832. 834), *nicchubhanti* (Nāyādh. 516; Vivāgas. 84), *nicchubhāvei* (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), *nicchubhāviya* (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87), *vicchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in JM. also, as in *chubhai* (Erz.) and in the passive *chubhai* (Āv. 2, 3), *nicchubhai* (Āv. 42, 35), but JM. has also *chuhāmi*, *chuhāi* (Erz.), M. has throughout *vicchukhai* (H. R.), *vicchuhire*, (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root *chuh*, from which the participles are formed on analogy⁴. The normal development of Skt. *kṣubdha* is into *chuddha* (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. *jaḡha* § 67. 565.—*mūsala* (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal *musala* (H. R.), is derived from the present stem *muṣya*, *muṣya*-(Dhātupāṭha, 26, 111, *muṣa*, *muṣa khaṇḡane*) and, therefore,=muṣyala*⁵.

1. *sedhi* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *śreṇi* and has been taken also as *średhi* (Hc. Liṅgānuśāsana, 2, 25, Upādigaṇasūtra 631), *średhi* (B.R. s.v.) into Skt.—2. Thus, more correctly than KZ. 34, 573; *u* is to be explained according to §152, and the contraction, according to §167.-3. Mk. fol. 8f. has *uḡkhala*; cf. §148.—4. S. GOLDSCHMIDT contests the association of *chuhai* and *kṣubh*, Prakritica p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *uchūḡha*; FISCHER, BB. 15, 123f. and §120.-5 Cf. Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakoṣa 3 with v. 1.

§ 67. In contrast to *e*, *o* before consonant-groups becomes sometimes *a* and is not lengthened even when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases the accent originally fell on the ending. M. *marāḡhi*=NIA. *marāṭhi*=*māhāraṣṭri* (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354).—*jaḡha* (forsaken), AMg. *vijaḡha*, *vippajaḡha* for **jāḡha*, from the root *jah*, inferred from the present form *jahai*=*jahāti* of the root *hā* (§ 565).—AMg. *aḡha*=*aṣṭa*' (8), AMg. JM. *adhajālisam*, AMg. *adhajāla* (48, *adhajāṭṭim* (68), A *adhāisa* (28), *adhāālis* (48), AMg. *adhārcsama* (18.) (§ 442. 449).—In compound words formed with *srṣṭa*', from *srj* : AMg. *ūsaḡha*=*utsrṣṭa*, "separation", "selection", "expelled", "isolation", (Āyār. 2,

2, 1, 7), "exquisite", "preferable" (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6. 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. *ṇisaḍḍha*=*niṣṣṭa* (Nāyādh. 1276); M. *visadḍha*=*viṣṣṭa*, "released" (R. 6, 66), "given up" (R. 11, 89), "unequal", "uneven" (Hc. 1, 241; Pāṇīyāl. 207), "non-violent" or "healthy", (Deśin. 7, 62)¹; AMg. JM. *samosadḍha*=*samavasṣṭa* "what has occurred", "what has arrived" (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirayāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27)².

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of "uneven" to *viṣama*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT in R. assigns to it the meanings "self-released", "tried" and explains it as=**viṣratha*=*viṣṭatha*. 2. The Indian editions mostly write *samosadḍha* (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788ff. 912. 934. 971. 978. 988. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1018. 1025 etc.), also *ṣaṣṭa* (Rāyap. 12. 232) and *ṣadda* (Rāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMg., before the enclitic *eva*, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the *a* of the syllable *-am* of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and thereby, against § 348, *m* gets retained: *evāmeva* (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); *khippāmeva*=*kṣiprameva* (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *bhogāmeva* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); *puvāmeva*=*pūrvameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); *jutlāmeva*=*yuktameva* (Vivāhap. 503. 790; Uvās.; Nirayāv.); *saṃjāyāmeva*=*saṃjyātameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2, 4, 4. 5, 2. 4. 6 etc.). This takes place also before pure Prākṛit *m*, that is changed into *m*, as in *tāmeva jāṇappavaram*=*tadeva yānapravaram* (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary anusvāra, which also is changed into *m*, as in *jeṇāmeva cāugghaṇṭe āsarake teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi*=*yenaiva caturghaṇṭo 'svarathas tenaivopāgacchati* (Nāyādh. § 133); *jeṇāmeva rāyagihe nāyare jeṇāmeva guṇasīlāe ceie teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Nāyādh. 313); *jeṇāmeva sohamme kappe...teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original *ā* remains, against § 83: *jāmeva disam pāubbhūyā tāmeva disam padigayā*=*yāmevadiṣam prādurbhūtāstāmeva disam pratigatāḥ* (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is *disim*]), more often in the feminine=*ḥbhūtā*, *ḥgatā* (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 26; *tāmeva paṣeṇjāṃ*=*tāmeva paṣeṇjāyām* (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMg. before *avi*: *kisāmavi*=*kṛśamapi* (Sūyag. 1); *taṇāmavi*=*trṇamapi* (Uttar. 219); *annaṇārāmavi*=*anyataramapi*, *aṇudiṣāmavi*=*anudiṣamapi* (Daśav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. forming suffixes Skt.—*tas*, Pkt.—*hi*, *-himto*, and *i* as well as *u* is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short *a* remains mostly before *tas*: AMg. JM. *aggao* (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), S. *aggado* (Mṛch. 40, 14; 151. 18; 327, 1; Śak. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratn. 317, 12. 14), Mg. *aggado* (Mṛch. 119, 3. 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—S. Mg. D. *aṇṇado*=*anyataḥ* (Śak. 17, 4; Mṛch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*prsthāt* (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and *piṭṭhāhi* (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense *piṭṭhao* (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29. 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise JM. *piṭṭhao* (Erz.); S. D. *piṭṭhado* (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikāṃ 145, 21; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛch. 105, 25), S. *piṭṭhado* (Ratn. 316, 22), Mg. *piṭṭhodo* (Mṛch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venīś. 35, 5. 10).—AMg. *davvao khēṭṭao kālao bhāvao guṇao*=*dravyataḥ kṣetrataḥ kālato bhāvato guṇataḥ* (Vivāhap. 203. 204; and without *guṇao* 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118),

davvao vanṇao gandhao rasao phāsao (Vivāhap. 29), *soyao ghāṇao phāsao* = *śrotrato ghrāṇataḥ sparśataḥ* by the side of *cakkhāo, jibbhāo, jīhāo* = *cakṣustaḥ, jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5, 1-5).—*Ś. jammado* = *janmataḥ* (Ratn. 298, 11).—But always *Ś. kāraṇādo*, Mg. *kālaṇādo* = *kāraṇataḥ* (Mṛcch. 39, 14, 22; 55, 16; 60, 25; 61, 23; 74, 14; 78, 3; 147, 17, 18 etc.; Mg. 133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7); JM. *dūrāo* (Erz.), *Ś. dūrādo* (Hc. 4, 276), P. *tūrāto* (Hc. 4, 321), but Mg. *dūlado* (Mṛcch. 121, 11); M. *pacchao* (R.), commonly found *pacchā* (G. H. R.) = *paścāt*, but *Ś. pacchādo* (Mṛcch. 71, 22). In Mṛcch. 9, 9 occur *dakkhīnādo, vāmādo* in connection with the abl. of the feminine *chāā* = *chāyā*; besides there occurs *Ś. Mg. vāmado* (Mṛcch. 14, 8; 13, 25; 14, 7). On the shortening of vowels in pure ablative see § 99.

§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. JM. before the suffixes—*maya*, **mayika*. Thus: AMg. *raṇāyāmaya* = *raṇatamaya* (Uvās.), *phaliharayaṇā-maya* = *sphaṭikaratnamaya* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. JM. *savvarayaṇāmaya* (Vivāhap. 132, 1323, 1448; Jiv. 483; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; and *maiya* (Thān. 266); AMg. *vairāmaya* = *vajramaya* (Vivāhap. 1441; Jiv. 494, 563, 883; Samav. 102, 132; Rāyap. 63, 69, 105; Ovav.), *riṭṭhāmaya* = *ariṣṭamaya* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), *veruliyāmaya* = *vaidūryamaya* (Jiv. 494; Rāyap. 105), *savvaphālīyāmaya* = *sarvasphāṭikamaya* (Paṇṇav. 115); *āgāsaphālīyāmaya* = *ākāśasphāṭikamaya* (Samav. 97; Ovav.). But JM. *raṇānamaya* (Erz.) by the side of *ṇā* (T. 5, 12); AMg. *nāṇāmanimaya* (Jiv. 494), *āhāramaiya* (Dasav. 631, 24), *purāṇuvittimāya* (Dasav. N. 661, 5); JŚ. *puggalamāya*, *uvaogamāya*, *po ggaladavvamāya* = **puḍgalamayika, upayogamaya, puḍgaladravyamaya* (Pav. 384, 36, 49, 58), *asuimāya* (Kattig. 400, 337); *vārimai* by the side of *vārimai* = *vārimayī* (Hc. 1, 4); M. *nehamaia* = **snehamayika* (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: *pañcā, chā, sattā, aṭṭhā* (§ 440ff.), likewise with *aūṇā* = *aguna* and *addhā* = *ardha* (§ 444, 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of *pra*, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in *pradeśa, prādeśa* (Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakosa 25). So M. *paada* (G.) and M. Mg., *pāada* = *prakata* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.; Vajjāl. 325, 23; Mṛcch. 40, 6); JM. *payada* (Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *pāada* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *pāadia* = *prakatita* (H.); AMg. *pāgadiya* (Ovav.).—M. *pāroha* = *praroḥa* (Hc. 1, 44; G. H. R.).—M. *pasutta* and *pāsutta* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; G. H. R.), However, *Ś. pasutta* (Mṛcch. 44, 18; 50, 23).—M. *pasiddhi* = *prasiddhi* (G.) and *pāsiddhi* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5).—AMg. *pāvayaṇa* = *pravacana* (Hc. 1, 44; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.).—Also M. *pāsijjai* = *prasvidyate* (H. 771) and AMg. *pāsavaṇa* = *prasravaṇa* (Uvās.) may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—AMg. *abhū* = *abhijit* (Kappas.), *vīvavittā* = **vyativrajitvā* (Ovav. § 63), *vīvayamāṇe* (Uvās. § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in M. *diṭṭhipahammī* = *diṭṭhipathe* (H. 456), *nāhikamala* = *nābhikamala*, *araivilāsa* = *arativilāsa* (G. 13, 111; AMg. *girivara* (Sūyag. 110); JM. *veruliyamanimoḷla* = *vaidūryamanimautya* (Erz. 29, 28). So also *pāihara* = *patighara* (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of *pāi.ara*, *Ś. padighara* (Mālatim. 243, 4); *velūvaṇa* by the side of *veluvaṇa* = *veṇuvana* (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Śākāra in Mṛcch. *a* appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix—*ka*: *cāludattāke* (127, 23; 128, 6; 149, 25); *cāludattākam* (127, 25; 166, 18); *cāludattākena* (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); *vāsudevākam* (121, 16); *guḍāha* = *guḍaka* (116, 25; cf. § 206); *śaputtākam* = *śaputrakam* (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in AMg. *muhuttāga* = *muhūrtaka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), *piḷāga* = *piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208), *khuḍḍāga*, *ya* =

kṣudraka (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. *aṇādiya*, *aṇāiya*=*anādika* (Sūyag. 84. 867; Thāṇ. 41, 129; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of *anādiya*, *aṇāiya* (Sūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also JM. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. 1.); JS. *ādiya* (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. *ādika* (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic *jahāka* by the side of *jahaka* (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling somebody from a distance are lengthened (pluti): *re re capphalāyā*, *re re nigghināyā*, *he harī*, *he gurū*, *he pahū* (Hc. 3, 38); AMg. *āṇandā* Uvās. § 44. 84), *kālāsā* (Vivāhap. 132), *goṃama* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff. 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 66ff.; Uvās. etc.), *kāsavā* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), *camarā asurindā asurarāyā appatthiyāpatthiyā*=*camara asurendra asurarāja aprārthyaprārthika* (Vivāhap. 254), *hanīā mandiyaputtā* (Vivāhap. 268), *puttā*=*putra* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *hanīā*=*hanīa* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.), *subuddhī* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003), *maharīsī* (Sūyag. 182), *mahāmunī*=*mahāmune* (Sūyag. 419), *jambū* (Uvās.); Ś. *dāsieuttā*=*dāyāh-putra* (Mṛcch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), *are re kaṇelisudā rāasālasamthānā* *ussamkhalaā*=*kaṇelisuta rājaśyālasamsthānaka ucchrñ-khalaka* (Mṛcch. 151, 16f.); Mg. *haṇḍe kumbhilaā*=*haṇḍe kumbhilaka* (Śak. 113. 2), *le gaṇṭhiścedaā*=*re granthicchedaka* (Śak. 115, 4), *le calā*=*re cara* (spy, Lalitav. 566, 14. 18), *puttakā haḍakkā*=*putraka hṛdayaka* (Mṛcch. 114, 16); and so the *a*-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; *vāsū* (girl? Mṛcch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. *are re pavahanāvāhaā* (Mṛcch. 100, 17); Dh. *vippalambhaā*=*vipralambhaka*, *palivevidāṅgaā*=*parivepitāṅgaka*, *khalantaā*=*skhala-*, *kalēṇtaā*=*kurvan* (Mṛcch. 30, 6ff.); Ā. *bhamarā*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 387, 2), *mittaḍā*=*mītra* (Hc. 4. 422, 1), *haṃsā* (Vikr. 61, 20), *hiḍā*=*hṛdaya* (Hc. 4, 357, 4. 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final *a* in the imperative in cases like AMg. *kurvahaā*=**kurvata*=*kuruta* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), *pāsahā*=*paśyata* (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Sūyag. 144. 148.), *sambujjhahā*=*sambudhyadhvam* (Sūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like JM. *dhī*=*dhik* (Dvār. 501, 33); S. *haddhī* *haddhī*=*hādhik hādhik* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Śak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of *u* of *hou*=*bhavatu* before the enclitic *nam* in AMg. *hou nam*=*bhavatu namu* (Nāyādh. 1884. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of *h*, *i* and *u* of the endings *-ih* and *-uh* of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in *-i* and *-u*. M. *aggī*=*agnih* (H. 163), AMg. *agaṇī* (Sūyag. 273. 281. 291), Mg. *loṣaggi*=*roṣāgnih* (Mṛcch. 123, 2); M. AMg. *asī*=*asih* (G. 239; Sūyag. 593), Mg. *aśī* (Mṛcch. 12, 17); JM. *sahī*=**sakhīh*=*sakhā* (KI. 14); Ś. *pīdī*=*prītiḥ* (Mṛcch. 24, 4); M. JS. Ś. *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭih* (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 10); D. *seṇāvai*=*senāpatiḥ* (Mṛcch. 101, 21); M. JM. *tarū*=*taruḥ* (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. Ś. *bhikkhū*=*bhikṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛcch. 78, 13); JM. *gurū*=*guruḥ* (KI. 14), *bindū*=*binduḥ* (Āv. 15, 18); JM. D. *viṇhū*=*viṣṇuḥ* (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛcch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): *aggiṃ*, *nihiṃ vāuṃ*, *viḥuṃ*. In the instrumental plural in *-bhiḥ*, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in *-bhyah*, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of *h*, but there develops by the side of the short vowel

also a nasal vowel :—*hi*, *-him*, *-hĩ*, (§ 178), A. in the abl. *-hu*, *-hum*, *-hũ* (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used *-him* only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. *amsū*=*aśru* (H. 153); AMg. *dhiūmao*=*dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), *māimam*=*matimān* (Sūyag. 397), *māimayā*=*matimatā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), *amāimayā*=**amatimatkāḥ* (Sūyag. 213), *pañjalio*=*prāñjalikāḥ* (Dasav. 634, 23), *jāi-jarāmaranehim*=*jātijarāmaranaiḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *pavvaie*=*pravrajitāḥ* (Sūyag. 495), *mahiddhiyā*=*maharddhikāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); *sonām*=*sonitam* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9), *sāhiyā*=*sādhikā* (Ovav. § 174); Mg. *līpe*=*ṛnam* (Mṛcch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final *i* in verbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. *sahai*=*sahate* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), *sarai*=*smarati* (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), *kuvaī*=**kurvati*=*karoti* (Dasav. 623, 33), *bhāsai*=*bhāṣate* (Sūyag. 106), *marai*=**marati*=*mriyate* (Uttar. 207), *kiccai*=*kr̥tyate* (Sūyag. 106), *bajjhai*=*badhyate* (Uttar. 245), *karissai*=*karisyati* (Dasav. 627, 24), *jānantī*, *aṇuhoṇti*=*jānanti*, *anubhavanti* (Ovav. § 179. 188), *acchehi*=*atyehi* (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. *bhuñjai*=*bhunakti* (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4. 24); Mg. *ovaggadī*=*apavalgati* (Mṛcch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final *a* of the absolutive in *-ya* is lengthened in poetry. AMg. *paḍilehiyā*=*pratilekhyā*, *muṇiyā*=*jñātvā*, *sāpehiyā*=*samprekṣya*, *vihūṇiyā*=*vidhūya* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 7. 13. 23. 24); AMg. JM. *pāsiyā*=**paśya* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. *viyāṇiyā*=*viñāya* (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. *jagai*=*jagati* (Sūyag. 104), *kei*=*kecit* (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. *kajai*=*kadācit* (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pkl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the *vakrādi* or (Kī. 2, 122) *aśvādi* group. Thus: *kaṁkoḍa* (Hc.), M. *kaṁkoḷa* (Śukasaptati 123, 2; text °*la*) and M. AMg. *kakkoḷa* (G. 582; Pañhāv. 527; text °*la*)=*karkoḷa* (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.A. *daṁsaṇa*=*darśana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9. 4; Kattig. 400, 328. 329; Lalitav. 554, 7. 8; Mṛcch. 23, 14. 21; 29, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; Śak. 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; Vikr. 16, 15; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. *daṁsaṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in *daṁsi*=*darśin* (Vikr. 8, 11), *daṁsai*, *daṁsei* (§ 554) and in others.—M. Ś. *phaṁsa*=*sparśa* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālatīm. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttarar. 92, 9; 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaś. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. *pariphaṁsa* (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. *sphaṁśa* (Prab. 58, 8); *phaṁsai* (Hc. 4, 182).—*paṁsu*=*parśu* (Hc.)—M. *ṇiḥaṁsa*=*nigharṣa* (G.), *ṇiḥaṁsaṇa*=*nigharṣaṇa* (G.R.).—A *baṁhiṇa*=*barhin* (Vikr. 58, 8).—*l*+consonant in *sumka*=*śulka* (Mk.), AMg. *ussumka* (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādh. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]. Vivāgas. 230 has *sukka*.—Sibilant+*ya*: AMg. *namāṁsai*=*namasyati* (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādh. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf. Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc), JŚ. *namāṁsittā*=**namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6.). JM. *niyāṁsaha*=*nivasata* (Erz. 59, 30) from **nivasyata*, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. *niyāṁsei* (Jiv. 611), *niyāṁseha* (Vivāhap. 1262), *niyāṁsittā* (Jiv. 611), *niyāṁsāvei* (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and

from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. *niāmsaṇa* (Mk. H.), *viñāmsaṇa* (H.), AMg. *niyāmsaṇa* (Paṇṇav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); *viāmsaṇa* (Mk.); *paḍiñāmsaṇa* (night-dress; Deśin 6, 36).—M. *vaāmsa*=*vayasya* (Hc. Mk. Pkl. *vaāmsi*=**vayasyi* (Karp. 46, 8), JM. *vayaṃsa* (Erz.), A *vaāmsiahu*=**vayasyikābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351), by the side of M. *vaassa* (H.), so always in Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 7, 3, 14, 19; Śak. 29, 3; 30, 6; Vikr. 16, 11; 18, 8).—Sibilant+*ra* : M. JM. A. *aṃsu*=*aśru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Karpas. 44, 20; Erz.; Dvār. 501, 32; Piṅgala 1, 61^a), but Ś. *assu* (Venis. 66, 7; Subhadr. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for *aṃsu* in Vikr. 83, 13 [see v. 1.; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. PANDIT 150, 12., ed. PISCHEL 666, 3]; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. 1.]; Viddhaś. (79, 6; 80, 2).—AMg. *maṃsu*=*śmaśru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.; Pāiyāl. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11; 2, 8, 5; Paṇhāv. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), *nimmaṃsu*=*niḥśmaśru* (Aṇuttar. 12; text °*sa*); JŚ. *maṃsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. *taṃsa*=*tryasra* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Thāp. 445, 493); AMg. *caṭuraṃsa*=*caturasra* (Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Thāp. 20, 493; Uvās.; Ovav.), *chaḷaṃsa*=*ṣaḍasra* (Thāp. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya*, *aṭṭhaṃsa*=*ṣaḍasrika*, *aṣṭāsra* (Sūyag. 590).—Sibilant+*va* : *aṃsa*=*aśva* (Bh.) and so AMg. *aṃso'ttha*=*aśvattha* (Vivāhap. 1530), but *asso'ttha* (Thāp. 555), *āso'ttha* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇṇav. 31), *āsattha* (Samav. 233).—M. *maṇāmsi*=*manasvin* (Hc. Mk. H.), *maṇāmsiṇi*=*manasvinī* (Bh. Ki. Pkl.) and M. Ś. *māṇāmsiṇi* (Hc.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in -*vin* in AMg., as in *ojaṃsi*=*ojasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), *jassaṃsi*=*yaśasvin*, *tejaṃsi*, *tejaṃsi*=*tejasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.), *vaccāṃsi*=*varcasvin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.).—*haṃsa*=*hrasva* (Bh.; see § 354).—Visarga+sibilant : *maṇāmsilā*=*maṇāśīlā* (Hc.) by the side of *maṇāsitā*, *maṇosilā*, *maṇasilā* (§ 64, 347). Besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of *ś+k* in *saṃkuli*=*śaṃkuli* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Paṇhāv. 490), by the side of *sakkuli* (Thāp. 259 [commentary *saṃkuli*]; Dasav. 621, 2); in the case of *ś+m* in *pāṇiṃsi*=**pāṇiṃmin*=*pāṇau*, *leḷuṃsi*=**leṣṭuṃmin*=*leṣṭau* (§ 312, 379) and that in *s+m* in *aṃsi*=*asmi* (§ 313, 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like *kaṃsi*, *jaṃsi*, *taṃsi*=*kasmin*, *yasmin*, *tasmin*; *logaṃsi*=*loke*; *tārisagaṃsi* *vāsagharaṃsi*=*tādrśake vāsaghare* (§313, 366^a, 425ff.); in the case of *k+ṣ* in *pilāṃkhu*=*plakṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7, for which is printed *pilakkhu* (Vivāhap. 609, 1530 °*ka*), *pilukkha* (Paṇṇav. 31), *pilumka* (Samav. 233), also the v. l. in Āyār. has *pilakkhu*; further in *paṃkha*=*pakṣa* (Uttar. 439), *paṃkhi*=*pakṣin* (Rāyap. 235), *paṃkhiṇi*=*pakṣiṇi* (Uttar. 445); in the case of *t+s* in *digimchā*=*jighatsā* (Uttar. 48, 50; commentary *dighaṇchā*) (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), *vitigimchāi* Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150)=*vicikitsa*, *vicikitsati*, *vicikitsita* (§ 215, 555); in the case of *p+s* in *dugamchā*=*jugupsā* (Thāp. 151; Vivāhap. 110; Uttar. 960), *dugamchā* (Paṇhāv. 537), *dugamchaṇa* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 [°*ga*]), *dogaṃchi*=*jugupsin* (Uttar. 51, 219 [°*gu*]), *dugamchaṇijja* (Uttar. 410), also JM. *dugamchā* (Pāiyāl. 245; Erz.), AMg. *dugamchāi*, *duumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, °*gu* (§ 215, 555), *paḍidugamchi*=*pratijugupsin* (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of *ṣ+ṭ* in *gaṃṭhi* (Mk.), *giṃṭhi* (Hc.), *guṃṭhi* (Bh.)=°*grṣṭi*, but Ś. *giṭṭhi* (Mṛcch. 44, 3), that is reported by Hc. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being *r* or a sibilant are : *guṃcha*=*guccha* (Hc.), but Ś. *guccha* (Ratn. 300, 18); M. *piṃcha*=*piccha* (G. R.), but also M. AMg. Ś. *piccha* (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Aṇuog. 507;

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); *puṁcha*=*puccha* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. *puccha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. *puṣca* (Mṛcch. 10, 4).—In AMg. JM. *saṇṇikūmāra*=*sanatikumāra* (Thān. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paṇhāv. 314; Paṇṇav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. *mahamāsa*=*mahāśva* (Vivāhap. 830; Ovav.) *maham*, in unison with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem *mahant*, which was pronounced as *mohanta* also. Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. JM. *mimjā*=Pāli *mimjā*=Skt. *majjā* with *i*, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Thān. 186. 431; Paṇhāv. 26; Paṇṇav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), *mimjiyā* (Paṇṇav. 529; Vivāhap. 448) may be going back to the original form **mazjā*, **mazjikā*. In formation and in meaning *bundha*=*budhna* corresponds to Latin *fundus* and is, therefore, correctly written as *bundha*. M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṅka*=*vakra* (Vr. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Paṇṇav. 479 482; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 356. 412), along with M. *vaṅkia*=*vakṛita* (R.), M. A. *vaṅkima* (Viddhaś. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. l.]; Hc. 4, 344), A. *vaṅkuḍaa* (Hc. 4, 418, 8) is connected to Vedic *vaṅku* and to the root *vaki kauṭilye*, (Dhātup. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as *vaṅka*. Ś. *vakka* (Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233, 12; Kaṁsav. 7, 18), *vakkadara* (Pras. 140, 1), *vakkida* (Bālar. 246, 14), *anuvakka* (Mālav. 48, 19) are formed from *vakra*. AMg. *vakkoya*=*vakraka* (Ovav.). The use of *vaṅka* in Ś. (Karṇas. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine *vaṅkunī* from *vaṅkuna* has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun *tivaṅkunī* (Kaṁsav. 55, 11)² as well. Cf. § 86. On *vimchua*, *vimchia*, *vimcua* see § 301.

1. Aup. S. s. v.—2. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 26; GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2, 164. 258.

§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of pluti (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectically lengthening alternates with anusvāra (cf. § 181. AMg. JM. *visā* and *visam*=**vimśat*=*vimśati*, *tisā* and *tisam*=*trimśat*, *cattālisā*, and *cattālisam*=*catvārimśat*, A., with shortening of the final vowel, *visa*, *catālisa*, *coālisa* by the side of *tisā* (§ 445); AMg. *tiriṇyā* *tiryak* (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of *tiriyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931; Uttar. 1031; Paṇṇav. 381; Kappas.), also in compounds like *tiriyaṁvāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyaṁbhāgi*=*tiryagbhāgin* (Sūyag. 829); AMg. *samiṇyā*=*samyak* (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. *samiyaṁ* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sammam*. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Thān. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 165. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattig. 399, 308. 209; Kāleyak. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also *samiṇyae* (Āyār. 1, 3, 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found *jaṁsi* by the side of *jaṁsi*=*yasmin* and *yasyām* (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., *jahū* by the side of *jahim*=*yasmin* (Piṅgala 2, 135. 277) and *kī* by the side of *kim*, *kī* (Piṅgala 2, 18). Perhaps these forms go back directly to *jassim*, *jahim*, *kim*, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following *ra* or a sibilant or *ha*, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. *visā*, *visam*=**vimśat*, *vimśati*, *tisā*, *tisam*=*trimśat*, *cattālisā*, *cattālisam*=*catvārimśat*, and others; A. *visa*, *tisā*, *catālisa*, *coālisa* (§ 75. 445).—Pāli *dāthā*, CP. *tāthā* (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. Ś. *dādhā*=*damṣṭrā* (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc. 2, 139; Ki. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Anuog. 507; Uvās.; Kappas., Mālatim. 251, 5; Caṇḍak. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;

270, 6; AMg, *Ś dādhi*—=*damṣṭrīn* (Aṇuog. 349; Venis. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A *siha*=*simha* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92, 264; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225, 414, 748; Paṇṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 647, 36; Erz.; Kk., Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. *sihi*=*simhi* (Paṇṇav. 363), by the side of *simgha* (§ 267) and *simha*, as in Ś. (Bilar. 209, 11 *sim'raṇāda*; 231, 8 *ṇarasimha*; Cūṇḍak. 17, 1 *vaṇasimha*), in compounds correspondingly Hc. 1, 92 has *simhadatta*, *simharāa*; so also Mg. *simhasāva*=*simhasābika* (Śak. 154, 6), but AMg. *sihaguḥā* (Nāyādh. 1427 ff.). In Bālar. 50, 11 in Ś. there occurs *sihasimhā* [sic.; read °*saṃghā*]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in *śihamuha* 144, 3 but *simghamuha* [sic]=*sim'hamukha*.—*kesua* from **keṃsu* (§ 119)=*kiṃsua* (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=*kiṃśuka* (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhī *kesū*.—*pisai*, Ś. *pisedi*=**pimsati*=*pinaṣṭi* (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mṛcch. 3, 1, 21); AMg. *pisaṇa*=**pimsana* (Paṇḥāv. 77).—AMg. *vūhae* from **vumhae*=*vr̥mhayet* (Sūyag. 894), *anuvūhai* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *duppaḍivūhana*, *paḍivūhana* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of *a* in the prefix *sa* in AMg. in words like *sārakkkaṇa*=*aṃrakṣaṇa* (Thān. 556), *sārakkhaṇaṇā*=*saṃrakṣaṇatā* (Thān. 333), *sārakkhi*=*saṃrakṣin* (Thān. 313), *sārakkhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), also in JM. *sārakkhaṇijja*, *sārakkhanatassa* (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. *sārohi*=*saṃrohin* (Thān. 314); *sāharai*=*saṃharati* (Kappas.), *sāhareṇjā* (Vivāhap. 1152), *sāharanti* (Thān. 155) *sāhittu*=**saṃhartu* (§ 577), *paḍisāharai* (Paṇṇav. 841; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *sāhaninti*, *sāhanittā* (Vivāhap. 137, 138, 141). Thus is explained also M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṃskṛta* (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mṛcch. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. *asakkaja* (Paṇḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further *sakkāra*=*saṃskāra* (Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṃskārita* (Erz.) The route is *saṃskṛta*, **sāmskṛta*, **sākkaa*, *sakkaa*. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikesh p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of *satthua*=*saṃstutā* and *satthava*, *satthāva*=*saṃstāva*, *saṃstava*. But AMg, *saṃthuja* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* § 127.

c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. *abhijāti* and *ābhijāti*; *pariplava* and *pāriplava*; *prati-vītya* and *prātivītya*. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; Pkl. p. 19). *ahijāi* and M. *āhijāi* (H.), *āhiāi* (R.)=*abhijāti*; M. *paḍivaā*=*pratipad* (H.) and *pādivaā*; M. AMg. *pāḍiēkka*=*pratyeka* (§ 163); *paḍipphaddhi* and *pāḍipphaddhi*=*pratisṭirddhin* (Hc.; Kī. 1, 1; 2, 101); *paḍisiddhi* and *pāḍisiddhi*=**pratisiddhi* (competition; also 2, 174; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1; 21, 5; 44, 9); *paḍisāra* and *pāḍisāra*=**pratismāra* (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. *saṃiddhi* (G. H.; Rṣabhap.) and M. *sāṃiddhi*=*saṃyiddhi* (H.); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*, °*vaṇṇa*=*adhyupapanna* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185, 210, 751, 923; Nāyādh. 1069, 1387, 1461, 1469; Vivāgas. 87, 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), *ajjhavavajjaha*, *ajjhovavajjai* (Nāyādh. 841, 1390), *ajjhovavajjihii* (Ovav.); AMg. *abbhoga-miṇḍā*=*ābhuyupagamikā* (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. *āhevacca*). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. *veāriṇi*, *veāriṇjasi*=*vitārayitum*, *vitārayise* (H. 286, 909); *veāria* (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. *āhevacca*=*ādhiṭṭiya* (Samav. 134; Nāyādh. 257, 310, 329, 481, 529, 1417, 1507; Vivāgas. 28, 57 [x°]; Paṇṇav. 98, 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a°]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. *anovāhanaṇa*, °*ja*=**anupānahanaka* (Sūyag.

759; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.); AMg. JŚ. *aṇovama* = *anupama* (Paṇṇav. 136; Ovav.; Pav. 380, 13); AMg. *aṇouya* = *anṛtuka* (Thāṇ. 369), *aṇovaṇihīya* = *anupanihita* (Aṇuog. 228, 241, 242), *aṇovasamkha* = *anupasamkha* (Sūyag. 454) elevation of the vowel has not to be assumed, but as firstly shown by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹ there is the negative *aṇa-* which is occurs also in AMg. *aṇāi* = *aniti*,² *aṇāidāya* (Kattig. 399, 309), M. *aṇahīa* = *ahṛdaya* (H. R.), *aṇahoṇta* = *abhavad* (H.); *aṇarasia* (H.), *anadihara* = *adūrgha* (R.); *aṇamīlia* = *amīlita* (Deśin. 1, 44); *aṇarāmaa* = *arāmakā* = *arati* (Deśin. 1, 45) and others.³ Cf. § 70.

1. ZDMG. 32, 99ff.; KZ. 24, 426.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3, 243ff.; WEBER on H. 41. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, KZ. 23, 271ff.

§ 78. Prākṛit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus : *pārakera* = *parakīya* (Hc. 1, 44), but Ś. *parakera* (Mālav. 26, 5), *parakeraa* (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. *palakelaa* (Mṛcch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. *māṇamsi-*, *māṇamsinī* = *manasvin*, *manasvinī* (§ 74); M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkl. p. 19; H.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338). = **sādṛkṣa*,¹ corresponding to *tādṛkṣa*, *yādṛkṣa*; AMg. *cāuranta* = *caturanta* (Hc. 1, 44; Sūyag. 787, 789; Thāṇ. 41, 129, 512; Samav. 42; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464, 471; Uttar. 339, 842, 869; Vivāhap. 7, 39, 160, 848, 1049, 1128 etc.), *cāukkoṇa* = *catuskoṇa* (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289, 478), *cāugghaṇṭa* (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731, 780, 784, 826, 1060, 1233, 1266, 1456; Vivāhap. 114, 801, 802, 830; Rāyap. 231, 237, 239; Nirayāv. § 21), *cāujjāma* = *caturyāma* (Vivāhap. 135), *cāuraṇṇinī* (Nāyādh. § 65, 100, 103; p. 538, 541; Ovav. Nirayāv.).—AMg. *teicchā* = *cikitsā* (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from *r*, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus : AMg. *gāhāvai* = *grhapatī*, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final *a* according to § 70 (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1, 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 846, 848, 850, 957 ff.; Vivāhap. 162, 227, 345, 346, 1207 ff.; Nirayāv. 41, 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), *gāhāvaiṇī* = *grhapatnī* (Vivāhap. 1266, 1270, 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. *musam* = *mṛṣā* (Sūyag. 74, 340, 489; Dasav. 614, 29; Uttar. 116), *musāvāda* (Sūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text *mūsā*]). 46 [**vāya*]), *musāvādi* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8) there occurs the very frequently found *mosa* (Uttar. 373, 952, 957), *mosa*, *saccāmosa*, *asaccāmosa* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 362; Thāṇ. 203; Ovav. § 148, 149), *taccamosa* (Thāṇ. 152; Paṇṇav. 362), *māyāmosa* (Thāṇ. 21; Vivāhap. 126; Paṇhāv. 86; Paṇṇav. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovav.).—*rovai*, *dhovai*, *sovai* from *ru*, *dhau*, *svap* (§ 473, 482, 497); *sovaṇa* (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. *osovani* = *avasvāpanī* (Kappas. § 28), *sovani* = *svāpanī* (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. *vesalaga* = *vṛṣalaka* (Sūyag. 729), *sovāga* = *svapāka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349, 371, 402, 409, 410), *sovāgi* = *svapākī* (Sūyag. 709); AMg. *gelanna* = *glānya* (Thāṇ. 369) of *gilāṇa* = *glāna* (§ 136). On M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* = *bahih* see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word takes place in AMg. *puḍho* for **puḍhu* = *prthak* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 1, 2; 3, 4ff, 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Sūyag. 81, 123; Thāṇ. 332), *puḍhochanda* (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 2; cf. Sūyag. 412), *puḍhosiya* = *prthakśrita* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2; 6, 3; Sūyag. 332, 468), *puḍhojiya* = *prthagjīva* (Sūyag. 46), *puḍhosatta* = *prthak-sattva* (Sūyag. 425; cf. 401). In **puḍhu* for **puḍha* the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in *puhutta* = *prthaktva* (Thāṇ. 212; Aṇuog. 45, 405 ff.; Nandis. 160, 163, 168 f.), for which is found also *puhatta* (Paṇṇav. 602, 744; Vivāhap.) 181, 182, 1057)², also *pohatta* (Samav. 71; Vivāhap. 178), *pohattiya* (Paṇṇav. 639, 640, 664) with elevation of the first *u*. Pāli *puṭhu*³ shows the course of development; there is corres-

pondence between Pāli *puthujja* and AMg. *puḍhojaga*=*prthagjaka* (Sūyag. 104. 342), as well as between *putthujjana* and AMg. *puḍhojana* (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 *pihaṃ*, *puhaṃ*, *pidhaṃ* and *puḍhaṃ* are also used; so JM. *pihappihaṃ* (Āv. 7, 8. 17), AMg. *pihajjana*=*prthagjana* (Thāṇ. 132).

1. At the end of a compound *sāriccha* mostly=**sādykṣya* may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have *puhutta* also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and *e* was changed into *i*, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their *ā* shortened to *a* have been classed under *yathādi* ākṛtigana group by Vr. 1, 10; Ki. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the ākṛtigana *utkhātādi*; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta-suffix -*a'* (*ghaṇ*) and show vrddhi have their *ā* shortened to *a*, as in *pravāha'*, *prahāra'*, *prakāra'*, etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37. 38. The words with--*i* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi* gaṇa by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the *grhitādi* class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 set up the *gabhiraga* gaṇa and group the words like *pāṇiya*, *alika*, *karīṣa*, *upanīta*, *jivati* that show *i* also under the *pāṇiyga* class (1, 11). Inversely Ki. groups under *pāṇiyādi* (1, 11) the words that require shortening of *i* compulsorily and under the *gabhirādi* class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a gaṇa for the words with *ū*.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. *ukkhāa*, JM *ukkhāya*=*utkhāta* (Grr.; G. R. Erz.), M. *samukkhāa* (H.) by the side of M. *ukkhāa* (H.); AMg. *kulala*=*kālāla* (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. *nisaha*=*n'hiśākha* (H.); M. *varāi*=*va'rāki* (H.) by the side of the more frequent *varāa*, *varāi* (H.), *sāmaa* (Hc. 1, 71)=*śyā'māka* (Śāntanava, Phitsūtra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śriharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 48 also in Skt. *śyāmaka*.—AMg. *aṇiya*=*a'nika* (Thāṇ. 357; Ovav.), *aṇiyāhivai*=*anikādhipati* (Thāṇ. 125. 357), *pāyaṭṭāṇiya*, *pidhāṇiya*, *kuñjarāṇiya*, *mahisāṇiya*, *rahāṇiya* (Thāṇ. 357), by the side of *aṇiya* (Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.); M. *aliā*, AMg. JM. *aliya*=*a'lika* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352. 687; Paṇhāv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛcch. 24, 25; 57, 14. 15; 95, 17; 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Ratn. 324, 19; Candak. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13. 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś. Mg., except in poetry (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 153, 18) often *aliā* also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as *aliā* is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 [against *aliāttaṇa* 38, 1]; Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Pras. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venīś 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JM. *aliya* in Erz.; M. *osianta*=*a'vasidat* (R.), *pasia*=*pra'sida* (Hc.; H.), but Ś. *pasida* (Mṛcch. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. *paśida* (Mṛcch. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMg. *karīsa*=*ka'rīṣa* (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. *karīsa* (G.); AMg. *vammīya* (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostly °i°]) and M. *vammīa* (G.)=*va'lmika* (Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 4, 25); according to Puruṣottama=Dvirūpakośa 8 there occurs *vālmika* as well, and according to Śriharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 51 *valmika* also is found in Skt.; *śirīsa*=*śi'rīṣa* (Hc.), but also M. *śirīsa* (Śak. 2, 15).—M. *uḷua*, AMg.

uluga=ūlūka (Sarasvatik. 16, 10; Sūyag. 695); AMg. JM. *gāuja=ga'vyūta* (Thān. 83. 88. 89; Vivāhap. 425. 1529; Jiv. 276; Anuog. 381. 385. 397. 403; Paṇṇav. 52. 601. 602; Nandis. 160. 163. 168; Ovav.; Erz.); M. Ś. *veruliā*, AMg. JM. *veruliya=va'i'dūrya* (Hc. 2, 133; Ki. 2, 117; [text °ri°]; Mk. fol. 39; Pāiyāl. 119; G.; Mṛcch. 70, 25; 71, 3 [so it is to be read]; Karp. 33, 1; Sūyag. 834; Thān. 75. 86. 514. 568; Paṇhāv. 440; Vivāhap. 1146. 1322. 1324; Paṇṇav. 26. 540; Nandis. 72; Rāyap. 29. 58. 69; Jiv. 217. 494. 549; Uttar. 629. 981. 1042; Erz.); cf. § 241.—*viruwa=vi'rūpa* (Deśin. 7, 63).—*caviḍā*, *caviḷā=ca'petā* (Hc. 1, 146. 198) by the side of M. AMg. *caveḍā* (Hc.; H.; Uttar. 596.)

§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable: AMg. JM. *ājariya=ācāryā* (§ 134)¹; AMg. *amāvasā=amāvāsyā* (Kappas.); M. AMg. JM. *thavei=ssthāpa'yati* and other causatives (§ 551. 552); M. JM. *kumāra=kumāra'* (Grr.; Erz.), M. *kumārī=kumārī'* (G.; Karp. 80. 6), M. *kumaravāla=kumārāpāla* (Deśin. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. *kumāra, kumārī* (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in Ś. *kumāra* (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15. 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras; 35, 2. 7), *kumāraa* (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]; 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), *kumārī* (Mālav. 68. 10), in Mg. *kumāla* (Nāgān. 67, 1. 14 [so it is to be read]); *khāia*, JM. *khāiya=khādita'* (Bh. Mk. Pkl.; Erz.); *khāira=khādīra'* (Grr.); A. *taisa=tādīśa, jaīsa=yādīśa'* (Hc. 4, 403. 404); AMg. JM. *pajjava=paryāya'* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇṇav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451; Uttar. 797. 895; Anuog. 270; Vivāhap. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4. 9), JŚ. *pajjaya* (Pav. 388, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. *paṇaha=pravāha'* (Grr.; G. H. R.), by the side of M. JM. *paṇāha* (Grr.; G.; Erz.; Kk.), as in Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 20); M. *mañjara* (§ 86) *māñjara'* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), *majjara* (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of *mañjara* (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *majjāra* (Paṇhāv. 20. 64. 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M.Ś. *majjārī* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), *majjārīā* (Karp. 53, 5); A. *sahū=sāka'm* (§ 206); M. *halia=hālika'* (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. *gahira=gabhira'* (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of *gahira* (G.); M. *ña=nīta'* (R.), AMg. *ñiya* (Uttar. 617, and the words more frequently found in compounds like *aiñia=atinīta* (Deśin. 1, 24), M. *āñia* (Grr.; G. H. R.), JM. *āñiya* (Dvār. 496, 30. 32; Erz.), M. *samāñia* (H.) M. *uñña* (R.), *uñña* (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. *nīñiya* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. *ña* (H.), JM. *ñiya* (Erz.); always with a long vowel in Ś. *ñida* (Mṛcch. 95, 7; Śak. 127, 9), *avañida* (Vikr. 87, 4), *paccāñida* (Vikr. 10, 4), *wañida* (Mṛcch. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), *pariñida* (Śak. 76, 10), *duvviñida* (Śak. 17, 4), *aviñida* (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. *ñida* (Mṛcch. 162, 19), *avañida* (Mṛcch. 109, 16), *añida* (Mṛcch. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lengthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of *ānita*. The example quoted by Triv., viz. *āñidā bhuvañabbhudekkajāṇaṇi=āñitā bhuvañādbhutaikajāṇanā* is set either in JŚ. or in Ś.—*tuñhia=tuññika'* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. *tusiñiya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 25, 20); M. *viñia=viñidita'* (Grr.; Deśin. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. 1.; Acyutaś. 82), *viñia* (R.), AMg. *saviñiya* (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. *sarisiva=sarī'ṛpa'* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2. 7 [so it is to be read; v. 1.]; Sūyag. 105. 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here °ri°]; also *sarisava* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and *sirīsiva* (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 [°sa°]. 235).—M. AMg. JM. *iña=ena'* (§ 431); M. *vianā*, JM. *viñāṇa=vedanā'* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Ki. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Pāiyāl. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).

1. Wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel *i* and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.

§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. *ahira*=*abhira* (H. 811); *kalaa* beside *kaḷāa*=*kalāda* (goldsmith: Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for *kālaa*=*kālaka* in Hc.); *marāla* (Mk. fol. 6)=*marāla*; JM. *mahua* by the side of *mahūa*=*madhūka* (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Kī. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Kī. 18); AMg. *saraḍuḷa*=*śalātuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So *khāira*=*khā'dira*, but *khāira*=*khādīra*; *devara* is =*dēvara* (Phitsūtra 3, 18), but M. *diara* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), JM. *diḷara* (Pāiyāl. 252)=*devara* (Unādisūtra 3, 132); AMg. *pāyāya*, JM. *pāgāya*, *pāyāya*, M. *pāia*, JM. *pāiya*, M. *pāua*, Ś. *pāuda*, Mg. *pākida* (§ 53) are=*prā'kṛta*, but *pāaa* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), *pāua* (Bh. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=*prākṛta* (cf. *sa'mskṛta* and *saṃskṛta*). *balaā* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of *balāa*=*bālā'kā* presupposes the accent as in **ba'lākā* or **balākā*, like AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in **sūkṣma*, whilst in the Unādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as *sū'kṣma*. The ordinals *duia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94. 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), JM. *duiya* (Erz.), Ś. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5. 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)¹, Mg. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. *biia* (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMg. JM. *biīya* (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Āyār. p. 3. 8. 15. 29. 34 etc.; Erz.), M. *taia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMg., JM. *taīya* (Ovav. § 105. 144; Uvās.; Niraḷāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Āyār. p. 4. 10. 16. 17. 20. 24 etc.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), Ś. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 69, 14. 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. l.]), Mg. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text *taia*]) do not go back to *dvitī'ya*, *trīti'ya*, but to **dvitīya*, **trītiya*². In cases like M. *jiaī*=*jivati*, M. AMg. JM. *āruhaī*=*ārohati* there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)³. On *pāia* see § 91, on *gahia*=*grīhta* § 564. Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened: *kālāsa* from *kālāasa*=*kālāyasa* (§ 165); *kumbhāra* from *kumbhaāra*=*kumbhakāra*, and other compound words formed with *kāra* added to them (§ 167); *cakkāa*=*cakkāa*=*cakkaāa*=*cakravāka* (§ 167); *pāikka* from *pādātika* (§ 194); *bia*, *tia* from *biia*, **tiia*=**dvitīya*, **trītiya* (§ 165): So probably also *nārāa* by the side of M. *nārāa* (R.), Mg. JM. *nārāya* (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=*nārāca* (Hc. 1, 67)⁴. On AMg. *paḍina* see § 99.

1. The texts often have *dudia*, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālatim. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anarghar. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālatim. has mostly the correct reading.—2. JACOBI on Kalpas. p. 103, note 28. Cf. FISCHER KZ. 35, 144; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 570 f.—3. JACOBI objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 f., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks proof as such. It is still to be proved. In FW. the accent is shown as in *nārāca*, probably according to Vedic *nārāci*. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms *nārāca* and *nārāca*. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, FISCHER, KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35, 563 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84). PG.: *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5, 4); *amacce*=*amātyān* (5, 5); *vatthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6, 8); *bamhaṇāṇām* (6, 8. 27. 30. 38); *puvva*=*pūva* (6, 12. 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: *kāncipurā* for *kañcīpurā*=*kāñcīpurāt* (5, 1) and *ātteya* for *atteya*=*ātreya* (6, 13); faulty is also *cāttāri* for *cattāri*=*catvāri* (6, 39).—PG. M. AMg. JM. Dh. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16).¹ M. JM. Ś. *kavva*=*kāvya*

(G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 31, 11; 35, 5).—M. JM. AMg. *gatta*=*gātra* (R.; Ovav.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *Š. rajja*=*rājya* (H. R.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 5).—JŠ. *uvasanta*=*upaśānta* (Kattig. 403, 377).—Mg. *śanta*=*śrānta* (Mṛcch. 13, 7).—A. *kanta*=*kānta* (Hc. 4, 345, 351, 357, 1; 358, 1; Vikr. 58, 9).—M. AMg. JM. A. *kitti*=*kīrti* (Vr. 3, 24; Hc. 2, 30; Ki. 2, 34; Mk. fol. 22; G. R.; Uvās.; Ovav. Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 335; *Š. kittiā*=*kīrtikā* (Vikr. 12, 14).—AMg. JM. JŠ. *Š. A. tittha*=*tīrtha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 379, 1; Śak. 79, 1; 105, 4; 118, 10; Hc. 4, 441, 2).—M. AMg. *Š. Mg. A. gimha*=*grīṣma* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 80, 23; Śak. 10, 1; Hc. 4, 357, 3).—M. JM. *Š. Mg. A. uddha*=*ūrdhva* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 136, 16; Hc. 4, 444, 3), AMg. JM. *uddha* JM. *ubbha* (§ 300).—M. AMg. *kumma*=*kūrma* (G.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. AMg. JM. *Š. Mg. A. cuṇṇa*=*cūrṇa* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3; 2, 2, 3, 9.; Kappas.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 68, 25; 117, 7; Hc. 4, 395, 2).—M. AMg. JŠ. *Š. mulla*=*mūlya* (H.; Karp. 73, 10; Ovav.; Kattig. 400, 335; Mṛcch. 55, 15; 78, 3; 82, 15; 88, 21 ff.; Śak. 116, 12).—All the syllables that are accompanied with a nasal vowel or anusvāra are governed by the same law, whether they existed already in Skt. (Hc. 1, 72) or if this anusvāra is secondary in Pkt., having originated from *m* according to § 348: M. *Š. kamsatāla*=*kāmsyatāla* (G.; Mṛcch. 69, 24; Karp. 3, 3 v. 1.).—M. AMg. JM. *Š. paṃsu*=*pāṃsu* (G. R.; Vivāgas. 155; Bhag.; Erz.; Mālatim. 142, 1; Mallikām. 253, 18; 336, 9).—M. AMg. JM. JŠ. *Š. māṃsa*=*māṃsa* (H.; Sūyag. 281; Dasav. 632, 24; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Āv. 27, 12; Kattig. 400, 328; Śak. 29, 6), Mg. *māṃsa* (Mṛcch. 10, 1; 21, 17; 117, 9; 123, 7; 126, 5; 163, 9; Venis. 33, 6; 34, 2; *maṃsae* 33, 12).—The rule frequently becomes operative in the final syllables ending in *-ām*, *-im*, *-ūm*, *-ān* of Skt. declensional forms, as in M. *puttāṇam*=*putrāṇam*; *aggīṇam*=*agnīṇam*; *vāṇṇam*=*vāyūṇam*; *mālaṇ*=*mālām*; *sahim*=*sakhīm*; *vahuṇ*=*vadhūm*; AMg. *mahaṇ*=*mahān*; *āyavaṇ*=*ātmavān*, etc. (§ 370 ff. 396); further in adverbs like *dāṇim*=*idāṇim* (§ 144), AMg. JM. *saddhim*=*saddhīm* (§ 103). In the case of interjections the rule does not hold good: *Š. Mg. ām*=*ām* (Mṛcch. 27, 10; Śak. 71, 13; 134, 14; Vikr. 13, 2; 35, 9; 75, 5; Mālav. 6, 3; 80, 8; Bālar. 123, 17; Mṛcch. 136, 19). In A. *kaḥām*, *jaḥām*, *tahām*, in the sense of *kutaḥ*, *yataḥ*, *tataḥ* (Hc. 4, 355) the lengthening is to be explained according to § 68.

1. In connection with the rules of this type, that are to be covered times without number, the examples from M. AMg. JM. have been selected from texts that are provided with word indices, as far as possible, for the sake of brevity and the examples are confined chiefly to words that possibly occur uniformly in many dialects.

§ 84. Before a consonant group *e* becomes *ē* and *o* becomes *ō*. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter *i* and *u* in lieu of *ē* and *ō*. Thus: M. AMg. JM. *pe'cchāi*=*prekṣate* (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *pe'cchāṇija*=*prekṣaṇiya* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pe'cchaga*=*prekṣaka* (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. *picchāi* (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. *picchāṇija* (Jiv. 353), JŠ. *pe'cchadi* (Pav. 284, 48), *Š. pe'kkhadi* (Śak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. *pe'skadi* (Hc. 4, 295, 297; Mṛcch. 80, 4; 112, 17); M. *ave'kkhi*=*apekṣin* (G.); M. *duppe'ccha*=*dupprekṣya* (R.), *Š. duppe'kkha* (Prab. 45, 11), Mg. *duppe'ska* (Mṛcch. 116, 7).—*dubbhe'jja*=*durbhedyā* (Mṛcch. 68, 19).—AMg. JM. *Š. A. me'ccha*=*mleccha* (Ovav. § 183 [v. 1. *mi*°]; Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Cait. 38, 6 [text *mal'e'ccha*]; Piṅgala 1, 77^a, 117^a, 2, 272) and *miliccha* (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. *miccha* (Paṇnav. 136).—M. *che'tta*=*kṣetra* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. *chitta* (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. JŠ. *Š. khe'tta* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157, 203 f. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,

3; 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mṛcch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. *khitta* (Uttar. 576. 1014).—M. AMg. JM. *oṭṭha*=*oṣṭha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Paṇhāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. *uṭṭha* (Erz.), AMg. *huṭṭha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. aṇṇoṇṇa*=*anyonya* (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Śak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. *aṇṇuṇṇa* (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in *Ṣ. Bālar.* 217, 8.—M. AMg. *Ṣ. paṭṭha*=*prakoṣṭha* (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff. 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālar. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. *paṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. *maṇunna*=*manoṇṇa* (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary *e*, *o* that originated from *ai*, *au* (§ 60 ff.), by *saṃprasāraṇa* (§ 153. 154), and those that originated from *ai* and *au* (§ 166). As *i*, from *e*, there occurs *ai* always in AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thān. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729. 1505; Paṇṇav. 61.; Uttar. 532; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as *ikṣvāku* by LEUMANN and JACOBI: *Ṣ. mitteja*=*maîtreya* (Mṛcch. 4, 22. 23; 6, 3; 17, 20; 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 45, 1); *sindhava*=*saindhava* (Vr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Kī. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. *saṇiccara*=*śanaiścara* (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Paṇhāv. 312; Paṇṇav. 116; Ovav.). AMg. *śaṇimcara* (Thān. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MSS., against *saṇicchara* of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from **saṇiamcara*, from M. *Ṣ. śaṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*, Pāli *sanikam*, *sanim* (Hc. 2, 168; Pāiyal. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15. 19. 20. 22; Vivāhap. 172. 173; Uvās.; Erz.; Mālatim. 239. 3; Uttarar. 32, 8; Paiyad. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Mallikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in *Ṣ. saṇiccara* except in the v. l.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides *saindhava* also *bhaikṣājivika*, *naiyāyika* and *piṇḍapātika*. Consequently *bhikkhājivika* can be traced back to *bhikṣājivika*, *piṇḍavāia* goes back to *piṇḍapātrika*: *naiyāyika* becomes *neyāyika* in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show *u* from *o* for *au* have been grouped by grammarians (Vr. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Kī. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the *saundaryādi* class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an *ākṛtigāṇa*. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the *ākṛtigāṇa* *śauṇḍaga*, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this *gaṇa* belong *sundera*=*saundarya* (M. Karp. 66, 7; *Ṣ. Dhūrtas.* 10, 9), for which Pratāp. 220, 9 has *soṇḍajja*, and Hc. teaches *sundaria*; also *uvariṭṭhaa*=*aupariṭṭhaka* (Mk. Pkl.); *kukkheaa*=*kaukṣeyaka* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach *kuccheaa* and *koṭcheaa*; *duvāria*=*dauvārika* (Bh. [read so for *duvvā*], Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.) is rather *dvārika*; *dussāhia*=*dauṣādhika* (Mk. Pkl.); *pulomī*=*paulomī* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.); *pussa*=*pausya* (Mk. [pauṣa]); Pkl. [pauruṣa]); *muñja*=*mauñja* (Mk. Pkl.); *muñjāṇa*=*mauñjāyana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk.); *suṇḍa*=*śauṇḍa* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.); *suṇḍia*=*śauṇḍika* (Kī. Mk. Pkl.), and so Mg. *suṇḍikāgāla*=*śauṇḍikāgāra* (Śak. 118, 7); *suddhoṇi*=*śauddhodani* (Hc.).—*suvaṇṇia*=*sauvaṇṇika* (Hc.) is rather=**suvaṇṇika*, *sugandhattaṇa*=*saugandhya* (Hc.)=**saugandhatvana*.

§ 85. The *e* occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary *o* (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become *e* and *o* and not *i* and *u*: M. *tumheṭṭha*=Ved. *yuṣṇe stha* (R. 3, 3), *sāreṭṭi*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4, 39), *aṇurāoṭṭi*=*aṇurāga iti* (G. 715), *pioṭṭi*=*priya iti* (H. 46); JM. *purisoṭṭi*=*puruṣa iti* (Āv. 13, 2), *gaoṭṭi*=*gata iti* (Āv. 17, 6), *kālo vva*=*kāla iva* (Erz. 71, 27. 3.); JŚ. *samoṭṭi*=*sama iti* (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. *muṭṭi* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for *moṭṭi*, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition,=*sma iti*, JŚ. *māyācāruvva* for *māyācāro vva* (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. *lohabhāruvva*,

gaṃgasouva for °bhāro°va, °so°va (Uttar. 583), and others. See § 346. Ś. *avahito°mhi*=*avahito°smi* (Vikr. 78, 14), *bamhaṇo°jje°va*=*brāhmaṇa eva* (Mṛcch. 27, 14); Mg. *eṣa°kkhu*=*eṣa khalu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9), *puttake°tti*=*putraka iti* (Śak. 161, 7). Against this, in M. *e* and *o* are always changed into *i* and *u* in the final syllable of the case endings after long vowels, when the metre requires a short vowel: *pucchiāi muddhāe*=*prṣṭāyā mugdhāyāh* (H. 15); *golāi tūhām*=*godāyāstīrthāni* (H. 58); *gāmataruṇiu hiaam*=*grāmataruṇyo hrdayam* (H. 546); *uahiu niggaam*=*udadhernirgatam* (G. 56) Just apparently sometime in MSS. are written *e°* and *o°* that are permitted by grammarians in Pkt. and A. (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṃgītaratnākara 4, 55. 56; Piṅgala 1, 4), thus:—*jasoāe°cumbiam*=*yaśodāyāścumbitam* (G. 21), or *ko°tuhakiraṇāantio°kanhassa*=*kaustubhakiraṇāyamānāh krṣṇasya* (G. 22). The MSS. mostly waver, thus even the best manuscript of G. 44, for *harālingaṇalajjī°ā°ajjāe°* of the text, has °*lajjīyāi ajjāi*. Examples of this sort are preponderant¹. For AMg. JM. JŚ. as well the same rule holds good: however, in AMg. and JM. the texts, sometimes even after long vowels, have *e°* and *o°*, probably wrongly. Thus: AMg. *savvakammāvahāo*=*sarvakarmāvahāh* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 16), but the Calc. edition gives the correct reading °*hāu*; *levamāyāe°saṃjāe*=*lepamātrāyāṇi saṃyatah* (Dasav. 622. 13). *niggaṇthattāo°bhassai*=*nirgranthatvād bhraṣyati* (Dasav. 624, 33); JM. *buddhiē°caūvviḥāe°juo*=*buddhyā caturvidhayā yutah* (Āv. 7, 23), *muddhāe°ānkio*=*mudrayāṅkitah* (Āv. 8, 14), *jūhāo°paribhattho*=*yūthāi paribhraṣṭah* (Erz. 69, 14). In AMg. JM., even before vowels and simple consonants, *e* and *o*, in many other cases in poetry, measure short: thus in AMg. *unnāe°vā pae*=*unn.to vā payodaḥ*, *vuṭṭhe°balāhae°tti*=*vrṣto balāhaka iti* (Dasav. 629, 31. 32), *alolo°bhikkhū*=*alolo bhikkṣuḥ* (Dasav. 640, 3); JM. *manne°esa*=*manya eṣa* (Āv. 7, 30), *nio°ujjenim*=*nita ujjayinim* (Āv. 8, 14). In poetry, for the enclitic *me*, in AMg., is used *mi*, for *se* in AMg. JM. is used *se°*, and in AMg., *si* (§ 418. 423), in Mg. Mṛcch. 43, 6 ff., in verse there occurs *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyah* etc. (§ 64). In AMg. *utāho* becomes *udāhu* (Uvās.) or *ujāhu* (Āyār. 1, 4, 2 6). Cf. also § 346. In A. *e* and *o*, in all cases, could become either short or *i* and *u* in the final position: *pie°ditthai*=*priye °drṣṭake* (Hc. 4, 365, 1); *hiāi*=*hrdaye* (Hc. 4, 330, 3. 395, 4. 420, 3); *pie°pavasanie*=*priye pravāsati* (Hc. 4, 422, 12); *kalijugi°dullahah°*=*kaliyuge durlabhasya* (Hc. 4, 338); *aṅguliū°jajjariāu*=*aṅgulyo jarjaritāh* (Hc. 4, 333); *dīṇaaru°khaagāli*=*dinakarāh kṣayakāle* (Hc. 4, 377); *kṛdantaho°*=*kṛtānta°ya* (Hc. 4, 370. 4). Cf. § 128. 130. 346. Sometimes wrongly is written *a* before double consonants in lieu of *e°* and *o°*. So M. *pamhatṭha mhi* for *pamhattho°mhi*=*prasmṛtavāṇasmi* (R. 6, 12; already in Hc. 3, 105); Ś. *hadamhi* for *hādo°mhi*=*hato°smi* (Śak. 29, 9); Mg. *kadamhi* for *kādo°mhi* (Mṛcch. 38, 15)². Cf. § 92 ff. 392 ff.

1. 365. 375. 385, LASSEN, Inst. p. 148, WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 352; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 29.—2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, 342 ff. Wrongly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 17.

§ 86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is *r*, sometime become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified: M. *mañjara* (§ 81), *vañjara* (Hc. 2, 132), *mañjāra* (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of *majjara*, AMg. JŚ. Ś. *majjāra*=*mārjāra* (§ 81).—*muṇḍha*=*mūrdhan* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMg. JM. *muddha-* (§ 402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 2, 41).—AMg. *meṇḍha* (back: Thāṇ. 250), *miṇḍha* (Thāṇ. 205; Sūyag. 708), *meṇḍhaga* (Thāṇ. 260), *miṇḍhaga* (Ovav. § 107*), *miṇḍhaya* (Samav. 131)=*medhra*, *meḍh-raka*, that have as *meṇḍhaka*, *meṇḍha* and *meṇḍhra* crept into Skt. as well;

fem. *memdhī* (Deśin. 6, 138), *mimdhīyā* (Pāiṣal. 219), and according to Deśin. 6, 138 also *menṭhī*.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either *r* or a sibilant. Thus: *āsa=āsyā* (Hc.).—AMg. JM. *isara=iśvara* (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. *iśala* (Mṛcch. 17, 4; Śak. 116, 2), by the side of *issara* (Bh. 3, 58).—M. JM. Ś. *iśā=iṣyā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69, 25), but also Ś. *iśā* (Prab. 39, 2, 3), Mg. *iśā* (Prab. 47, 1).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dīha=dirgha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ratn. 307, 318, 26; Mālatīm. 76, 5; Mṛcch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); Ś. *dīhiā=dirghikā* (Priyad. 11, 2, 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 3), AMg. JM. *dīhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of *diggha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). Ś. Mg. *digghīā* (Ratn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24, 9, 15; Mg. Mṛcch. 134, 7).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa=pārśva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4, 5; 36, 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14).—AMg. JM. *pehaī=prekṣate* (§ 323).—M. JM. Ś. A. *bāha* (tears), by the side of *bappha* (smoke), Ś. *bappha* (tears)=*bāṣpa* (§ 305).—AMg. *lūha* by the side of *lukkha=rūkṣa*, *lūhei=rūkṣayati* (§ 257).—*leḍhukka=leṣṭuka* (§ 304).—AMg. JŚ. *loḍha=loṣṭa* (§ 304).—M. *veḍhaī*, AMg. JM. *veḍhei*, Ś. *veḍhida=Pāli veṭhati, veṭhita*=Skt. *veṣṭate, veṣṭita* (§ 304). M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *śisa=śirṣa* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 14, 16, 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Śak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389, 446), Mg. *śīśa* (Mṛcch. 12, 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), °*śīśaka* (Mṛcch. 20, 17).—AMg. JM. *soma=saumya* by the side of M. Ś. *soṃma* (§ 61^a).—Cf. § 284. In AMg., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix *-tra*, that develops into *-ya* from *-ta*. So : *gāya=gātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Thān. 289; Nāyādh. 267; Vivāhap. 822, 1257, 1261; Uttar. 61, 106, 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *goya=gotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1; 2, 2, 3, 4; Paṇṇav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of *goṭta* (Dasav. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *dhāi=dhātṛi* (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyag. 255; Vivāgas. 81; Vivāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyap. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); *pāya=pātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), *pāi=pātri* (Sūyag. 783), *kāmsapāi=kāmsyapātri* (Thān. 528; Kappas.); *lohiyapūjapāi=lohita-pūyapātri* (Sūyag. 281); *māyā=mātrā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Ovav.), *māyanna=mātrāñña* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dasav. 623, 15; Uttar. 51), *taṇamāya=taṇamātra* (Sūyag. 608); *mūya=mūtra* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); *soya=śrotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyag. 639). Only in *rātri* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merely to AMg. as *rāi* (Vivāhap. 936, 938), *rāibhojāna=rātribhojāna* (Thān. 180; Ovav.), *rāimḍiṇya rātrimḍiva* (Thān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vivāhap. 1293; Kappas.), °*rāya*=°*rātra* (Kappas.), °*rāiya*=°*rātrika* (Sūyag. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. *rāi* (H.), by the side of *ratti* (H. R.; Śak. 55, 15), JŚ. *rāibhojāna* (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of *rattim* (Kattig. 103, 374, 375), *rattidivaham* (Kattig. 402, 364), Ś. *rādi* (Mṛcch. 93, 12, 15) by the side of the usual *ratti* (Mṛcch. 93, 6, 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Śak. 29, 7), Mg. *latti* (Mṛcch. 21, 18), *lattim*, *lattimdivam* (Mṛcch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix *ā* remains often before the root *khyā*, and always before *jñā*, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMg. *āgham=ākhyān* (Sūyag. 397), *āghāya=ākhyāya* (Sūyag. 375), *āghāvē, āghavemāṇa, āghaviyā, āghavittae, āghavijjanti* (§ 551), *āghavaṇā=*

ākhyāpanā (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539; Uvās. § 222); Ś. *paccākhādum*=*pratyākhyātum* (Vikr. 45, 5). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34, 24) is an incorrect reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 491. 499). But also AMg. *akkhāi*, *akkhanti*, *paccakkhāi* (§ 491). AMg. JM. *āṇavei*, Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 551); M. AMg. JM. *āṇā*=*ājñā* (Vr. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.; Samav.; 134; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8, 17. 18; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); VG. M. AMg. Ā. Ś. Mg. *āṇatti*=*ājñapti* (Bh. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; VG. 102, 16; R.; Nirayāv.; Priyad. 11, 10; Mṛcch. 105, 1; 166, 21; 171, 17; Veṇis. 36, 6); AMg. *āṇattiyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), *āṇavaṇa*=*ājñāpana* (Hc. 2, 92; Uvās.), *āṇamaṇi*=**ājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369). In other cases the usage wavers: thus: M. *āsasaī*=*āsvasiti*, but Ś. *samassasadu*, Mg. *samaśśasadu*=*samāśvasitu* (§ 496). In Ś. *akkandāmi*=*ākrandāmi* (Uttarar. 32, 1), *akkandasi* (Mudrār. 263, 4), Mg. *akkandāmi*=(Mṛcch. 162, 17) the printed editions (except that of STENZLER) with the majority of the manuscripts have *ākka°*, so that it could be read as *āka°* also. But M. JM. *akkamāi*, *akkanta*, *samakkanta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.) always have the shortened vowel, which also is explained better with the help of *krand*. Besides, a long vowel remains before a consonant-group formed without *r* or a sibilant only seldom, and it is so preserved dialectically: JŚ. *āda*=*ātman* (Pav. 380, 8. 12; 381, 15. 16; 382, 23. 24. 25; 383, 70. 24), AMg. *āya*-(Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3. 4. 5; 1, 2, 2, 2. 5. 4; Sūyag. 28. 35. 81. 151. 231. 838; Vivāhap. 76.132.283.1059 ff. [the text mostly *āta*—]; Uttar. 251).—AMg. *sāmali*=*śālmali* (Sūyag. 315; Thāṇ. 88.555; Paṇhāv. 274; Aṇuttar. 9; Ovav. § 16; *kūḍasāmali* (Uttar. 626), dialectical *sāmari* (Pāiṇal. 264; Deśin. 8,23.; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259; cf. § 109).—M. AMg. A. *thāha*, “ground: bottom” (Pāiṇal. 249; Deśin. 5,30; R.; Paṇhāv. 380; Nāyādh. 904.1112.1341; Hc. 4,444,3), according to Hc. also “deep water” and “broad” by the side of *thaha* (residence; Deśin. 5,24) and *thaggha* (deep; Pāiṇal. 249; Deśin. 5,24)¹; AMg. *athāha* (groundless; deep; Deśin. 1,54; Nāyādh. 1112; Vivāhap. 104. 447) by the side of *atthaggha* (Deśin. 1,54)=**stāghya*, **astāghya*. Cf. § 333.

1. In Deśin. 5,24, the words are to be read as *thaggho* ‘gādhe and *thaggho* ‘gādhaḥ. The scholiasts connect it to *stāgha*. Improvement has been effected according to this GGA. 1880,334.

§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: *kāsa*=*kāmsya*, *pāsu*=*pāmsu* (Hc. 1,29.70); M. *māsa*=*māmsa* (Vr. 4,16; Hc. 1,29.70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), *māsala*=*māmsala* (Hc. 1,29; G. R.), *māsalaanta*, *māsalia* (G.). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli *pekhūṇa*, *pe’kkhūṇa*, M. AMg. *pehuṇa*=**preñkhūṇa*, **preñkhuṇa*, **pre’khuṇa*=Skt. *preñkhaṇa* (wandering=swing, wing; Pāiṇal. 126; Deśin. 6,58; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,5; Paṇhāv. 33.489.533; Paṇṇav. 529; Nāyādh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from *paksman* (CHILDERS, s. v. *pekhūṇa*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,611) or from *pakṣa* (WEBER, IStr. 3,396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, in M. AMg. A., such as M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, AMg. *rukkhā*=*rūkṣān*, A. *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*, AMg. *mallai*=*mallakīn*., *bahū*=*bahūn* (§ 367.381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through **guṇām*, **guṇā*, **bahūm*, **bahū*, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps Mg. *dālaṃ*=*dārān* (§ 367^a developed in the same manner. Cf. also *kesua* from **keṃsua*=*kimśuka* and *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* from **koṃhaṇḍi*, *°ṇḍa*=*kūṣmāṇḍi*, *°ṇḍa* (§ 76,127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the

simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa nīdādi* (Vr. 3,52; Kī. 2,111; Mk. fol. 27) and under *tailādi* (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93; 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the *ākṛtiḡaṇa sevādi* by Vr. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kī. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27, and under the *daivaga* class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mk., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mg. Dh. *ēvvaṃ*=*eva'm* (H.; Mṛch. 4,20; 9,1; 12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15; 13,18; 8 etc.; Mg. Mṛch. 31,17; 39,20; 80,18 etc.; Dh. Mṛch. 30,14,18; 31,19,22; 35,17) by the side of *evam*.—Ś. *kacca*=*kāca'* (Karp. 19,8).—AMg. JM. *kiddā*=*kriḡā'* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jiyak. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), AMg. JM. *khēḡḡā* (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.); A. *khēḡḡā* (Hc. 4,422,10); beside AMg. JM. *kīḡā* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *kīḡā* (Ovav.), *kīḡāvaṇa* (Rāyap. 288; Ovav.); M. Ś. *kīḡā* (G.; Cait. 69,9); Ś. *kīḡāpavva*=*kriḡāparvata* (Vikr. 31,17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text °ḡā°]), *kīḡāna*=*kriḡānaka* (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206,240.—*khaṇṇu* by the side of *khāṇu* (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27)=**skhāṇu'*, an allied dialectical form of *sthāṇu'* (§ 120,309); M. *khaṇṇuā* (H.).—AMg. JM. *khatta*=*khāta'*, *ukkhatta* by the side of M. *ukkhāa*, *ukkhāa* (§ 566).—Ś. *jēvva*, P. Mg. *ye vva*=*eva'*, by the side of *jēva*, *yeva* (§ 95,335).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvaṇa'* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thān. 369; Paṇhāv. 288; Paṇṇav. 100; Vivāhap. 825,827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mṛch. 22,22; 141,15; 142,12; 145,12; Śak. 11,4; 13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhūrtas. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), AMg. *jōvvaṇaga* (Vivāhap. 946), but always *juva*—, *juā*—=*yu'van* (§ 402), and so also M. JM. *juvāi*, *juvāi*=*yuvati'*, *yuvati'* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. *juvādi* (Mṛch. 69,23; 73,9), Mg. *yuvadi* (Mṛch. 136,13)¹.—*ṇēḡḡā*=*nīḡā'* (Grr.), by the side of M. *nīḡā* (G. H.)².—M. JM. *tunhikka*=*tūṣṇika'* (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of *tunhia*, AMg. JM. *tusiṇiya* (§ 81). M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *te'lla*=*taila'* (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,3; 2,6,1,9,12; 2,7,1,11; 2,12,4,15,20; Sūyag. 248,935; Paṇhāv. 381; Vivāgas. 235; Vivāhap. 1288,1327,1329; Rāyap. 167,175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛch. 69,7,12; 72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mṛch. 25,19; 117,8), also AMg. *tilla* (Paṇṇav. 63; Uttar. 432,806).—*thinṇa* by the side of *thīna*=*styāna'* (Hc. 1,74), M. *thinṇa*=*styānaka* (R.).—AMg. JM. *thulla* by the side of AMg. JS. Ś. *thūla*=*sthūla'* (§ 127).—*tho'kka*=*stoka'* (Hc. 2,125) beside the common *thova*, *thoa* (§ 230).—AMg. *dugulla*=*ḡukūla'* (Hc. 1,119; Pāyāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; Paṇhāv. 238; Vivāhap. 791,941,962; Jiv. 508,559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Kī. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also *dualla* beside M. Ś. *duūla* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68,5; 69,13).—AMg. *dhatta*=*dhmāta'* (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *peṇmā*=*prema'n* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mṛch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2; 51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarghar. 297,14; Vṛṣabh. 9,1; 29,6; 43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4,395,3,423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also AMg. JM. *pimma* (Rāyap. 252; Erz.) and AMg. *pema*—(Sūyag. 923,958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.)—*mukka* beside *mūa*=*mūka'* (Hc. 2,99).—M. *lajjā*=*lājā'h* (H. 814).—AMg. *viḡḡā*=*vriḡā'* (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nirayāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—*se vva*=*sevā'* (Grr.), beside M. JM. *sevā* (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in AMg. *pāyatta*=*pādāta* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Kī. 2,111 *va* in *yuvan* also is doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. JACOB, KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in *yauvana*, it is not *na*, but *va*, that is doubled. But this, however, takes place with the

consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel! The entire polemic of JACOBI, KZ. 35, 575 ff. against PISCHEL, KZ. 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in *-jjā, -jja, -ējjā, -ējja, -ijjā, -ijja* in AMg. JM., as in *kujjā=kuryā't; dejjā=deyā't; hojjā=bhūyā't; bhuñjējjā=bhuñjiyā't=bhuñjiyā't; jāñijjā, jāñējjā=jāñiyā't*, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§ 459 ff.); and further in the passive in *-ijja, -jja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A., in *-yya, -iyya* in P., so in words like M. JM. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjadi*, P. *tiyya'te=dīya'te*¹, AMg. *kahijjāi*, D. *kahijjadi=kathya'te* (§ 535 ff.). While Ś. *karaṇia, ramaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia, lamaṇia* and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. *karaṇī'ya, ramaṇī'ya* and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AMg. *karaṇijja, ramaṇijja*, and other similar ones (§ 571) presuppose forms of the type **karanya', A. ravaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 422, 11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. *pāṇia*, AMg. JM. *paṇiya=pāṇiya* (Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Ki. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 25, 3; 40, 6; 42, 7, 12; Mṛcch. 45, 9; 77, 11; Latakam. 4, 12; Mg. Mṛcch. 45, 7; 113, 21; 115, 1, 2; 136, 11; Hc. 4, 396, 4, 418, 7, 434, 1) assume **pānya'* or **pānya'*². In Ś. occurs *pāṇia* (Hāsy. 37, 7), in AMg. *pāṇiya* for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. *biijja* (Hc. 1, 248), *tiijja* (Ki. 2, 36), A. *taijji* (Hc. 4, 339) are to be explained like M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biija*, M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taija*, Ś. Mg. *tadia* (§ 82). The words in *-eya-, -ya* as well follow the analogy of those in *-iya*. Thus: AMg. JM. *nāmadhējja=nāmadhēya* (§ 252), AMg. *pejjā=peya* (§ 572); in such cases *e* was pronounced very weak because in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar § 1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AMg. *pejjam=prēyas*, AMg. JM. *bhujo=bhū'yah* (§ 414). Cf. § 252.—*tiṇṇi=triṇi* (§ 438) is formed on the basis of the genitive *tiṇṇam=triṇā'm*, and on the model of *tiṇṇi* have been regulated *doṇṇi, beṇṇi, biṇṇi=dvau, dve*; likewise *daṇṇam* is formed on the model of *tiṇṇam* (§ 436). In a number of isolated words, that appear to be exceptions to the rule, the duplication of consonants is clearly due to a different cause. So in A. *adhīṇṇa=adhī'na* (Hc. 4, 427); the common dialectical form *e'kka=ēka* beside AMg. JM. *ega* (§ 435); AMg. *kavalla, kabhalla=kapa'la* or *ka'pāla*, Pāli *kapalla* (§ 208); Pāli, M. *cheppa=sēpa* (§ 211); M. *so'tta=strōtas* (Bh. 3, 52; Hc. 2, 98; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.); AMg. *paḍiso'ttagāmi=pratisrotogāmin* (Uttar. 441), *viso'ttiyā=visrotaskā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 2), beside *soja* (Ovav.), *paḍisoja, vissoasiyā* (Hc. 2, 98). M. AMg. JM. *maṇḍukka* (Hc. 2, 98; Ki. 2, 112; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 131; Sarasvatik. 34, 17; Thāṇ. 311.312; Paṇhāv. 18; Vivāhap. 552.553. 1048; Āv. 7, 29), AMg. *maṇḍukkiyā* (Uvās. § 38) may be traced back to *maṇḍuka* (Śrīharsa, Dvirūpakośa 35), whereof the accent has not been transmitted, and not to *maṇḍū'ka*, that gives AMg. *maṇḍūya* (Paṇnav. 480), Ś. A. *maṇḍūa* (Mṛcch. 9, 11; so more correctly GODABOLE 25, 6; Piṅgala 1, 67).

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35, 575 the reduplication of *ya* in the passive goes against the rule, because except in the first person singular of the indicative present it is not the final syllable that is accented, but the *ya* that occurs before the personal ending. Evidently here the question can be only of (cf. § 90, note 1) the syllable immediately following a long vowel, therefore, of the last syllable of the stem.—2. PISCHEL, KZ. 35, 142.

§ 92. A long vowel, occurring in a closed syllable and followed by an enclitic, is often shortened; when this takes place the initial consonant of the enclitic is reduplicated: M. *appaṇa ccea=ātmanā caiva* (G. 83), *taṇha ccia=trṣṇā caiva* (H. 93), *gharasāminī ccea=grhasvāminī caiva* (H. 736),

ummillanti ccia=*unmilanti caiva* (R. 12,24); AMg. *hiri cceva*=*hriścaiva* (Thān. 76); JM. *sa cceva sā* (Āv. 18, 9), *abhaṇanta ccia*=*abhaṇantaścaiva* (Rṣabhap. 13), *sahasa ccia*=*sahasā caiva* (Erz. 83,37); M. *gaṇe ccia*=*gagaṇe caiva* (G. 319), *muo ccea*=*mṛtaścaiva* (H. 497), *āvāe ccia*=*āpāte caiva*, *te ccea*=*te caiva*, *so ccea*=*sa caiva* (R. 1,58; 5,67; 6,67).—PG. *be tti*=*dve iti* (6,39), *hoja tti*=*bhūyād iti* (7,48), *kada tti*=*kṛteti* (7,51); M. *sahasa tti*=*sahaseti*, *bhikkhatti*=*bhikṣeti* (H. 459,554), *niatti*=*nīteti* (R. 5,6), *tumhārisa tti*=*tvadyā iti* (G. 706), *māṇiṇiti* (H. 807), *mahi tti* (R. 5,20), *sāare tti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4,39), *aṇurāo tti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715); AMg. *taha tti*=*tatheti* (Uvās. § 67.87.120 etc.), *cāi tti*=*tyāgīti* (Dasav. 613,18.20), *antakade tti*=*antiakṛd iti* (Āyār. 2,16, 10.11), *tasakāo tti*=*trasakāya iti* (Dasav. 615,12); JM. *sā sā sa tti* (Āv. 16, 26), *kā esā kamalāmela tti* (Āv. 30,5), *savannu tti*=*sarvajña iti* (Āv. (16,21), *silogo tti*=*śloka iti* (Āv. 8, 56).—M. *soṇāratula vva*=*suvarṇakāratuleva* (H. 191), *soha vva*, *vaṇamāla vva*, *kittivva*, *āṇava*=*śobheva*, *vaṇamāleva*, *kirtiriva*, *āṇeva* (R. 1,48), *vaṇahatthiṇiva*=*vaṇahastiniva* (R. 4,59), *aṇṇpāhā vva*, *antaviraṣo vva*=*atiprabhāta iva*, *antaviraṣa iva* (H. 68); AMg. *giri vva*=*gūriva* (Āyār. 2,16,3), *milakkhu vva*=*mlecca iva* (Sūyag. 57), *dive vva* [text *va*]=*dīpa iva* (Sūyag. 304), *ajako tthao vva*=*ayaḥkoṣṭhaka iva* (Uvās. § 94); JM. *thambhiya vva* *lihiya vva* *kiliya vva* *tankukkariya vva*=*stambhiteva* *likhiteva* *kiliteva* *ṭāṇkotkirneva* (Erz. 17,8), *jaṇaṇi vva*=*jananiva* (KI. 9), *taṇao vva*=*tanaya iva* (KI. 14), *cando vva*, *mahi vva*=*candra iva*, *māhiva* (Erz. 84,20); in A. *va* also occurs on account of metre in *piapabbhaṭṭha va*=*priyaprabhṛaṣṭeva* (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JM. as a rule a long vowel is retained before *ceva*. In Ś. Mg. neither *ceva* nor *va* occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect: thus in Ś. *gosammi ccea*=*gose caiva*, *taṁ cea*=*tac caiva*, *paṭṭaṁ cea*=*pravṛttaṁ caiva* (Kāleyak. 2,5.17; 3,12); Ś. *nāmeṇa vva* (Lalitav. 560,22), *bhaṇidam va* (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect *vva*; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. PISCHEL 632, 18), *suttadhāli vva*, Mg. *suttadhāli vva* (Mṛcch. 21,9; 23,21), Mg. *calē vva*=*cara iva*, *amhadeṣiya vva*=*asmaddeṣiyā iva*, *deṣiyē vva*=*deṣiya iva* (Lalitav. 565,8.12.14), *goṇa vva* (Mṛcch. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti-vowel, before *iti*, and in enumeration before *iti vā*, is retained. In such cases *iti* becomes *i*¹ through *ti*: *āyampulā i* (Vivāhap. 1260; text *ti*); *sihā i* (Vivāhap. 1268; text *ti*); *gojamā i* (Vivāhap. 1311.1315, text *ti*; Uvās. § 86); *āṇandā i* (Uvās. § 44); *kāmadevā i* (Uvās. § 118); *kālī i* (Nirayāv § 5, text *ti*); *ajjo i* (Uvās. § 119.174).—*māyā i vā piyā i bhāyā i vā bhāyini i vā bhajjā i vā puttā i vā dhūyā i vā sunhā i vā*=*māteṭi vā piteṭi vā bhrāteṭi vā bhaginīti vā bhāryeṭi vā putrā iṭi vā duhiteti vā sruṣeti vā* (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyādh. 1110); *uṭṭhāṇe i vā kamme i vā bale i vā virie i vā purisakkāra parakkame i vā*=*uttānam iṭi vā karmeti vā balam iṭi vā vīryam iṭi vā puruṣakāraparākrama iṭi vā* (Vivāhap. 67.68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747.758.857; Vivāhap. 41.70; Ōvav. § 96.112.165; Kappas. § 109.210).

1. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have *ti* and also *di*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1, 405, 2, 256 note, * 290, note 12.

§ 94. In Mg. and Ś., before the particle *khu*, which originates from *khalu* (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby *khu* becomes *kkhu*, *e* and *o* are shortened: Ś. *asamaē kkhu*=*asamaye khalu* (Śak. 14,6), *edē kkhu* (Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; 79,6), *maē kkhu*=*mayā khalu* (Vikr. 26,15); Ś. *mahanto kkhu* (Vikr. 45,1; 73,11; 81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. *mahan-te kkhu* (Prab. 58,9)=*mahān khalu*; Ś. *kāmo kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,1), *maṇṇo kkhu* (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. *hagē kkhu* (Śak. 113,9), wrongly *hage khu* (Lalitav. 566,6)=*aham khalu*, *dukkale kkhu*=*duṣkaraḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 43,4). The

other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel *khu* mostly becomes *hu*. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than *e* or *o*, *khu* remains, and after a short vowel it becomes *kkhu*, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as *hu* in all the MSS., so Ś. *na hu* (Mṛcch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16. 17; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 59,22), Mg. *na hu* (Mṛcch. 161,17, in the same line with *lāṇiōe* [so it is to be read] *kkhu* !), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere *na kkhu* and *ṇu kkhu*; as throughout in the text in Śak., where in 50,2 only for *na hu* of the text, with the best MSS., we should read *na kkhu*. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛcch. 40,25) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 9,25;21,17.19;29,22;43,3;161,14; Śak. 114,6) *hu* is correct¹. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. *na hu* (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3,7;6,16;7,6; Hc. 4,390; Vikr. 72,11); so also Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,17;31,1); AMg. JM. *na hu* (Uttar. 583. 743; Āv. 11,2; Erz. 79,14;81,35), but Ś. Mg. *na kkhu* (Śak. 13,7;60,14. 17;72,9;156,14; Prab. 14,17; Śak. 160,10); M. *ṇu hu* (G. 183.996), but Ś. Mg. *ṇu kkhu* (Śak. 18,10;19,1;39,12;77,1;86,8 etc.; Mg. 113,7); AMg. *mā ja hu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5,); M. AMg. JM. *vi hu* (G. 865.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1,15;5,70;7,63; Dasav. 634,2; Erz. 80,7; Kk. 272,1;277,23); AMg. *hoi hu*=*bhavati khalu* (Uttar. 628.629); JŚ. *havadi hu* (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. *atthi kkhu*=*asti khalu* (Śak. 127,14), *arihadi kkhu*=*arhati khalu*, *lajjāmi kkhu* (Śak. 58,13;164,5), *sumaresu kkhu*=*smara khalu*, *bhāmi kkhu*=*bibhemi khalu* (Vikr. 13,4;24,13). In Rājasekhara occurs *na hu* (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against *ṇu kkhu* (Karp. 93,4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. *mā hu* (H. 521.607; R. 8,14; Uttar. 440 [hū]. 617), but Ś. *mā kkhu* (Mṛcch. 54,21; Śak. 153,13;159,7; Vikr. 48,3; 49,1); M. *ko khu* (Hc. 2,198), *ko hu* (H. 384; v. l. *kkhu*), but Ś. *ko'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 64,18); M. *so khu* (H. 401; v. l. *kkhu*, *hu*), JŚ. *so hu* (Kattig. 399,317.318;400,323), but Ś. *so'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,20;142,10); AMg. *se hu* (Āyār. 1,1,1,7.2,6;1,2,6,2;1,6,5,6;2,16,9.10), but Mg. *śe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. *so khu* (Lalitav. 560.19), as in the same place occurring *aniruddheṇa khu* (555,1). JM. *sā hū* (Erz. 77,23); AMg. *eso hu* (Uttar. 362), but Ś. *eso'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 18,8;23,19); Mg. *eśe'kkhu* (Mṛcch. 40,9; Venis. 36,4); AMg. *vimukkā hu*=*vimuktāḥ khalu* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), *siyā hu*=*syāt khalu* (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634,5); JM. *visamā hu*=*viśamā khalu* (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. *abalā khu* (Mṛcch. 12,21) *akkhamā khu*=*akṣamā khalu*, *bahuvallāḥ khu*=*bahuvallabhāḥ khalu*, *eśā khu*=*eṣā khalu*, *rakkhañiā khu*=*rakṣaṇiṇā khalu* (Śak. 53,2;58,1;67,1;74,8), *parihāsaṣilā khu*=*parihāsaṣilā khalu* (Karp. 40,9), *mandabhāṇi khu*=*mandabhāṇi khalu* (Mṛcch. 22,25), *dūravattiṇi khu*=*dūravarttiṇi khalu* (Śak. 85,7); Mg. *āadā khu*=*āgatā khalu* (Mṛcch. 99,7), *avāsalovaśappañiā khu* *lāṇo*=*avasaroṇasarpañiṇāḥ khalu* *rājānaḥ* (Śak. 115,10), *ñiadi khu*=*niyatiḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 161,5). Accordingly in Śak. 99,16 the reading has to be emended as *daṁsaṇiākidī khu*=*darśaṇiṇākrīḥ khalu*. In PG. *tasa khu* (7,41) and *sa ca khu* (7,47) *khu* may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of *kkhu*. CAPPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have *kkhu*, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels.² Thus for example he writes *esa kkhu* for *eśā khu* (Ratn. 292,31;295,8;297,24;300,4 etc.), *sa kkhu* for *sā khu* (Ratn. 302,2;318,11; 320,1), *ma kkhu* for *mā khu* (Ratn. 301,17;325,13), *muhara kkhu* for *muharā khu*=*mukharā khalu* (Ratn. 305,19); *maṇaajjarāula kkhu*=*maṇaajjāratūrā khalu* (Hāsy. 25,25), *mahadi kkhu*=*mahati khalu*, *puḍhavi kkhu*=*prthivī khalu* (Ratn. 299, 5; 328, 27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write *kkhu* for *khu*

after anusvāra, as in Ś. *kiṃ kḥhu* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *uakidaṃ kḥhu*=*upakṛtaṃ kḥhu*, *kahiṃ kḥhu*=*kuṭra kḥhu*, *amadaṃ kḥhu*=*amṛtaṃ kḥhu* (Vikr. 8,15;9,3. 11). After anusvāra *khu* only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have: e.g. M. *taṃ kḥu*=*tat kḥlu* (G. 860.879; H. 142); AMg. *evaṃ kḥu* (Sūyag. 95.176), *eyaṃ kḥu*=*etat kḥlu* (Uttar. 106).³ In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, *khu* and *hu* are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs *kḥlu* which is found also in JŚ. (Pav. 380,7;381,18.21; Kattig. 401,343), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination *taṃ seyaṃ kḥlu*=*tac chreyaḥ kḥlu* (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333. 482; Vivāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Niraṣāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85.86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. *appā hu kḥlu duddamo*=*ātmā kḥlu durdamaḥ* (Uttar. 19).

1. Not quite-correctly LASSEN, Inst. p. 192,7; BOLLINSEN on Vikr. 11,2, p. 196.—2. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125. Already correctly, LASSEN l. c. and STENZLER on Mṛcch. 2,19.—3. The hypothesis that *kḥhu* should be written everywhere (PISCHEL on Śak. p. 210) already goes back to Hc. 2,198.

§ 95. As for *khu* (§ 94), the same rules hold good for Ś. *jeva*, *je vva*, P.Mg. *ye vva*, *ye vva* (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after *e, o*, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled: Ś. *ajjassa jje vva*=*āryasyaiva* (Mṛcch. 4,8.12), *āreṇa jjeva*=*acireṇaiva* (Lalitav. 562, 23); *idha jjeva* (*jje vva*)=*ihaiva* (Śak. 12,4; Ratn. 293, 25; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,21), *disadi jje vva*=*drśyata eva* (Ratn. 295,10), *sampajjadi jjeva*=*sampadyata eva* (Śak. 120,2), *samtappadi jje vva*=*samtapyata eva* (Mṛcch. 63,24); Mg. *tava ye vva*=*tavaiva* (Mṛcch. 22,4), *teṇa ye vva*=*tenaiva* (Mṛcch. 133, 7); P. *savassa ye vva*=*sarvasyaiva* (Hc. 4,316), Ś. *bhūmie jje vva*=*bhūmyāmeva* (Mṛcch. 45,15), *muhe jjeva*=*mukha eva*, *sujjodae jje vva*=*sūryodaya eva* (Śak. 77, 11;79,9), *ido jje vva*=*ita eva* (Mṛcch. 4,22;6,13), *jo jje vva* *jaṇo*.....*so jje vva*=*ya eva* *janah*...*sa eva* (Mṛcch. 57,13), *so sacco jjeva siviṇae diṭṭho tti*=*sa satya eva* *svapne dr̥ṣṭa iti* (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. *daṃsaante jjeva*=*darśayann eva* (Śak. 114,11), *aṇācaskide ye vva*=**aṇācaksita eva*, *piṣṭado ye vva*=*pr̥ṣṭhata eva*, *bhaṭṭalake ye vva*=*bhaṭṭāraka eva* (Mṛcch. 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. *tūrāto ye vva*=*dūradeva* (Hc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle: Ś. *amhasāmiṇā jeva*=*asmatsvāmiṇaiva*, *tadhā jev*=*atathaiiva*, *nikkampa jeva*=*niṣkampa eva* (Śak. 116,8;126,10.14;128,6); Mg. *diṣanti ye vva*=*dr̥śyamānaiva* (Mṛcch. 14,11). CAPPELLER wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratn. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., as also in Lalitav. 554,5.6.21, which wrongly has *jjeva* even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even *eva*. Wrong is also Mg. *śahasā jje vva* (Mṛcch. 96,24) for *śahasā ye vva*.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of *√as* (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M: *ṭhia mhi*=*sthitāsmi*, *dūmia mhi*=*dūnāsmi* (H. 239.423), *asaī mha*=*asatyah smaḥ*, *khavia mho*=*kṣapitāḥ smaḥ*, *roāvia mha*=*roditāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417.423.807), *tumhe ttha*=*yuṣme stha* (R. 3,3); JM. *parisanto mhi*=*pariśrānto smi* (Erz. 6,25); Ś. *uvavasida mhi*=*upoṣitāsmi*, *alaṃkida mhi*=*alaṃkṛtāsmi* (Mṛcch. 4, 6;23,25), *āatta mhi*=*āyattāsmi*, *edāvattha mhi*=*etadavasthāsmi*, *asahāiṇi mhi*=*asahāyinyasmi* (Śak. 25,3;52,8;59,11), *virahukkaṇṭhida mhi*=*virahotkaṇṭhitāsmi*, *vimharida mhi*=*vismṛtāsmi* (Vikr. 82,16;83,20), *avaraddha mha*=*aparāddhāḥ smaḥ*, *niṇvuda mha*=*nirvṛtāḥ smaḥ* (Śak. 27,6;58,6), *alaṅghaṇā kada mha*=*alaṅghaniyāḥ kṛtāḥ smaḥ*, *uagada mha*=*upagātāḥ smaḥ* (Vikr. 23,8,14). On *e*, *o* and the incorrect forms like M. *pamhuṭṭha mhi*, Ś. *hada mhi*, Mg. *kada mhi* see § 85. The forms like M. *ve tti* for *va tti*, *sahasē tti* for *sahasā tti* (H. 885. 936), *piē tti* for *pia tti*, *ṇisaṇṇē tti* for *ṇisaṇṇa tti*, *dhūre tti* for *dhūra tti*, *pelave tti*

for *pelava tti*, *tanuē tti* for *tanua tti* (R. 5,5.6.8), *vihiñē vva* for *vihiṇa vva* (R. 14,16); JŚ. *mame tti* for *mama tti* (Pav. 388,27); Ś. *piadare tti* for *piadara tti*, *vē tti* for *va tti*, *paḍivādañijje tti*, *ṇidde tti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43,14;83,6), and M. *galia vva* for *galie vva*=*galita iva*, *candaa vva* for *candae vva*, *seubandha vva* for *seubandho vva* (R. 1,2;3,48;15,19),¹ based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.

I. PISCHEL, De Kālidāsae Śākuntali recensionibus p. 53; GGA. 1880.325 f.; BURKHARD, Sacuntala, Glossarium p. 36, note*; BOLLESEN, Mālavikāgnimitra p. XIV; cf. WEBER, JS, 14,298. Wrong: HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 44; LASSEN, Inst. p. 188; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 27 f.

§ 97. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Kī. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-ī, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-ā and -ū. Ś. Mg. always retain long vowels in prose. M. *gāmañiulta*=*grāmañiputra* (H. 31); M. *ṇāipūra*=*nāḍipūra*, *ṇāiñiūṇja*=*nāḍinikuṇja*, *ṇāipheṇa* (H. 45.218.671) beside *ṇāikaccha*=*nādikakṣa* H. 416); *ṇāiḍa*=*nāḍiṭaṣa* (G. 407), *ṇāiso ita*=*nāḍisrotas* (R. 1,54); AMg. *ṇāitalāya*=*nāḍitalāga* (Nāyādh. § 128) beside *ṇāitira* (Kappas. § 120); but Ś. only *ṇāivea*=*nāḍivega* (Śak. 32,1), Mg. *soṇiaṇāḍamaṣaṇa*=*soṇitanadidarṣana* (Venis. 35,7); AMg. *itthiveya*=*striveda* (Sūyag. 234; Vivāhap. 179.180; Uttar. 960) beside *itthiveya* (Sūyag. 237); *itthibhāva* (Uvās. § 246), *itthilakkhaṇa*=*strilakṣaṇa* (Nāyādh. § 119), *itthisaṃsagga*=*strisaṃsarga* (Dasav. 633,1), beside JŚ. *itthisaṃsagga* (Kattig. 402,358), AMg. *itthivāyaṇa*=*strivacana* (Āyār. 2,4,1,3), *itthiviggaha*=*strivigraha* (Dasav. 632,38); *itthilola* (Āv. 16,30) beside *itthirāyaṇa*=*striratna* (Erz. 3,33;13,5); but Ś. only *itthikallavatta*=*strikalyavarta* (Mṛcch. 60,19), *itthiradana*=*striratna* (Śak. 38,5;103,6), *itthijāṇa* (Ratn. 298,14); AMg. *puḍhavisattha*=*prthviśastra* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.3.6), *puḍhaviakamma*=*prthvikarman* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2.4.6), *puḍhaviṇṇa* (Dasav. 620,34), *puḍhavisilāpaṭṭaṭṭa*=*prthvisilāpaṭṭaka* (Ovav. § 10; Uvās. § 164.166.170); JM. *puḍhaviṇṇa* (Erz. 41,24), *puḍhaviṇṇāya* (Erz. 64,23), beside M. *pahāvai*=*prthvipati* (G.); JŚ. *puḍhaviṇṇāya* (Kattig. 401,346); Ś. *puḍhaviṇṇāya*=*prthvinātha* (Śak. 59,12). —AMg. *accharagaṇa*=*apsarāgaṇa* (Pañhāv. 315; Pañnav. 96.99; Nirayāv. 78; Nāyādh. 526; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *accarākoḍi* (Vivāhap. 254); Ś. only *accharālittha*=*apsarātirtha*, *accharāsaṃbandha* (Śak. 118,10;158,2), *accharākāmua*=*apsarākāmuka*, *accharāvāvāra*=*apsarāvāyāpāra*, *accharāvira-hida* (Vikr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), *accharāyaṇa* (Pārvatīp. 9,9;10,2); AMg. *kiḍḍakara*=*kriḍākara* (Ovav.); M. *jāṇāda* beside *jāṇāda* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31), *jāṇāsaṃgaa* (G. 1053); Ś. *jāṇāsaṃgama* (Vikr. 23,13); M. *bhicchara*=*bhikṣācara* (H. 162); AMg. *bhikkhakāla* (Dasav. 618,17); AMg. *muttājāla*, *muttadāma*—, beside *muttājāla* (Ovav.). —M. *vahumā*=*vadhūmātā* (H. 508); *vahumuha* beside *vahūmuha*=*vadhūmukha* (Bh. 4,1, Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. *vahū ahijja*=*vadhūsaḥāya* (Erz. 6,12); Ś. *ṇavavahūkesakalāva*=*navavadhūkesakalāpa* (Mṛcch. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word *śrī* is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epitheton ornans; it so happens also in the case of *hrī* in AMg. (Kī. 2,57). M. *sirithaṇa*=*śristana* (G. 28); *sirisevīa*=*śrisevita* (R. 1,21), *siridamaṇa*=*śridarṣana* (G. 514); AMg. *sirigutta*=*śrigupta*, *sirihara*=*śridhara* (Kappas.); JM. *sirikantā*=*śrikāntā*, *sirimai*=*śrimati* (Erz.); Ś. *siripavvada*=*śripavvata* (Ratn. 297,31; Mālatim. 30,2.8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. LASSEN 11,6;12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21,9;22,1]). —M. *mahusiri*

pariṇāma=*madhuśrīpariṇāma* (G. 791), *nahasirikaṇṭha*=*nabhaśśrīkaṇṭha* (H. 75), *rāasiribhāṇa*=*rājaśrībhājana* (R. 4,62); AMg. JM. *sirivacca*=*śrivatsa* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *sirighara*=*śrighra* (Vivāhap. 820.962), *hisisiriparivajjiya* (Vivāhap. 250), *hisisiridhiukittiparivajjiya*=*hrīśridhītiparivajjita* (Ūvās. § 95), *sirisamudāya* (Kappas. § 42); JM. *sirisūyaga*=*śrīsūcaka* (Erz. 67,32), *sirikaja*=*śrikaca* (Kk. 276,13); A. *siriānanda* (Hc. 4,401,3).—M. *sirījasavamma*=*śrīyaśovarman* (G. 99), *sirihāla* (H. 698), *śrikamalāuha* (G. 798), *sirirāasehara* (Karp. 6,5); JM. *sirilakkhaṇa*=*śrīlakṣmaṇa*, *siriharianda*=*śrīharicandra*, *sirirajjila*, *siriṇāhaḍa*, *siribhillua*, *sirikakka*, *sirikkukya* (KI. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. *sirikhandaḍāsa* (Ratn. 297,31), *siricārudatta* (Mṛcch. 94,5; so with GODABOLE 267,5 it is to be read); Mg. *śīlīsomeśāleava*=*śrīsomeśvaradeva* (Ālitav. 566,6); JM. *sirisamaṇasaṅgha*=*śrīśramaṇasaṅgha* (Kk. 266,3; 270.5.38).—The long vowel *i* is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. *śirisamullāsa* (G. 856) and so it is also in AMg. in prose *sirisamāṇavesāo*=*śrīsamāṇaveśyāḥ* (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *sirisamāṇavesāo* (Vivāhap. 791). In Kappas. § 35, for *vajjanasiripallava* we have to read °*siri*° with the v. l. In *śrika*, the vowel wavers: AMg. *siriya* (Kappas.), *siriya* (Nāyādh.), *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 96), but *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, *sassiriya* (Samav. 213,214; Paṇḥāv. 263; Vivāhap. 168. 194 f.; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *sassiria* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 62,13; Vikr. 41,4; so it is to be read),¹ but *sassiriadā* (Mṛcch. 68,21; 73,11; 107,2), *sassiriattana* (Ratn. 292,12; text. *sasi*°; the ed. Calc. *sassiriadā*). AMg. *hiripadicchāyana*=*hripraticchādana* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1); *sirihiri*° (Nirayāv. 73); *hiri*° (Thāp. 151). The word that, in AMg., is used as a proper noun as well, as in *hiri cceva*=*hrīreva*, (Thāp. 76), and in the plural *hirio* (acc. plur. beside *sirio*; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects.² This word *hiri* occurs as an adjective by the side of *ahirimāṇe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2); the reading *harime* for *hriṃān* (Uttar. 961) is to be corrected to *hirime*; likewise for Ś. *ohiriāmi* (Uttarar. 23,12) should be read *ohiriāmi*=*apahriye*; so stands Ś. *hiriāmi* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 108, 21). The Bengal recension (164,5) has the form *lajjāmi* which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has *arihāmi*=*arhāmi*. Cf. § 135.195.

1. Wrongly, BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 62,13; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 41,4.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,104.

§ 99. The original short of *i* and *u* is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. *diabhūmisu*=*dvijabhūmisu* (Hc. 3,16=G. 727); *añjalihim*=*añjalibhiḥ* (H. 678), *ppaṇāisu*=*praṇāṭisu*, *virahisu*=*virahiṣu*, *caūsātṭhisu* *suttisu*=*cauḥṣastyām śukṭiṣu* (Karp. 2,3; 38,5; 72,6); AMg. *pakkhihim*=*pakṣibhiḥ* (Uttar. 593), *vagguhim*=*vagnubhiḥ* (Samav. 83), *heuhim*=*hetubhiḥ* (Dasav. 635,34), *pāṇinam*=*prāṇinām* (Āyār. p. 15,33; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), *kukamminam*=*kukarmīnām* (Sūyag. 341), *pakkhinam*=*pakṣinām* (Uttar. 601), *tāinam*=*trāyīnām* (Uttar. 692), *girisu*=*giriṣu* (Sūyag. 310), *jāisu*=*jātiṣu*, *gārisu*=*agāriṣu*, *jantusu*=*jantuṣu*, *joṇisu*=*yonīṣu*, *gutlisu*=*guṭṭiṣu* (Uttar. 155.207.446.574.992); JM. *vakkhāṇāisu*=*vākhyānādiṣu* (Āv. 41,28 in a quotation from Viśes. 1,1466). So throughout AMg. JM. in *caūhim*, *caūsu*=*caturbhiḥ*, *caturṣu* (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMg. *thāṇao*=*sthānāt*, *saṃjamao*=*saṃyamāt* (Sūyag. 46), *kulāao*=*kulālāt*, *viggahao*=*vigrahāt* (Dasav. 632,37.38), *sirio*=*śrīyāḥ* (Dasav. 641,28); JS. *uvasamado*=*upaśamāt* (Kattig. 399,308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. *divvosahio*=*divyausadhayaḥ* (Mudrār. 60,9); AMg. *osahio* (Dasav. N. 648,10), *itthio*=*striyaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76,921, also

itthiū (Uttar. 373), *nārio* (Uttar. 679 [text °i°]=Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), *koḍio*=*koṭayaḥ* (Uttar. 502; text °i°), *rāio*=*rātrayaḥ* (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416,436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. *itthihim*=*stribhiḥ* (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur.: AMg. *iṣiṇaṃ*=*ṛṣiṇām*, *bhikkhuṇaṃ*=*bhikkṣūṇām*, *munīṇaṃ*=*munīṇām* (Uttar. 375,377,409,921); in the loc. sing. AMg. *rāyahāṇie*=*rājadhānyām* (Uttar. 86; text °i°, the correct form occurs in the commentary), *kāsibhūmie*=*kāśibhūmyām* (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. *itthisu*=*striṣu* (Sūyag. 185 [text °i°]; Uttar. 204). So also A. *radie*=*ratyā* (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in *ahiśāliantī* for *ahiśāliantī*=*abhisāryamāṇā* (Mṛcch. 11,19), even in AMg. *paḍiṇaṃ* for *paḍiṇaṃ*=*praticīṇaṃ* (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa, 152: *prācīnaṃ prācīnaṃ ca syāt* the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Piṅgala goes furthest in this respect. Hema-candra: *sāmalā dhaṇa suvaṇṇareha*=*śyāmalā dhanyā suvaṇṇarekhā* (4,330,1), *sakaṇṇī bhallī*=*sakaṇṇā bhallīḥ* (4,330,3), *phala lihiā*=*phalāni likhitāni* (4,335); *paḍia sila*=*patitā śilā* (4,337), *addhā valaā mahihī gaa addhā phutṭa*=*ardhāni valayāni mahyām gatāny ardhāni sphuṭitāni* [4,352]; *vihi viṇadaū piḍantu gaha*=*vidhir viṇaṭayatu piḍantu grāhāḥ* [4,385]; Kālidāsa, Vikr.: *parahua mahurapālaviṇi kaṇṭī*... *bhamantī*=*parabhṛte madhurapralāpini kānte*... *..bhramanti* (59,11,12), *sā paṭi diṭṭhi jahaṇabharālasa*=*sā tvaṇyā dṛṣṭā jaghana-bharālasā* in rhyme with *gailālasa*=*gatilālasam* (62,12), *kiṇantī dhaṇia ṇa diṭṭhi paṭi*=*kṛiḍantī dhanikā ṇa dṛṣṭā tvaṇyā* (63,5); Piṅgala: *sūi meru ṇisaṅku*=*sūcyate meruṇiṣaṅkam* (1,40), *mahihara taha a suraāṇā*=*mahidharāstathā ca surajanāḥ* (1,80), *jasu*.....*kaṇṭhatṭhiā viṣā pindhāṇa diṣā saṃtāria saṃsāra*=*yasya kaṇṭhe sthitam viṣam pindhānam diṣaḥ saṃtāritam saṃsāraḥ* (1,81), *varisae* for *varisai*=*varṣati* in rhyme with *diṣae*=*dṛṣyate* (1,142), *ṇaccanti saṃhāro dūritṭā hammāro*=*nṛtyanti saṃharatu dūritam asmadīyam* (2,43) etc. See also § 85,128.

(e) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. *a* can become *i* (Schwā) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1, 46 puts the words in which this phonetic alteration must take place in the ākṛtiṅga *svapnādī* and in 1,48 adds also *madhyama* and *katama*; in 1,47 he allows option for *pakva*, *aṅgāra*, *lalāṭa*, in 1,49 for *saptaparṇa*. Vr. 1,3; Ki. 1,2: Mk. fol. 5 limit it to *iṣat*, *pakva*, *svapna*, *vetasa*, *vyajana*, *mṛdaṅga* and *aṅgāra*. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JM.; Ś. and Mg. always retain *a* in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for *aṅgāra* and *vetasa*. So: AMg. *aṣiṇa*=*aṣana*' (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JM. *uttima*=*uttama*' (Hc. 1,46; Ki. 9), AMg. JM. *uttimaṅga*=*uttamāṅga* (Paṇhāv. 274,285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JM. *uttamaṅga* (Pāiyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JM. *uttama* (G.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. *kāima*=*katama*' (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but Ś. Mg. *kadama* (Mṛcch. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vikr. 35,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 130,3).—M. Mg. A. *kiviṇa*=*kṛpaṇa*' (Hc. 1, 46; G.H.; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18, 19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. *akiviṇa* (Mṛcch. 55,25).—AMg. *ghimsu*=*ghraṃsa*' (§105).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *carima*=*carama*' (Paṇnav. 65 ff.; Vivāhap. 113,173,598f. 1254,1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), *acarima* (Paṇnav. 66ff.).—AMg. *nigina*=*nagna*' (§ 133).—M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*=*pakva*' (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,8; Vivāhap. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. *vivikka*=*vipakva* (Thāṇ. 377,378), Ś. *pari-pikka* (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. Ś. *pakka* (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4, 2,14,15; Thāṇ. 218; Paṇnav. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dhūrtas. 12,9), Ś. *supakka* (Mṛcch. 79,25), *paripakka* (Ratn. 301,19).—M. *pusia*=*prṣata*'

(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. *phusiya* (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1,5).—M. AMg. JM. *majjhima*=*madhyama*' (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thāṇ. 128.141.152.175; Sūyag. 334; Paṇṇav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Aṇuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), AMg. *majjhima*=*madhyamaka* (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine *majjhimiā* (Jiv. 905 ff.), *majjhimilla* (Aṇuog. 383), but *ś* only *majjhama* (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65.5;133,9; Venis. 60,6;63,4;64,23;99,12).—AMg. JM. *minjā*=*majjā*' (§ 74).—AMg. JM. *muṅga*=*mṛdaṅga*' (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Paṇṇav. 512; Paṇṇav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text *muṅga*, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. 1.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also *miṅga* (Hc. 1,137), but *ś*. *mudaṅga* (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. *midaṅga* (Mrcch. 122,8; GODABOLE, 337,7 more correctly *mudaṅga*). Cf. § 51.—M. *veḍisa*=*vetasa*' (Grr.; H.), but P. *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307), *ś*. *vedasa* (Śak. 31,16;105,9).—M. AMg. JM. *sejṇā* from *sijjā* (T. 5,15 and often v. 1.; § 107)=*śayyā*' (Vr. 1,5;3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Ki. 1,4;2,70; Mk. fol. 5.21; G.; Karp. 25,1;39,3;70,6; Āyār. 2,2, 1,1,3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97.771; Paṇṇav. 372.398.410.424; Vivāhap. 135. 185.839.1310; Paṇṇav. 844; Uttar. 489.495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *śeṇyā* (Cait. 149,19; text *sejṇā*); AMg. *nisejṇā* (Dasav. 642,36), *nisejṇā* (Kappas. § 120), *paḍisejṇā* (Vivāhap. 964); JM. *sejṇāyara* (Kk.), *sijjāyari* (T. 4,17).¹

I. FISCHER, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, *kaim* will have developed its *i* through its connection with *kati*; *antima* (as it is also in Sanskrit), *uttima*, *carima* and *majjhima* have developed their *i* through the influence of analogy with *paścima*, and *sijjā*, *nisejṇā*, *sāhijjā*, *minjā*, through the influence of *jja*.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. *aṅgāra* (Hc. 1, 47; Pāiyāl. 158), *aṅgāraa* (H. 261), *aṅgārānta*=*aṅgārāyamāṇa* (G. 136), *ś*. Mg. *aṅgāla* (Pras. 120,2.13;121,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as *ra*]; Mrcch. 10,1), *ś*. *aṅgāraka* (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. *aṅgāra* (Paṇṇav. 202.534), *aṅgāraka*= (Paṇṇav. 313; Ovav. § 36), *aṅgāraga* (Paṇṇav. § 116), *aṅgārāja* (Thāṇ. 263)=Skt. *a'ṅgāra*, *aṅgāraka* (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. *iṅgāla* (Grr., also C. 2,4; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thāṇ. 230.391.478; Paṇṇav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237.254.322f. 348.480.609.883. 1286. 1293; Jiv. 51. 257. 293; Nirayāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text *ra*]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), *saṅgāla*, *vīṅgāla* (Vivāhap. 450.451), *iṅgālaga* (Thāṇ. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* (Hc. 1,89), *ś*. *iṅgudī* (Śak. 39,4), *aṅgālia* beside *iṅgāli* (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśin. 1,28.79) are related to one another like *aṅgati* and *iṅgati*, *aṭati* and *iṭa'nt*, *addhā*' and *iddhā*', that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From *īsa*'t the Prākṛtamāñjarī, in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions *īsa*, *īsi*, *isi*. Of them we have *ś*. *īsa* in Mālatīm. 239,3, in all the editions: *īsa maṇṇum* (v. 1. *maṇṇe*) *ujjhā*, and so we have to read also in Venis. 12, 10; 61, 15 *īsa vihasia* with the v. 1. to 12, 10 and in M. *cirehi īsa tti* (Pratāp. 206, 11; text *īsi*), *pāvai īsisa* (H. 444; correctly in the v. 1. and ed. Bomb.; or *īsaṃpi* with v. 1.); correct is *īsisa*..... *...maṇaṃ kuṇanti* (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. 1.), because *īsat* here stands by itself. Otherwise it occurs throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. *īsijalapesiaccha*=*īsaṃjalaprekṣitākṣa*, *īsiraabhinna*=*īsadrajabhinna*, *īsiṇiha*=*īsaṇibha*, *īsiṇiatta*=*īsadvivṛtta* (R. 2, 39;11,43;12,48;13,70), *īsiditṭha*=*īsaditṭha* (Bālar. 120,5), *īsaṃcaraṇa-caṇcurā* (Karp. 86,1; the v. 1. has *īsaṃ*, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads *īsa saṃcaraṇabandhurā*), *īsubbhijjanta* [text *īsubbhijjanta*]=*īsadubbdhidyamāna* (Mallikām. 239,5); JM. *īsiṇiāsaṃ*=*īsadvikāsaṃ* (KI. 7); *ś*. *īsiṇiāsaṃ*

=*īṣatpariśrāntā* (Śak. 133,1), *īṣiviasida*=*īṣadvikasita* (Mālatīm. 121,5), *īṣimāūlida*=*īṣanmukulita*, *īṣimasiṇa*=*īṣanmasṛṇa* (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), *īṣivirala* (Uttarar. 73,5), *īṣivalida* (Nāgān. 8,15), *īṣadāradesadāvida*=*īṣaddvāra-deśadāpita* (Mudrār. 43,8), *īṣiniddāmuddida*=*īṣannidrāmudrita* (Bālar. 220,6); *īṣitiricchi* (text °ra°)=*īṣattiryak*, *īṣisunijjanta*=*īṣacchrūyamāṇa*, *īṣicaūria*=*īṣaccaturita*(?), *īṣimāūlanta* [text °mmu°]=*īṣanmukulāyamāṇa*, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also *īṣisi* in M. *īṣisivalanta*- (H. 370) and Ś. *īṣisijaradhāmāṇa* (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. *īṣisi veaṇā samuppanṇā* (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as *īṣisa* by KONOW. The *i* is, therefore, explained from the cases in which *īṣat*, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Prākṛtamañjarī l. c. teaches also *isi*, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: *īṣisumbia* occurs in Śak. 4,9 ed. BÖHTLINGK. Ś. *īṣa-saṁkamida* (Jivān. 43,8) for *īṣi°*, *īṣi samīve hohi*=*īṣat sāmīpe bhava*, *īṣi vilambia*=*īṣadvilambya*, *īṣi uttāṇaṁ kadua*=*īṣad uttāṇaṁ kṛtvā* (Mallikām. 87,18;124,5;222,8) for *īṣa°*, and JM. *īṣi hasiūṇa* (Erz. 57,17) for *īṣim hasiūṇa* are false readings, as AMg. JM. have the nasalized form *īṣim* always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Thāṇ. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [*īṣi°*]. 21 [*īṣi°*]. 22 [*īṣi°*]; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhap. 239. 248,920 [*īṣi°*], Jiv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. § 33.49, VII [so read everywhere for *īṣi*]; Kappas. § 15; Āv. 48, 14; Erz.). AMg. has also an adjective *īṣiya*=**īṣatka* (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule *i* occurs in forms like JŚ. A. *kidha* (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMg. JM. A. *kiha* (Āyār. 1,6, 1;6; Āv. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,401,3)=Vedic *kathā'*. On its analogy are formed A. *jidha*, *tidha*, *jiha*, *tiha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of *ā* has been brought in on the analogy of M. AMg. JM. A. *jaha*, *taha*, JŚ. *jadha*, *tadha* (§ 113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMg. JM. *tise*, *jise*, M. *tissā*, *jissā*=*tasyāḥ*, *yasyāḥ* as formed on the analogy of *kīse*, *kissā* (§ 425 ff.).¹—*ghisai* (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=*gha'sti*=*gha'sati* has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§ 482).—M. A. *candimā* (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Kī. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pāiṇyāl. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such], R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with *candrikā*, nor with LASSEN², E. KUHN³, S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ and JACOB⁵ with *candra'mas* against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with **candriman*⁶, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as *candrimā* (B. -R. s. v.). Pāli *candimā* (nom. sing.), AMg. *candima*- (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMg. A. nom. *candimā* (Sūyag. 433 [text °da°]. 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Piṅgala 1, 30 [text °da°]) are masculine and mean "the moon", and are secondary derivatives from *candimā* (fem.) with a dependence upon *candramas*. *candrikā* becomes Ś. *catiā* (Cait. 40,15; Adbhutad. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49,265; Mk. fol. 18, besides *chattavaṇṇa* we may say *chattivaṇṇa* (Vr. 2,41; Kī. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as=*saptaparna*, which is to be accented as *sapta'parṇa*. But *sapta'n* nowhere shows *ch* initially and the *a* originating from *an* never becomes *i*, as we learn from *pañcama*, *sattama*, *aṭṭhama*, *navama*, *dasama*, etc. (§ 449).⁷ *chattavaṇṇa*, therefore, is not=*saptaparna*, but=*chattraparna*, and *chattivaṇṇa*=**chatriparṇa* from *chattri* (Hc., Upādi-gaṇas. 446)=*chattra*. In AMg. the word occurs as *sattavaṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhap. 41.1530; Ovav. § 6) and *sattivaṇṇa* (Thāṇ. 266 [commentary *satta°*]. 555; Vivāhap. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of *chattivaṇṇa*; Ś. has *chattavaṇṇa* (Śak.

18,5; cf. v. 1.) and *sattavaṇṇa* (Priyad. 10,13).—AMg. JM. *puvviṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203 [text here °am°]; Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.) is not=*pūrvam*, but=**pūrvī'm*; cf. AMg. *puvvaṇupuvviṃ* (Nirayāv. § 1), which has already been shown by WARREN as=*pūva + ānupūrvī'm*.—AMg. JM. *saddhiṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav. § 15,16; Kappas. etc.; Erz.) is not=*sārdha'm*, but=*Vedic sadhri'm*.⁸ We cannot ascertain the accent in *avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka*, which, in AMg., become *vaḍiṃsa* (Rāyap. 102), *vaḍiṃsaga* (Samav. 10,12,16,23; Rāyap. 103,139; Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), and *vaḍiṃsaya* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.). *i* and the dropping of the initial *a* point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMg. *kuṇima*=*ku'ṇapa* and *viḍima*=*viṭa'pa* (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMg. JM. *ṣ. ṇiḍāla*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*=*lalāṭa* see § 260; on AMg. *āikkhai*, § 492, on *diṇṇa* § 566, and on AMg. JM. *appiṇai* § 557.

I. FRANKE opines differently with regard to the genitive forms like *tissā*, GN. 1895,529, note 1.—2. Inst. p. 203.—8. Beiträge p. 22.—4. Rāvaṇavaho p. 156, note 1.—5. Kalpasūtra. s. v., KZ. 35,573.—6. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572.—7. JACOBI has not taken these into consideration, KZ. 35,572.—8. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,235.

§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes *a* becomes *u*: *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma*=*prathama* (C. 3,9 p. 48; Hc. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is *paḍhama*. So M. (G. H. R.); AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.); JM. (KI. 1; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. (Kattig. 398,304; 400,332,401,342,344); Ś. (Mr̥ch. 68,23,94,3; 138,15; Śak. 43,6; 50,1; 67,11; Vikr. 22,20; 27,13); Mg. (Mr̥ch. 130,13,18; 139,10; 153,21); D. (Mr̥ch. 102,19); A. (Piṅgala 1,1.10.23.40 etc.). *puḍhama* occurs in M. (H. 832), in Ś. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have *puḍhama*, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. *pu°*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has *puḍhuma* several times in R.; likewise BOLLENSSEN in Vikr. 23,19; 24,1,83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read *paḍhama*, everywhere in M.Ś. Mg.¹ P. has *puḍhuma* (Hc. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write *puḍama*.²—M. *pulaai*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* (Vr. 8,69; Hc. 4,181; Pāiyāl. 78; H. R.), M. *puloei*, *puloia* beside *palei*, *paloia* (Hc. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. *puloedi*, *puloanta*, *puloida*, and so on and so forth (Mahāv. 99,3; 100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 15,1; 17,1; 22,9; 24,2; 42,10; 48,10; 55,3; 57,1; 59,17; Pras. 11,14; 12,1; 13,14; 16,17; 35,7; 41,3; 115,17 [here they often write *pulovedi* and so forth])=*pralokayati*.—A. Mg. *pāuraṇa* (Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,5,1,5; Paṇhāv. 534; Uttar. 489)=Pāli *pāvuraṇa*, *pāpuraṇa*=*prāvaraṇa*; AMg. *kaṇṇapāuraṇā*=*kaṇṇapāvaraṇāḥ* (Paṇhāv. 56; Thāṇ. 260; *pāuraṇi* (coat of mail; Deśin. 6,43)=**prāvarāṇi*.³—M. *uppei*, *uppia* (Hc. 1,269; G. s. v. *r*; Karp. 48,4)=*arpayati*, *arpita* beside *appei*, *appia*, *o'ppei*, *o'ppia* (§ 125; Hc. 1,63).—AMg. *ummuggā*=**ummagnā* (rising above the surface; Āyār. p. 15,32; 27,9), beside *ummaggā* (Uttar. 235), *omugganimuggiṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.)=**avāmagnanimagnita*.—AMg. *kammunā*, *kammunāu*, *kammuno*, *kammunaṃ*, *dhammunā*, JM. *kammunā*=*karmaṇā*, *karmaṇaḥ*, *karmaṇām*, *dharmaṇā* (§ 404).—AMg. JM. *paṇuvīsaṃ*, *paṇuvīsa*=*pañcaviṃśati* (§ 273).—M. AMg. *vo'cchaṃ* from **vucchaṃ* (§ 125)=*vaksyāmi*, M. AMg. JM. *vo'ttuṃ* from **vuttuṃ*=*vaktum* (§ 529,574).—A. *vuñāi*=Mg. *vaññādi*=**vraññāti* from *vraj* (§ 488).—*vo'jjhaa*, *vo'jjhaamalla* for *vu°* (§ 125; burden; Deśin. 7,80) is traceable to AMg. *vo'jjha*=*vahya* (§ 572).—AMg. *susāṇa* from **śmuśāna*=*śmaśāna* (Hc. 2,86; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; Paṇhāv. 177,419; Uttar. 1006; Ovav.;

Kappas.; Āv. 31,24); but M. Ś. *masāna* (Vr. 3,6; C.3,23; Hc. 2,86; Ki. 2,53; Mk. fol. 21; Pāṭyāl. 158; G. H.; Karp. 101, 7; Mṛcc. 72,8; 155,4; Mālatim. 30,4;224,3; Anarghar. 279,10; Caṇḍak. 86,7;92,11); Mg. *masāna* (Mṛcc. 168,18; Mudrār. 267,2; Caṇḍak. 61,11;63,11;64,9; [°naa]; 66,13;71,9.11). On M. JM. AMg. *muṇāi*, JŚ. *muṇadi* see § 489, on A. *jhuṇi*, Ś. *dhuṇi*=*dhvani*, § 299. Cf. also § 337.

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,55.—2. PISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 13; e.g. Vikramorvaśīya, ed. PISCHEL 629,26;630,18.20;633,18; Pārvatīp. 28,22 ed. GLASER; Mallikām which, beside *puḍhama* (152,18), has also *paḍama* (56,11). On the variation between *pa°* and *pu°*, in the MSS. in Ś. cf. the v. l. e. g. also on Mālav. 39, 5.6.7.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,247.

§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in *-a* have become *-u* stems. This takes place especially in compounds with *-jña*, *-jñaka* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ when *jña* becomes *ṇṇa*, in AMg. also *nna* (Hc. 1,56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. *akaṇṇua*=*akṛtajñaka* (H. R.), *aṇṇua*=*ajñaka* (H.); *ahinṇu*=*abhijña* (Hc. 1,56), but Ś. *aṇahinṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1 [°bhi°]); *āgamaṇṇu*=*āgamajña* (Hc. 1,56); M. *guṇaṇṇua*=*guṇajñaka* (G.), *guṇaṇṇua* (H.), but Ś. *guṇaṇṇa* (Kāleyak. 25,22); AMg. *dosannu*=*doṣajña* (Dasav. 627,36); AMg. *paḍirūvaṇṇu*=*pratirūpajña* (Uttar. 694), *paraḥkamaṇṇu*=*parākramajña* (Sūyag. 576,578); AMg. *vinṇu* (Āyār. 2,16,1.2; Sūyag. 26), M. *viṇṇua* (Mk. fol. 20)=*viṇṇa*, *viṇṇaka*; AMg. *viḥinnu*=*vidhijña* (Nāyādh. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *savaṇṇu*=*sarvajña* (Hc. 1,56; Vajjāl. 324,9; Āyār. 2,15,26; Vivāhap. 916; Aṇuog. 95.518; Uttar. 689; Dasav. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,38; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text *savvaṇhu*]), but Mg. *śavvañña* (Hc. 4,293). P. *savvañña* (Hc. 4, 303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become *u*-stems: AMg. *ghimsu*=*ghraṁsa'* (§ 101; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58,109); AMg. *pāṇu*=*prāṇa'*, when it is used as a unit of time¹ (Vivāhap. 423; Aṇuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), *āṇāpāṇu* (Ṭhāṇ. 173; Aṇuog. 242; Dasav. N. 654,2; Ovav.); AMg. *pilaṇkhu*, *pilakkhu*=*plakṣa'* (§ 74); AMg. *manthu*=*mantha'* (Āyār. 1,8, 4,4;2,1,8,7; Uttar. 249; Dasav. 622,8;623,10); AMg. *milakkhu*=*mleccha'* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8; Sūyag. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 *milukkhajā*]. 928; Paṇṇav. 58; Paṇhāv. 41 [text °lu°; cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,510])=Pāli *milakkhu* (§ 233) beside *mīliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*, AMg. *miccha* (§ 84). Cf. *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu* § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base *āryā'*, in the meaning "mother-in-law" also becomes an *u*-stem,=*ajjū* (Hc. 1,77), and *āryakā*, in the meaning "mistress", Ś. *ajjūā* (Mṛcc. 27,2 ff.; 28,2 ff.; 29,1 ff.; 36,4;37,3ff. etc), Mg. *ayyuā* (Mṛcc. 10,2; 39,20.24.25;40,2.4.10), *ayyukā* (Mṛcc. 13,8). In Mg. *ayyuā* means "mother" also (Śak. 158,11, where Śaṅkara, following Candrasekhara, remarks: *ajjukāśabdo mātari deśiyah*). On AMg. *āhu*, *udāhu*, *addakkhu*, *miṇṇakkhu* etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., *pāṇu*, and especially Aṇuog. 431.

§ 106. A final *a* becomes *u* in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in *-a*, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person plural of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs: *suaṇassu*=*sujanasya*, *piassu*=*priyasya*, *khandhassu*=*skandhasya*, *kantassu*=*kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.354.445.3), *tassu*, *tāsu*, *tasu*, *jāsu*, *jasu*, *kassu*, *kāsu*, *kasu*=*tasya*, *yasya*, *kasya* (§ 425.427.428); *parassu*=*parasya* (Hc. 4,338.354); *mahu*, *majjhu* in the sense of *mama*; *taū* for **tavu*=*tava*, *tuhu* [so it is to be read], *tujjhu* in the sense of *tava* (Hc. s.v. *ma-*, *tu*); *piu*=*piba* (Hc. 4,338,1), *piahu*=*pibata* (Hc. 4,422,20); *bhaṇu*=*bhaṇa* (Hc. 4,401,4; Pingala 1,120; and read so everywhere for *bhaṇa*); *sikkhu*=*sikṣa* (Hc. 4,404); *icchahu*=*icchatha*, *pucchahu*=*prcchatha* (Hc. 4,

384.422,9), *kuṇḍhu*=*krṇuta*=*kuruta* (Piṅgala 1,89.118), *dehu*=*dayata* (Hc. 4,384; Piṅgala 1,10), *jāṇḍhu*=*jāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,5.14.38), *viāṇḍhu*=*vijāṇita* (Piṅgala 1,25.50); *ṇamahu*=*namata* (Hc. 4,446); *ēṭṭhu*, *jēṭṭhu*, *tēṭṭhu* in the sense of *atra*, *yatra*, *tatra*, (§ 107; Hc. s.v.; Piṅgala 1,114); *jattu*, *tattu*=*yatra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404); *ajju*=*adya* (Hc. 4,343,2.418,7 and read so everywhere for *ajja*).

§ 107. Only seemingly has *e* sometimes taken the place of *a*. The extremely frequent *e'ttha* of M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mrcch. 102,18;103,16;105,15), Ā. (Mrcch. 102,25;103,4), A. *e'tthu* (§ 106) does neither go back to *atra* (Hc. 1,57)¹ nor to **itra*² or **etra*³, but is related to *iha*, like *tattha* to *taha*, *jaṭṭha* to *jaha*, *kattha* to *kaha*: so stands for **ittha*=Vedic. *itthā*⁴. Cf. A. *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *ethi*), *itthi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*=*atra* Piṅgala 1,5^a.86), and AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=*kathā*' (§ 103). A. *ke'tthu*, beside *kidha*, *kiha*=*kathā*, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. *ukkerā* (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Ki. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāṇīyā. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Viddhaś. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6,7,167,10;210,2), against *ukkara* (Caṇḍak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMg. also (G.; Nāyādh., Kappas.) is not=*utkarā*⁵, but must be equated, with LASSEN⁶, as=**utkaryā*, or connected with *utkirati*. In Bālar. 234,9 the word *vaiera*=*vyatikara* is wrongly printed: the correct form is *vadiara*, Śak. 13,2.—M. Ś. *ge'ndua* (Viddhaś. 56,2;58,6; Mallikām. 134,21.23 [text *ga°*]), A. *gindu* (Piṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57.182 be traced back to *kanduka* that forms M. Ś. *kandua* (G. 752; Mālav. 68,10), but belongs with *ge'ṇḍu* (game: Deśin. 2,94), Pāli *geṇḍuka*, as well as *genduka*, *ginduka*, *ge'ṇḍu*, *ge'ṇḍuka* that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root **gid*, **giḍ*, present **giṇḍai*, *ge'ṇḍai* "to play". Cf. *jhe'ṇḍua* "ball" (Deśin. 3,59).—*ghe'ppai* stands for **ghippai* and does not go back to *grabh*, but to **ghr̥p* (§ 212.518). *dhe'mkuṇa* (bug: Deśin. 4,14; Triv. 1,3,105,60) beside *ḍhamkuṇa* (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMg. *ḍhimkuṇa* (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text *°ka°*]), as Skt. *ḍinka* also makes probable, and is=**dam-khuna*, and can be traced back to **damkha*', connected to *damś* (§ 212.267).⁷—M. *ve'lli* (Creeper: Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=*valli*, but stands for **villi*. With *ve'llā* (creeper), *ve'lla* (hair; a small lock, pleasure: Deśin. 7,94), *vili* (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Triv. 1,3,105,80), *ve'llari* (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. *ve'llira*, (automatically moving: G. 137; Viddhaś. 55,8. [text *ce°*]; Bālar. 203,13), A. *uvve'llira* (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. *uvve'lla*=**udvilna* (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1;258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root **vil* (to be moved), to which also *velu*=*veṇu* (§ 243) also will have to be referred⁸. M. A. *ve'llai* with its compounds *uvve'llai*, *ṇivve'llai*, *saṇve'llai* (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7;182,2; Vikr. 67,19), Ś. *ve'llamāṇa* (Bālar. 168,3), *uvve'llida* (Ratn. 302,31), *uvve'llanta* (Mālatim. 76,3;125,4;129,2), which is frequent also in later Sanskrit, is either a derivative from *ve'lla*=**vilna*, or from **vilyati*, **vilvati*.—*se'jjā*=*sayyā* is regularly derived from *sijjā* (§ 101).—M. *suhe'lli* (Pāṇīyā. 159; Deśin. 8,36;H.) is to be explained from **suhilli*=*sukha*+suffix *-illa*, while its synonym *suhalli* (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to *sukha*+suffix *alla* (§ 595).⁹—AMg. JM. *he'ttā*=*adha'stāt* (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10.152; Erz.) presumes **adhe'stāt*, corresponding to **pure'kkhaḍa*=**pure'skṛta*, which has already been taken note of by WEBER¹⁰. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from *adhastāt*: therefore, the assumption of a from **adhe'stha* is wrong: On AMg. *ahe*=*adhaḥ*, *pure*=*purah* see § 345. From *he'ttā* we have in AMg. JM. an adjective *he'ttā*,

wherefrom we have AMg. *he'ttham* (Hc. 2,141; Thān. 179.492; text *he'tthim*), JM. *he'tthēna* (Erz.), AMg. JM. *he'tthao* (Vivāgas. 143; Erz.) = Pāli *he'tthato*, M. *he'tthammi* (H. 365); JM. *he'tthajjammi* (Erz.), *he'tthatthia* (Hc. 4,448), also *hi'ttha* (Deśin. 8,67), *hi'ttham* (Thān. 179; text *im*) written with *i*, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pālī, a superlative AMg. *he'tthima* (Thān. 197; Samav. 66 68.72; Vivāhap. 524.529.1412; Anuog. 266), *he'tthimaya* (Vivāhap. 82), *hi'tthima* (Paṇṇav. 76; Thān. 197 [6 > < beside 1 > < *he*°]); Uttar. 1086), and a very frequent adjective AMg. *he'tthilla* (Thān. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Nāyādh. 867; Vivāhap. 128.347.392ff. 437.1101.1240.1331ff. 1777; Anuog. 427ff.; Jiv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308. — A. *he'tlli* (O female friend! Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside JM. *hale*, A. *hali*, M. Ś. *halā* (§ 375) goes back to **hilli* = **hali* with doubling of the *la* according to § 194.

1. So also CHILDERS s.v.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 6.—2. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 129; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 1,133ff.—3. FAUSBÖLL, *Dhammapada* p. 350.—4. PISCHEL, *Ved. Stud.* 2,88.—5. BÜHLER, *Pāiyāl.* s.v.—6. *Inst.* p. 118.—7. PISCHEL, BB. 3,255f.—8. PISCHEL, BB. 3,263ff. Cf. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,249f.—9. Impossible is the derivation from *sukhakeli*, which according to the translation of the scholiasts is approved of by WEBER, *Hāla* 1 p. 40; 2 s.v.—10. Bhag. 1,404; Cf. E. KUHN, *Beitäge* p. 21.—11. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,218. As Pāli has also *pure pure'kkhāra*, *sve*, *suve* etc. (KUHN p. 58), it is unnecessary to hypothesize the existence of a "Proto-Pāli *e*".

§ 108. Sometimes *a* becomes *i* (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. Thus: AMg. JM. *tesim* = *tēsām*, *tāsim* = *tā'sām*, *eesim* = *etēsām*, *ēyāsim* = *etā'sām*, *jesim* = *yēsām*, *jāsim* = *yā'sām*, *kesim* = *kēsām*, *imesim*, *imāsīm* from the stem *ima*, *añnesim* = *anyēsām*, *añnāsim* = *anyā'sām*. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, and the very rare M. *esim* = *eśā'm*, *paesim* = *pa'reśām*, *savvesim* = *sa'rveśām* (§ 425 ff.)¹. — M. *jāpimo* = *ja'lpāmaḥ*; M. AMg. *ṇamimo*, *na'māmaḥ*; M. JM. *bhaṇimo*, *bha'nāmaḥ*; M. JM. *vandimo* = *va'ndāmaḥ*; A. *lahimu* = *la'bhāmaḥ* etc. Their analogy is followed by *pucchimo* = *prechā'maḥ*, *lihimo* = *likhā'maḥ*; *suṇimo* = **śruṇā'maḥ*, and so forth (§ 455).² This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in *-ami*, *-ama*, *-ima*, *-amo*, *-amu*, of which those in *-ami* are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMg. *sāhijja*, *sāhe'jja* = *sa'hāyja* (Pāiyāl. 215; G. 1116; Vivāhap. 502; Erz.)³ correspond to the rule.

1. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,570 f.—JACOBI, KZ. 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronouns *ta*—, *eta*—, *ya*—, *ka*—, *ima*— only were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of *i*. — 2. JACOBI, KZ. 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, KZ. 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to *gamimo*, *jāpimo*. Cf. § 455. According to him, *-ima* may have been borrowed from an Apabhraṃśa dialect, in which till now *-imo* has not been found at all.—3. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573-575, here it would be *jja* as in *sijjā*, *nisijjā*, *miñjā*, the origin of *i*. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, *Hāla* 1 p. 38, that this took place due to the influence of *ya*. But *jja* has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one *ā*, like *a* (§ 101), sometimes becomes *i*: it takes place clearly after it is at first changed into *a*. So according to Hc. 1,81, *°mātra* may become *°matta* or *°me'tta*, from *°mitta*, thus for example AMg. *viha'tthimitta* = *vilastimātra* (Sūyag. 280), *itthāmitta* = *itthāmātra* (Sūyag. 339), *vinñāyapaṇṇāyāmitta* = *vinñātapariṇāyāmitta* (Nāyādh. § 27 = Kappas. § 10.52.80), *sāṇṇāmitta* = *svādanamātra* (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. 1. *°me'tta*, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMg. (Vivāhap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (Śak. 39,12; 60,15; 96,2; Vikr. 7,12; 41,13; 80,

13;84,6; Uttarar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *meṭṭaka* (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), *adimeṭṭam*=*atimātram* (Mṛcch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mg. *yādameṭṭaka*=*jātamātra* (Mṛcch. 114,8)¹. On *mahāmeṭṭha*=*mahāmātra*, and *meṭṭhapurisa*, see § 293.—*bhisai* is=**bhāsa'ti*, **bhāsa'ti* for *bhā'sati* with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. *Ṣ geṭṭha*, Mg. *duggeṭṭha*, A. *duggeṭṭha*=*grāḥya*, *durgrāḥya* is formed from the present stem, therefore,=**grhya*, **durgrhya*, and so stands for **gijha*, **duggijha* (§ 572).—*śālmali* forms in AMg. *sāmalī*, dialectically *sāmārī* (§ 88). The other form *simbalī* that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 1,146; Vivāhap. 447 f.; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621,5 (text *sa'*)), *eḥkasimbali*=*śālmali* pair *navaphalikā* (Deśin. 1,146) belongs to Vedic *śimbala'* (flower of the cotton tree.²). The form *kuppisa* beside *kuppāsa*=*kūrpāsa* (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent **kūrpāsa*.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,198.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyaṇa. BÜHLER has already criticised Vedic *śimbali* [sic], Pāiyāl see under *śimbaliṃ*.

§ 110. In the ending—*māna* of the ātmanep. pres. participle *ī* sometimes occurs for *ā*. So in M. *melīna* from *melai* from *mil*, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in *āgamamīna*, *samaṇujāṇamīna*, *ādḥāyamīna*, etc. (§ 562).—*khallīda*=*khalvāṭa* (Hc. 1,74), which, as *khallīṭa* and *khallīṭa* has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent *khalvāṭa'* (Pāṇini, 5,2,125; Hc., Uṇādigaṇas. 148). In A. *khallīhaḍḍā* (Hc. 4,389) *h* seems to go back to *dha* (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For *ā* occurs *u* in *suṇhā* for **saṇhā*=*sāsnā* (Hc. 1,75).—*thuva* (Hc. 1,75) is not=*stāvaka*, but=**stuvaka*=**stuvā'n* from the pres. stem. **thuva-*, whence originated also the passive *thuvvāi* (§ 494).—M. AMg. *Ṣ. ulla* (Hc. 1,82; Pāiyāl. 185; G. H.; Pracandap. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5. 6;2,1,7,9;2,3,2,6.11.12 [*udaṭṭilla*]; Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107,6 [*rasoḷḷilla*]), M. *ullaa* [R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read *jaloḷḷaam* with ed. Bomb. 89,5]] with the denominative M. *ullei* (G. H.), JM. *ulle'ttā* (Erz.), AMg. *ullaṇa*, *ullaṇiyā* (Uvās.), and with *o'* according to § 125. M. AMg. *oḷḷa* (H. R.; Karp. 27,12;69,4;94,6;95,11; Dasav. 619,18;622,8), M. *oḷḷaa* (R.), M. *oḷḷei* (H.), *oḷḷaṇa* (R.), *Ṣ. oḷḷavida* (Mṛcch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to *ārḍra*, but with WEBER,¹ to *ud*, *unda* (to moisten), *udan*, *udaka* (water), and consequently corresponds to one **udra* which occurs in *udra'* (otter), *anudra'* (waterless), and *udri'n* (watery)².—*ārḍra* becomes M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. adda* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovav.; Erz.; Bālar. 125,13), M. AMg. also *alla* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. *devānuppiya* is not, with WEBER,³ LEUMANN,⁴ WARREN,⁵ STEINTHAL,⁶ JACOBI⁷ to be equated as=*devānāmpriya*, but with HOERNLE⁸ as=*devānupriya*=*deva*+*anupriya*, which in Pāli becomes *aṇuppiya*.⁹—*ūsāra* [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not=*āsāra*, that remains in M. *Ṣ. A. as āsāra* (G. R.; Caṇḍak. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but=**utsāra*. On *ajjū*=*āryā* see § 105.

1. ZDMG. 26,741; H. s. v., falsely H¹. p. 261, cf. Haripāla on G. 527 *ulliam tti deśi dhātūr ārdribhāve*.—2. P. GOLDSCHMIDT on Specimen 2,8, p. 84.—3. Bhag. 1,405.—4. Aup. S. s. v.; WZKM. 3,344.—5. Nirayāv. s. v.—6. Specimen s. v. 7.—Kalpas. and Erz. s. v.; cf. also E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 15. 8.—Uvās., Appendix III, p. 31.—9. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886, p. 117.

§ 112. AMg. *pārevaṇa* (Hc. 1,80; Paṇṇav. 54,526; Jiv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text *pāreva*]; Uttar. 981), *pārevaṇaga* (Paṇhāv. 24,57), fem. *pārevāi* (Vivāgas. 107)=Pāli *pārepata* is a dialectical form allied to M. *pārāvaa* (Hc. 1,80; Pāiyāl. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), *Ṣ. pārāvada* (Mṛcch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhaś. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli *pārāpata*. *pāre* is locative as in *pāreganigam*, *pāretaraṇigini*, etc. AMg. *pārevaya* “date-palm” (Paṇṇav. 483,531) is=*pārevata*.—AMg. *pacchekamma*=

paścātkaṃman (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of *purekamma-* (§ 345). In Paṇhāv. 492, occurs *pacchākammaṃ purekammaṃ*.—*dera* (door; Hc. 1,79) beside *dāra*, *bāra*, *duvāra*, *duāra* (§ 298.300.139)=Singhalese *dera* is perhaps=**darya*; cf. *darī* (cave).—AMg. *ukkosa*, which the scholiasts translate by *utkarṣa*, whereafter WEBER¹ explains it as having developed from **ukkāsa*, and which WARREN² will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is=**utkoṣa* from *kuṣa nīskarṣe* (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with *ud*. Generally its instrumental form *ukkoseṇaṃ* "at the highest", "at most" is used with its converse *jehanneṇaṃ* "at the lowest" (Aṇuttar. 3; Thān. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Paṇṇav. 52,205 ff; Vivāhap. 26 ff. 59.60 143.182.272 ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Aṇuog 161 ff.; 398 ff.; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form *ukkosaṃ* (Vivāhap. 180.371. 390 f.; Uttar. 312 ff.). As an adjective (Paṇhāv. 129), beside *majjhima jahanna* (Thān. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as=*utkrṣṭa*; *ukkosiya* (Thān. 505; Vivāhap. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas.) is neither with WEBER³=*utkarṣika*, nor with JACOBI⁴=*utkrṣṭa*, but is to be equated as=**utkoṣita*.—On *dhovai*=*dhāvati* see § 482.

1. Bhag. 1,443; cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—2. Over de goodsdienste en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 43, note 1.—3. Bhag. 1,443.—4. Kalpas. s. v.

§ 113. A final unaccented *ā* of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. *anṇaha*=*anya'thā* (H.), beside M. JM. *anṇahā* (G.; Kk.), JŚ. *anṇadhā* (Pav. 385,63; text *hā*); Ś. only *anṇadhā* (Mṛcch. 24,4; 51,24; 52,13; 64,25; Śak. 52,16; 73,8; 76,5; Vikr. 18,8; 40,16), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 165,4); M. AMg. JM. *jaha*, *taha*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. *jadha*, (Pav. 386,4; 387,24 [*ha*]), *tadha* (Pav. 379,4; 381,16 [*ha*]; Kattig. 398,304 [*ha*]); A. *jiha*, *jidha*, *tiha*, *tidha* (Hc. 4,401) with *i* on the analogy of AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=Vedic *kathā*, which owes the shortness of *a* in Pkt. to *jaha*, *taha* and M. *kaha* (G. H. R.) (§ 103). Ś. Mg. have, in prose only *tadhā*, *jadhā* (Mg. *yadhā*), *kadhā* (never *kadhā*). A. has in verse *jaha* (Mṛcch. 100,12). For Mg. *taha* (Mṛcch. 123,7), in verse, read *tadha*, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. *va*=*vā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25; 620,32.33); Ś. Mg. in prose only *vā*. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse: thus M. *jaha...ṇa tahā* (H. 61); JM. *kiṃ calioṃva...kiṃ vā jalio* (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. *guṇe ja jadhā tadha bandho* (Pav. 384,48); AMg. *paḍisehie va dinne vā* (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. *saī*=*sa'dā* (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Kī 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69.93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,24¹) *i* is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is *saā* (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for *jaī*=*yadā'* and *taī*=*tadā'*. This presupposes an accentuation **ya'dā*, **ta'dā*, as in the RV., after a negative the word *kadā* is accented as *ka'dā*, on which is based M. *kaī* (H.), that may have influenced *jaī*, *taī*. *taīaṃ*, which according to JACOBI² is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of *i* for *ā* in a post-accentual syllable and is=*tadā'*, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of *taīā*, that is like *kaīā*, *jaīā* found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; *kaīā* also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. *taīyā* (Uttar. 279); *jaīā* has not been found. These words are=**kayidā*, **tayidā*, **yayidā* from *ka'yā*, *ta'yā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening

takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. *ka'dua*, *gadua* for **ka'duvā*, **gaduvā*=*kytvā*, *gatvā* (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by JACOBI as=*svayam*. 2.—KZ. 35,575. The word has been probably quoted by JACOBI from the word-index to Hc., where *taiam*—*tytiyam* and *taia*=*tadā* occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of *ā* that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anunāsika. M. AMg. JM. *jahā*, A. *jihā*=*yathā* (Hc. 4,337). Beside *mā*, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has *mā*, *maṁ* (read so everywhere for *ma* according to Hc. 4,418, *mā* when a short and *maṁ* when a long syllable is required; see the Wortzeichniss zu Hc.), beside *viṇā* of all the dialects A. *viṇu* (Hc. s.v.)=**viṇam* (§ 351).—*maṇā*=*manāk* (Hc. 2,169), beside M. Ś. *maṇam* (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Śak. 146,8; Karpas. 31,9); JM. *maṇāgam* (Erz.), A. *maṇāu* (§352), also JM. *maṇayam* (Hc. 2,169; KI.10), and *maṇiyam* (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. *musam* beside *musā*=*mṛṣā* (§ 78). AMg. *sakkham*=*sākṣāt* (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116.370; Ovav.), beside Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām. 190,19). AMg. *heṭṭham* beside AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in *sakkham* also. In AMg., beside *tahā* we have also *taham* before a vowel in the phrase *evam eṇam taham eṇam avitaham eṇam*=*evam etat tathaitat avitatham etad* (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. § 13.83). This *taham* stands for *taham* (§ 349) and corresponds to a **tatham* beside *tathā*, like *kathām* beside Vedic *kathā*. So too can A. *jihā* be referred to **yathām* beside *yāthā*. Cf. §72.74.75.86. So also AMg. *sōccam*, *dissam* occurring before a vowel for *sōccam*, *dissam*, beside *sōccā*, *dissā*=*śrutvā* *dyṣtvā* (§334.349). Final *ā* in the inst. sing. and *ā* arising from *-āḥ* of the abl. and of the genit. as well as of the therewith connected locative of the feminines in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* are often shortened in M.: *bandā*=*-bandya*; *koḍā*=*koḍeh*; *naarā*=*naagaryām*; *vahūā*=*vadhvā* (§ 385). The corresponding forms in *-a* of the feminine in *-ā*, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of KONOW (§ 375).

§ 115. A transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; Ki.1. 18.19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example *paḍamsuā* (Hc. 1,26.88.206), *paḍamsua* (Mk. fol. 34) is not=*pratiśrut*, *pratiśruta*, but=**pratyāśrut*, **pratyāśruta*, as is shown by *pratyāśrāva*. *pratiśrut* in AMg. forms *paḍimsuṇā* (Ovav. s. v.); for *pratiśruta* is found *paḍimsuda* (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *puhavi*, AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *puḍhavi* (§ 51) *a* is a separating vowel like *u* in *puhuvī* (§ 139), both, therefore,=*prthvī*.—*bahedā* (Hc. 1,88) is not=*vibhītaka*, but=*baheṭaka* (Vaijayantī 59,351; cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *vahedaka*.—*sadhila* (Hc. 1,89), AMg. *pasadhila* (Hc. 1,89; Paṇṇav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. *sidhila* (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89.215.254; Ki. 2,17; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyādh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39.136.382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4), M. *sidhilattana*=**śithilatvana* (G.), *sidhiladā* (Śak. 63,1), M. Ś. *sidhilei*, °*di* (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Candak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. *pasidhila* (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Viddhaś. 64,5), back¹ to the original **śithila*, *a* and *i*, therefore, represent an original *r* (§52), as already noted above.—In *haladdā*, *haladdī* (Grr.) beside M. AMg. JM. *haliddā* (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982.1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. *haliddī* (Hc. 1,88.254; G.; Karp. 69,3)=*haridrā*, AMg. *hālidda*=*hāridra* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Paṇṇav. 525; Samav. 64; Jiva 224; Ovav.; Kappas.). *a* and *i* are presumably separation vowels. On *angua* beside *iṅua*=*iṅuda* see §102.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *siḍhila*; cf. B.-R. s. v. *ṣithira* and WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 16.

§ 116. For the second *i* of *iti*=Latin *ita*, there has been preserved in M. AMg. JM. an old *a*, when *iti* stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound : M. *ia* (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Ki. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4;48,14;57,7; Viddhaś. 64,7; Acyutaś. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. JM. *iya* (C. 2,28; Pāiṃyāl. 224; Āyār. 1,2,1,1;1,2,3,1,5;1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere *iti*]; Ovav. § 184.186; KI. 14; Kk.); AMg. *iyaccheya*, *inyiuna*, *ijanayavādi*, *iyāuvasaladdha*, *iyavinṇānapatta*=*iticcheka*, *itiniṇṇa itinaya-vādin*, *ityupadesaladdha*, *itivijñānaprāpta* (Uvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. *ii* for *iya* (Sūyag. 137.203 [*iti*]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626,11,630,14; Uvās. § 114). As *i* and *ya* always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JŚ., however, has *idi* (Pav. 385,65;387,18.24; Kattig. 399,314); it has it whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs *ia* (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic *iti* becomes *ti*, *tī* (§92), AMg. also *i* (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes *i* becomes *u* through assimilation to an *u* of the following syllable: M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*iksu* (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95;2,17; Ki. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiṃyāl. 143; G. H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,9.12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7,2,5; Paṇhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13;621,5.41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also *ikkhu* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 554; Paṇnav. 33,40; Jiv. 356; Vivāhap. 1526), *ikkhūya* (Paṇnav. 33,40), and similarly in Ś. we must read *ikkhu* with the MSS., instead of *ucchu* in Śak. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukmiṇīp. 42,14. In M. JM. occurs *icchu* in H. 740.775; KI. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka*, see § 84.—AMg. *usu*=*iṣu* (Sūyag. 270.286.293; Vivāhap. 121.122.348.505.506.1388; Raṃyap. 257; Nirayāv. § 5); AMg. *usugāra* (Thān. 86), *usuṃyāra* (Thān. 383; Uttar. 421.422.449; Paṇhāv. 317 [text *ikkhu*°, but cf. the commentary])= *iṣukāra* (name of a hill). Yet AMg. JM. have also *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra*¹ (Paṇhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67,1,2); AMg. *iśāsaṭhāna*=*iṣvāsasthāna* (Nirayāv. § 5 beside *usu*); M. *isu* (Pāiṃyāl. 36; G. 1145 [*kāmesu*]; Karp. 12,8;94,8; [*pañcesu*]).—AMg. *susu*=*śiṣu* in *susumāra*=*śiṣumāra* (Sūyag. 821; Paṇhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50.186), oftener *suṃsumāra* (Paṇnav. 47.48; Jiv. 71; Nāyādh. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text °sa°]), *suṃsumārī* (Jiv. 111); but AMg. *sisupāla* (Sūyag. 161), *sisunāga* (Uttar. 205); M. *sisu* (Pāiṃyāl. 58); Ś. *sisubhāva* (Viddhaś. 21,12), *sisuāla*=*śiṣukāla* (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeya on Paṇhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=*iṣvastra* by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOBI, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The *i* of the prefix *ni* becomes *u* before *ma*, that has originated from *pa* according to § 248 and from *va* according to § 251 : *numajjajai*=*nipadyate* (Hc. 1,94;4,123; Ki. 4,46), *numaṇṇa*=*nipanna* (Hc. 1,94.174). The forms referred by Grr. to *sad* cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. *ṇuvaṇṇa* (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Deśin. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of *ma* from *pa*. Derivation from *majj* is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530.608.669 WEBER reads with the MSS. *ṇimajjasu*, *ṇimajjanta*, *ṇimajjai*, *ṇimajjihisi*. But in another place (under 669) he refers °to *ṇu*° that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvyaṇṇakāśa, p. 123 in the old Sāradā script¹, Śobhākara, Alaṃkāraratnākara fol. 67^b (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No. 227). Hemacandra, Alaṃkāracūdāmaṇi fol. 4^b (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Śabdavyā-

pāravīcāra fol. 6^a, Jayanta, Kāvyaaprakāśadīpikā fol. 6^b.22^b, whereas Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 5 has *ni*°. Everywhere *nu* should be read. *numanta*, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by *nimantra*, is a mistaken reading from *numanna* in Hc.—*numai* (Hc. 4,199) beside *nimai*, M. *nimeī* (R.) “throw down” is=*vi* “to throw” (Dhātup. 24,39) with *ni*. Therefore, the v.1. *nivia* (R. 12, 30) beside *nimia*°. Sometimes dialectically the suffix-*ka* steps in for the Skt. suffix *-ika*, so that apparently *u* stands for *i*. So M. *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchūya*, beside M. *vimchia*, AMg. *vicchiya* =*vrścika* (§ 50); AMg. *gerūya* beside M. *geria* = *gairika*; AMg. *neyāya* = *naiyāyika* (§ 60); M. *jānuā* = **jñānika*; (H. 286), *akajānuā* = *akratjāna*, *vi jānuā* = *vijāna*, *dēvajānuā* = *daivajāna* etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. *jānuā*, Mg. *yānuā* (Śak. 115,1.9.11); *pāvāsua*, A. *pāvāsua* = *prāvāsika* (Hc. 1,95;4,395,4), also *pāvāsu*, *pāvāsu* = *prāvāsīn* (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to **pāvāsu* = *pravāsa*’ (§ 105), whence may have originated also *pāvāsua*.—AMg. JM. *duruhai* (§ 482) is not = *adhi-rohati*°, but = **udruha’ti* = *udrohati*°, however, not by metathesis, of *ud* to *du* as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial *u* from **uduruhai* (§ 139.141).—*yudhiṣṭhira*, according to Hc. 1,96.107.254, can become *jahuṭṭhila*, *jahiṭṭhila* (also Bh. 2,30; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of *jahu* and *jahi*. In the text we find AMg. *juhiṭṭhila* (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyādh. 1287ff. [text oftener °illa]; Ś. A. *juhiṭṭhira* (Karp. 18,4; Venīs. 102,4; Pracaṇḍap. 29,12; 31,13;34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvyaaprakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on H. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from *nimi*, particularly from *nimia* = *nimila*, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s.v. *nima*.—3. WEBER, Bhag. I, 411; LEUMANN, Aup. s.s.v. STEINTHAL, Specimen s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group *i* may become *e* (Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1, 85; Kī. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 25; Deśin. 1,74): PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. *e’ṭha*, A. *e’ṭhu* = *iṭhā*’ (§ 107); AMg. *āgame’ssa* = *āgamisyaṇt* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2); *ce’ndha*, beside *cindha* = *cihna* (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); *ne’ddā*, beside *niddā* = *nīdrā* (Bh. 1,12); *dhamme’lla*, beside *dhammilla* (Grr.); *pe’ṇḍa*, beside *piṇḍa* (Grr.); *pe’ṭṭha* beside *piṭṭha* = *piṣṭa* (Grr.); AMg. *le’cchai* = *licchavi* (Sūyag. 495.585; Vivāhap. 800; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. *ve’ṭṭhi* (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside *viṭṭhi* = *viṣṭi* (Kī.; Mk.); *ve’ṇhu*, beside *viṇhu* = *viṣṇu* (Grr.); AMg. *ve’bbhala* = *viḥvala* (Panhāv. 165); *se’ndūra*, beside *sindūra* (Grr.). So also *kesua* from **ke’msua* = *kiṁśuka* (§ 76.) This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary *i*, particularly that which has developed from *r*: *me’tta* from *mitta* = *mātra* (§ 109); *ge’ṇhai*, beside *giṇha* = *grhṇāti* (§ 512); *ge’jjha* from **gijjha* = **grhya* for *grāhya* (§ 109.572); *ve’ṇṭa* beside *viṇṭa* = *vrṇta* (§ 53); AMg. *ge’ddha* (Ovav. § 70), beside *giddha* (§ 50) = *grdhra*; AMg. *gehi* (§ 60) from **ge’ddhi* = *giddhi* (§ 50) = *grddhi*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *e* never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ākṛtigaṇa *piṇḍasama* by Vr. Pkl. and under the *piṇḍādi* by Mk. Kī. in which Bh. Kī, Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include *piṇḍa*, *dhammilla*, *sindūra*, *viṣṇu*, *piṣṭa*, Hc. and Mk. also *bilva*, which forms *be’lla*, *billa* (§ 296), Bh. also *nīdrā*, *cihna*, Mk. Kī. *viṣṭi*, Kī. *kiṁśuka* which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids *e* in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. Ś. *piṇḍa* (Mr̥ch. 41,11; 69,12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mr̥ch. 125,5; Prab. 46,14), Mg. *ciṇha* (Mr̥ch. 159,23); Ś. *nīddā* = *nīdrā* (Mr̥ch. 45,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2.6;39,8); Ś. *viṇhudāsa* (Mudrār. 243,2;247,1;248,7;249,5.6;259,7). In the optative in -*e’jjā*, -*ijjā* in AMg. and JM. (§ 91.459 ff.) *e* occurs for and beside *i*.—*te* in the

numerals, such as AMg. JM. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* (23), AMg. JM. *teṭṭisam* (33), JM. *tejālisam* (43), AMg. JM. *tesaṭṭhim*, *tevaṭṭhim* (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMg. *teindīya*, *tendiya* (§ 438) is perhaps not = *tri*, but = *traya*, *terasa*, therefore = **trayadaśan*. — AMg. *teicchā* = *ciḥṭisā* beside *viḥṭicchā* *viḥṭimicchā* (§ 215) has the strengthened reduplication, like Skt. *cikite*, *cekitat*, *cekitāna*.

§ 120. In *haraḍai* = *haritakī*, *haritakī* (Hc. 1,99.206) *a* is probably a separation-vowel like *ī*, *ī* in Skt. The *da* of Pkt. points to an original **hartakī*. — *ā* for *ī* is taught by Hc. 1.100;2,60;60.74 in *kamhāra*, *kambhāra* = *kāsmīra*, for which we should, with Triv. 1,2,50, read *kāsmīra*; cf. Skt. *kambhārī* beside *kāsmīrī* "gmelina arborea". Ś. has *kamhīra* (Mudrār. 204,2). — On *i* for *ī* see § 79ff. — AMg. *uṭṭhubhaha* "spit" (Vivāhap. 1263), *uṭṭhubhanti* "they spit"; (Vivāhap. 1264; text °*bhahanti*), AMg. *aṇiṭṭhubhaya* "not spitting", (Paṇhāv. 350; Ovav. § 30,V), dialectical *niṭṭhuhia* (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as Pāli *niṭṭhuhati*, *niṭṭhuhati*, *niṭṭhubhi*, *niṭṭhubhana* have nothing to do with *ṣṭhū*, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root √ *stubbh* (to drive out; *stumbhu* *niṣkāśane*, Dhātup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only = "to emit a sound". The parallel root is *kṣubh* (*stubbh* : *kṣubh* = *stambh* : *skambh* = Skt. *sthānu* : Pkt. *khānu* = *duṭṭha* : *dukkha* [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90.308.309) which occurs in Pkt. AMg. JM. *chubhai*, M. JM. *chuhai* and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli *nicchubhati* "springs forth" (from the sea)¹, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. *nirasana* (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth). — *hūna* (Hc. 1,103), M. AMg. JŚ. A. *viḥūna* (Hc. 1.103; Śukasaptati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202.1123.1816f. 1825; Nirayāv. 44; Uttar. 357.439.633.809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17; 387,12; Piṅgala 1,7), AMg. *vipphahūna* (Sūyag. 271.282; Nāyādh. 322; Paṇhāv. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as = *hīna*, *viḥīna*, *viprahīna*, but they belong to *dhūna* (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from *dhu*, *dhū* "to shake off" which forms in AMg. *dhunāi* and in M. AMg. *dhunai*, *viḥunai* (§ 503). In all the dialects *hā* regularly forms *hīna*. So M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. *hīna* (G. H.; Uvās.; Pav. 382,24.25; 388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. *aiḥīna* (Kk.); M. JM. JŚ. *parihīna* (H.; KI. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMg. *pahīna* (Bhag.); Ś. *avahīna* (Śak. 30,2), M. *aṇohīna* (R.); JŚ. Ś. *viḥīna* (Kattig. 404,387.389; Mṛcch. 18,10). — On *junṇa* = *jūrṇa* and *tūha* = *tīrtha* see § 58.

1. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 18; FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte vanskelige Pāli-Ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1888) p. 19. Not correctly TRECKNER, Milindapaṇho p. 423 f.

§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside *ī*, partly have *e* in *īdṛśa*, *īdṛkṣa*, *kīdṛśa*, *kīdṛkṣa* : Aśoka *ediśa*, *hedīśa* *hedīśa* (Khālsi) *ediśa*, *hedīśa*; Pāli *ediśa*, *erīśa*, *edikkha*, *erikkha* beside *īdiśa* *īriśa*, *īdikkha*, but only *kidīśa*, *kīriśa*, *kīdikkha*, *kīrikkha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erīśa* (Vr. 1,19.31; Hc. 1,105.142; Ki. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8.11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Sūyag. 197; Dasav. 626.27; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Āv. 24,3ff.; 25,31.32; 27,2,6.25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitav. 555,6; 562,22; Mṛcch. 151.20.155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prab. 4,9); AMg. JM. *erīśaya* (Nāyādh. 1284; Āv. 24,10); A. *erīśiya* (Piṅgala 2,185); AMg. *eliśa* (C. 2,5 p. 43), *aneliśa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1; 1,7,2,4; 1,7,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Sūyag. 301.434 [text *anā*]. 533.544.546.549.869); P. *eliśa* (Hc. 4,317.323); Ś. mostly *īdiśa* (Mṛcch. 24,20; 39,11; 54,1; 72,19; 80,9; 82,12; 88,16; 151,16; Śak. 103,5; 104,7; 123,12; 127,7; 130,1; 135,15; Vikr. 20,6; 44,13. Ratn. 317,33; 318,16.22; Karp. 19,6; 21,4 etc.), Mg. only *īdiśa* (Mṛcch. 38,7; 129,7; 131,7; 158,24; 165,13; 166,21; 177,10); AMg. *elikkha* (Uttar. 237), *elikkhaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *keriśa*

(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6;52,3; Prab. 10,15;39,13), JM. *kerisaya* (Kk.), Mg. *kelisa* (Prab. 46,14.16;50,14;53,15.16;56,1; Venis. 35,3); Ś. also *kidisa* (Mṛcch. 27,18; Śak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrār. 58,6;184,5). Doubtful forms are M. *irisaa* (H. 940), JM. *īsa* (Erz.), Ś. *irisa* (Uttarar. 26,6 beside *idisa* 26,8; Mālav. 6,1;44,18;47,3; Mahāv. 119,12.14.20; Mudrār. 233,1), *kirisa* (Mālav. 5,3.17)¹, Mg. *kīlisa* (Mṛcch. 125,2.4;132,9; GODABOLE 344,7;345,1 has *kelisa*, only 363,2 also *kīlisa*). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only *erisa*, *kerisa* and *idisa*, *kidisa* will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be **eliśa*, *kelisa* and *idisa*, **kidiśa* (the v.l. often has *kelisa*). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained² *e* goes back to -*ayi*, -*ai*. From Vedic *ka'yā*+*drś* has developed *kerisa*; *erisa* comes from Vedic *ayā*-*drś*, like *kaīā tāīā*, *jaīā* from *kāyā*+*dā*, *tāyā*+*dā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 113). *ayā* has been influenced by *kāyā*. In A. *aīsa*=*idrśa*, *kāisa*=*kidrśa* (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. *tāisa*=*tādrśa* *jaīsa*=*yādrśa*, as the intermediate forms for the development of *erisa*, *kerisa*. Cf. Vedic *kayasya* and AMg. *ayamsi*, M. *aammi* and A. *āammi* (§ 429). On *ēddaha*, *kēddaha*, *tēddaha*, *jēddaha* see § 122. Beside *pīyūsa*, Skt. has *peyūsa*, so too Pkt. Ś. *pīūsa* (Bālar. 266,19) and M.Ś. *peūsa* (Hc. 1,105; H.; Ś. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 223,5;294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On *bahedaa*=*vibhitakā* see § 115; in Paṇṇav. 31, in AMg. we have *vibhelae*=*vibhedakāḥ* (§ 244).

1. An uncritical collection in BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. 5,2-5, p. 122.—2. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,134.

§ 122. Like *i* (§ 119), *ī* also may become *ē* before consonant-groups : AMg. JM; *kiddā*, AMg. *kheḍḍā* dialectical *khēḍḍa*, A. *khēḍḍaa*=*krīḍā* (§ 90); *nēḍḍa* beside *ṇīḍa* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jāñijjā*, *jāñējjā*=*jāñiyāt* (§ 91); M. *ēddaha*=*idrśa*¹ with reduplication according to § 90 and *ha* for *śa* according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in Ś. Viddhaś. 71,1, everywhere *ēddahameṭta*=*idrśamātra*); *kēddaha*=*kidrśa* and on its analogy *tēddaha*=*tādrśa*, *jēddaha*=*yādrśa* (Grr.). Similarly is explained also *e* in AMg. M. JM. *āmela* (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1.105.202,234; Ki. 1.15;2,9; Mk. fol. 8,16; Pāiyāl. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Paṇṇav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in *kamalāmela*, Āv. 29, 18ff.), M. *āmeliāa* (R. 9,21), AMg. *āmelaga* (Rāyap. 111), *āmelaya* (Uvās. §206; read as such; Ovav.). *āmela* is=**āpīḍya*, which passes through the stages **āpīḍḍa*, **āpēḍḍa*, **āpeḍa* with *ma* for *pa* according to §248, *e* for *ē* according to §66 and *la* for *ḍa* according to §240². Ś. *āpīḍa* (Mālatīm. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as *āveḍa*. In the same way we must explain *ṇimela* (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from **nīpīḍya*, and AMg. *veḍa* from **veḍḍa* for **vīḍya* of the present stem *vīḍya*-; cf. §240. Doubtful is the origin of *e* in *peḍha* (Hc. 1,106) beside the common *pīḍha*=*pīṭha*. M. *peḍhāla* (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from *pīṭhayukta*. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāiyāl. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with *pīṇḍa*. *e* never appears in the passive in -*ijja* and the participles nec. and adjectives in -*añijja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. (§91).

1. The grammarians explain it by *etāvat*, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by *iyat*. 2.—WEBER has correctly connected it with *idrśa*, H1 p. 59. The grammarians equate *āmela* as=*āpīḍa*; likewise LASSEN, Inst. p. 207; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakritica p.15; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v. Thereby it is only *e* that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has *la* and the MSS. have *la*.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times *a* in place of Skt. *u*, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has *u*. In most of such cases *a* might have been the original vowel

and the forms with *u* might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Kī. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Ś.Ā.A. *garua*, AMg.JM; *garuṇa*=*guruṇa* (G.H.R.; Sūyag. 692.747.750; Paṇṇav. 8.10; Vivāhap. 126.436; Āṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Śak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9;37,8; Priyad. 4,7; Ā. Mr̥cch. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. *garuī* (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. *garuattana*=**gurutvana* (G.H.R.), *garuia* (G.R.), *garuei* (G.), JM. *garukka*=*gurutva* (Kī. 13; cf. § 299); Ś. *garuadā* (Priyad. 31,12), *agaruadā* (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. *gārava* and *gorava* § 61^a. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, *a* has come in only with the addition of the suffix *-ka*; in all the dialects *guru* retains its *u*¹.—A. AMg. JM. *agaru* (Grr.; G.; Sūyag. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside *aguru* (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also *agaluṇa* (Ovav.); M. *kālāru* (G.), AMg. *kālāgaru* (Ovav.; Kappas.).—*galoi*=*gudūci* (§ 127).—M.AMg. JM. Ś. *maūda*=*mukūṭa* (Grr.; G.; Āyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇṇāv. 160.234.251.440; Paṇṇav. 100.101.117; Vivāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35.92; p. 269.1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyap. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Venis. 59,22).—*maūra*=*mukura* (Grr.), but Ś. *radanamuura* (Mallikām. 194,4; text *raa*^o).—M.AMg. JM. Ś. *maūla*=*mukula* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kamsav. 9,3; Paṇṇāv. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mudrār. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. *maūlia* (G.H.R.), AMg. *maūliya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *maūlida* (Śak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarar. 163,5)=*mukulita*; M. *maūlāia* (Ratn. 293,2); Ś. *maūlāanta* (Mālatim. 121,5;254,2); Ś. *maūlāvijjanti* (Priyad. 11,3; read °*vianti*); Mg. Ś. *maūlēnti* (Mr̥cch. 80,21;81,2); AMg. *maūli*=*mukulinaḥ* (Paṇṇāv. 119)². In a similar manner is explained also *kohala*=*kutūhala* (Hc. 1,171) from **katūhala*, **kaūhala*, beside M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*, Ś. *kodūhala* (61^a), and M. *somāra* (H.R.), *somāla* (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171.254; Pāiyāl. 88; Lalitav. 563,2) from **sakumāra*, **sāumāra* (§ 166)=*sukumāra*, while AMg. *sūmāla* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. *sukumāla* (Vivāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7.16.21; Jiv. 350.549.938; Paṇṇāv. 278.284; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also *suumāra* (Śak. 2,14), Ś. only *suumāra* (Mr̥cch. 37,5; Śak. 19,6;54,4), *sukumāra* (Vikr. 5,9), JM. *sukumārajā*=°*ratā* (Erz.). *somāla* has been taken over to Skt. as well³. *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second *u* to *a*, as AMg. JM. too have *dugamchā*, beside *dugumchā*=*jugupsā* (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. *avarim*=*upa'ri* (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. *uvarim* (Hc. 1,108; H.R.; Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samav. 101; Rāyap. 62; Vivāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Ś. *uvari* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 41,22; Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8), Ś. *uvaridana* (Mr̥cch. 42,13), Mg. *uvali* (Mr̥cch. 134,8), AMg. *uppiṃ*. (§ 148). To *avarim* belongs M. *avarilla* (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāiyāl. 175) as well as *varilla* (Karp. 56,7;70,8;95,11). In the same way is explained *a* in M. *avahovāsa*, *avahoāsa* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)⁴, beside AMg. *ubhaopāsam* (Samav. 151; Ovav.), *ubhayopāsam* (Paṇṇāv. 258), *ubhaopāsīm* (Samav. 98; Jiv. 496f.500.502.504; Nāyādh. 275; Vivāhap. 826.830), *ubhaopāse* (Kappas. p. 96,24), *ubhayokālām* (Hc. 2.138), *ubhaokūlenam* (Ovav.) *ubhao* (Vivāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is=**ubhatas* for *ubhayatas*⁵ from *ubha'*, *avaho*=**uba'thas* (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived *avaha*, and according to some (Hc. 2.138), is derived also *uvaha*. So also *bhamajā*=**bhruvakā* (§ 124) and *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (Deśin. 1.37; cf. § 28).—*taraksu*, in AMg. has become an *a*-stem: *taraccha* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine *taracchī* (Paṇṇav. 368). On *kattha*=*kutra*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kaohimto*=*kutah*, see § 293.428, on *jahiṭṭhila*, *jahuṭṭhila*=*yudhiṭṭhira*, § 118.

1. BOLLENSON wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is

garu, and when, a substantive, it is *guru*. In Jiv. 224, *garu* is a false reading, likewise Sak., ed. BÖHTLINGK 79,9;86,3.—2. On *maūda* and *maūla* cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 31, 324.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 10,135ff.—Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 81; WEBER, ZDMG. 28,390—LEUMANN, Aup. S.s.v.

§ 124. Beside *tumburu* (*Diospyros embryopteris*) there occur dialectically *ṭimbaru* (Deśin. 4,3) and *ṭimbaruja* (Pāiyāl. 258). In lieu of *u* there appears *i* as a separation-vowel¹ in all the dialects in *purisa*, Mg. *puliśa*=*puruśa* (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Ki. 1.26; Mk. fol. 9; e.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202.203; Paṇhāv. 222; Thāṇ. 360 and very often; JM.: Erz.; JS.: Kattig. 401,345; Ś: Mrcch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25;29,3; Śak. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 565,13; Mrcch. 113,21;116,17;157,14; Prab. 51,8;53,11;62,7; D.: Mrcch. 104,7); *paūrisa* (Grr.), JM. *porisa*, AMg. *porisī*, *porasiya*, *aporisiya* (§ 61^a). False is AMg. JM. *porusa* in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35. In Ś. *purusoṭtama* (Vikr. 35,15) the *u* has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of *purūrava-*, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatim. 73,6. Otherwise it is always *purisoṭtama* (Mālatim. 266,4. Venis. 97,9), in Ś. and *puliśoṭtama* in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. JM.Ś. *bhiuḍi* (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.; Vivāgas. 90.121.144.157; Nāyādh. 753.1310.1312; Vivāhap. 237.254; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venis. 60,5;61,18; Bālar. 270,5); AMg. also *bhiguḍi* (Paṇhāv. 162.285) the *i* is not=*u* in *bhrukuṭi*, but=*r* in *bhykuṭi*. False is M. *bhuuḍi* (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as *huuḍi* (Acyutaś. 58). On the other hand *a* stands for *u* according to § 123 in *bhamayā* (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. *bhamuhā* (§ 206; Pāiyāl. 251; Āyār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovav.; Kappas.), A. *bhōhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. *bhumā* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121;2,167; Ki. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.), AMg. *bhumayā* (Pāiyāl. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), *bhumagā* (Paṇhāv. 272.285 [text *bhū*]; Uvās.); *bhumā* (Ovav. s.v. *koṭkuiya*). Cf. § 206.254.261.—AMg. *chiya* (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112;2,117; Nandis. 380) is not=*ksuta*, but onomatopoeically=**chīta*, corresponding to German *tsi* ! To this refer AMg. *chīyamāṇa* (convalescent; Āyār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way is to be explained *chikka* (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. *chikkā*, *chikkaṇa*.—On *sūhava*=*subhaga* see § 62, on *mūsala*=*musala*, § 66.

1. ZIMMER, KZ. 24,220 f.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,615; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §51.

§ 125. Like *i* becoming *e*, (§ 119), before consonant-groups *u* may become *o* (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1,116; Ki. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in Ś. except in *muktā* and *puṣkara*, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. *kham-dako mḍisa*=*skandakunḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. *goṭcha*=*guccha* (H.R.), *goṭchaa* (H.), M. *toṇḍa* (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. *tuṇḍa* (Mrcch. 112,8); *moṇḍa* (Grr.), but M.Ś.Mg. *muṇḍa* (G.; Mrcch. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mrcch. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); Ś. *poṭkkhara*=*puṣkara* (Grr.; Mrcch. 2,16; 54,2;95,11), and AMg. JM. *pukkhara* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *pukkharaḥkha*=*puṣkarākṣa* (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. Ś. *poṭkkhariṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2 [text *ra*]; Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. JM. *pukkhariṇi* (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. *poṭkalini* (Mrcch. 112,11) and *puskalini* (Mrcch. 113,22); AMg. *poṇḍariya* (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and JM. *punḍariya* (Erz.), Ś. *pundaria* (Mālatim. 122,2); JM. *koṭṭima* (Grr.; Erz.), beside M. *kuṭṭima* (R.); Ś. *poṭṭhaa*=*pustaka* (Grr.; Mrcch. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. *poṭṭhaya* (Ovav.); *loḍḍhaa*=*lubdhaka* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 248); M. *moṭṭhā*=*mustā* (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.Ś. *moḡgara*=*mudgara* (Grr.; R.; Bālar. 245,18;251,3) beside *muggara* (R.); AMg. JS. *poḡgala*=*pudgala* (Hc. 1,116; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),

beside JŚ.Mg. *puggala* (Pav. 384,36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); M.Ś. *moṭṭā* (Bh.; Ki.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside M.Ś. *muttā* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. *muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (Karp. 72,3.8;73,9), M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5;100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary *o*, see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside *duḷla*, AMg. *dugulla*, according to grammarians, there occurs also *duḷla* (§ 90).—AMg. *uvvīdha*, which according to Hc. 1,120=*udvyūḍha*, belongs rather to *uvvīha*=*udvidhyati* from *vidh* (*vyadh*) with *ud* (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388 : *se jahā nāmae ke i purise...usuṃ...uvvīha* *uvvīhittā...tassa usussa...uvvīdhassa samāṇassa*. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of *liḍha*, from *lih*, *mīdha*, from *mih*, from the secondary root *vih*=*vidh*. *udvyūḍha* forms regularly *uvvūḍha* (Hc. 1,120; Śak. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On *u* for *ū* see § 80-82. For *nūpura*, all the dialects have *neura*, Mg. *neula*, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as *neṇūra*, *neṇura*, which may be set side by side with Skt. *keyūra*, Pkt. *keūra* : cf. Ś. *neurakeūraṃ*, (Bālar. 248,17), A. *neurakeura* (Piṅgala 1,26). So M.Ś. *neura* (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Ki. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18;114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. *neurilla*=*nūpuravat* (G.); *saṇeura* (Mālav. 37,15;43,2); AMg. JM. *neura* (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]; 3,34 p. 35; Pāiyāl. 118; Paṇhāv. 236,514; Nāyādh. § 65.102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6); Mg. *neula* (Mṛcch. 99,7.10); A. *neura* (Piṅgala 1,17.22.26). Hc. 1,123; Deśin. 4,28 knows also *niura* and 1,123 *nūura*; Pratāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading *nūvurāim*.

§ 127. Like *ū* (§ 125), before consonant-groups *ū* also may become *o* : AMg. *koṇpara*=*kūpara* (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. *kuppara* (G.); AMg. JM. *moḷla*=*mūlya*¹ (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4;2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. *amoḷla* (G.), beside the more frequent *mulla* (§ 83). Like *o* from *u* (§ 66), the *o* from *ū* is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. *toṇa*=*tūṇa* (Hc. 1,125; Paṇṇav. 72.79.81.83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyādh. 1426), beside Ś. *tūṇi*- (Venis. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. *toṇira*=*tūṇira* (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); *thonā* beside *thūṇā*=*sthūṇā* (Hc. 1,125). They go back to **toṇṇa*, **toṇṇiru*, **thoṇṇā* from **tulna*, **tulnīra*, **sthulnā*². A similar explanation holds good for M. *thora* from **thōrra*=*sthūra* (Hc. 1,124.255;2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11;64,2; 74,7;81,4) beside AMg. JM. *thulla*=*sthūla* (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15.42), *aiṭhulla* (Āv. 22,35) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla* (Āyār. p. 133, 33;136,3; Sūyag. 286; Paṇhāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303.305; Karp. 72,1; Hāsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 *thulla*, 22,33 *aiṭhulla* should be corrected]). Further for AMg. *ṇaṅgola*=*lāṅgūla* (Nāyādh. 502), *ṇaṅgoli*=*lāṅgūlin* (Jiv. 345), *ṇaṅgoliya*=*lāṅgūlika* (Jiv. 392), beside *ṇaṅgula* (Jiv. 883.886.887), *goṇaṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *ṇaṅgūli*- (Aṇuog. 349), and M.AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *tambola*=*tāmbūla* (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8; G.; Aṇuog. 61; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mṛcch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kasimsav. 55,13) [text *tamboḷla*], AMg. *tambolaja* (Sūyag. 250), *tambolī* (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The *o* presupposes final accentuation in *lāṅgūla* and *tāmbūla*, in which case *l* is doubled according to § 90, as in *thulla*, *dugulla*. The process of development was, therefore : *tāmbūla*, **tambulla*, **tamboḷla*, *tambola*.³ In *kohaṇḍī*=*kūsmāṇḍī*, (Hc. 1,124;2,73; Ki. 2,73; Pāiyāl. 14,6), AMg. *kohaṇḍa*=*kūsmāṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 111), beside *kūhaṇḍa* (Paṇhāv. 172.230.312) and *kuhaṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 115; probably

falsely) *o* is secondary. For Ś. *kohaṇḍa* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for Ś. KONOW 103,1 reads *kumbhaṇḍa*, and we must read as such also in Viddhaś. 23,2. The series was : **kumhaṇḍi*, **koṃhaṇḍi*, **koṃhaṇḍi*, *kōhaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi* (§ 76.89.312) *kohaḷi* (Hc. 1,24; 2,73), *kohaḷiṃ* (Pāṇyā. 146) may in the same way be derived from *kōhōḍi*. Cf. Marāṭhī. *kohaleṃ. gaḷoi=gudūci* (Hc. 1,107.124; § 123) may be going back to **gaḍoṃci*.

1. JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *mōḷla*, falsely equates it as *maulya* which is a back formation from Pkt.—2. WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 168; HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG. 39,92ff., FORTUNATOV. KZ. 36.18. Wrongly BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3,157ff.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. § 146 d note, 172 d note; JOH. SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie p.1, note.—3. Impossible is the derivation from *tāmragula* in LEUMANN, Aup. S. p.165.

§ 128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one *e* sometime becomes *i* (§ 79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes *e*, *i* (§ 84), in the auslaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes *e*, and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes *i* also (§ 85). A secondary *e* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.122). In A. *e* is shortened also in the inst. sing. in *-ena* and in the inst. plur. in *-ehim*, occasionally (cf. Saṅgītaratnākara 4,56). So *boḷliena* (Hc. 4,383; read as such); *pāṇiēṇa* (Hc. 4,434); *khapēṇa* (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); *amhēhī*, *tumhēhī*. (Hc. 4,371), *vaṅkeḥī loṇēhī* (Hc. 4,356; read as such); *atthēhī*, *satthēhī*, *hatthēhī* (Hc. 4,358; read as such), *dentēhī* (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write *boḷliem*, *pāṇiem*, *vaṅkehī* or with the v.l. *vaṅkihī*, *loṇihī* etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in *-ahim*, *-ahī*, that are formed from the stems in *a* (§ 308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in *-esu*, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in *-asu*, and Śākalya teaches also *tujjhsuṃ* and *tumbhisuṃ* (§ 415.422). JM. *eiṇā*, Ś.Mg. *ediṇā*, JM.Ś. Mg. *imiṇā*, beside *eeṇa*, Ś. Mg. *edeṇa*, *imeṇa* (§ 426.430) are best explained with LASSEN (Inst. § 107) as formed from an *i*-stem, which is certainly the case for *kiṇā=keṇa*, on the analogy of which are formed *jiṇā* and *tiṇā* (§ 428).—AMg.JM. *aūṇa°*, *aūṇa°* are not=*ekona*, but=*aguna* (§ 444). On JM. *āṇasu*, A. *āṇahi* see § 474, and on the causative in *-a* in stead of in *-e*, § 491.

§ 129. For *e* occurs *a* in *nāliara=nālikera* (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. *nālieri* (G.), Ś. *nāriela* (Śak. 78,12), and *pavatttha=praveṣṭa*, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=*prakosṭha*¹, which clearly forms M.AMg. *paoṭṭha* (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and *paūṭṭha* (G.; Kappas.); in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only *paoṭṭha* (Bālar. 80,1; Viddhaś. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mṛcch. 68,23ff).—*thūṇa* (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside *theṇa*, AMg. *teṇa* (§ 307)=*stena*, cannot be separated from *thūṇa* (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=*tūrṇa* for **stūrṇa* "quick", "fast"; cf. *thenilla* "fearful" Deśin. 5,32) and *velu* "thief" § 243.—AMg.JM.JŚ. *dosa* (hate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121; for example Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 198; Paṇṇav. 638; Dasav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199.446.648.707.822.876.902.910 ff.; Vivāhap. 125.832.1026; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 384,54; 385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMg.JM.JŚ. *padosa*, *paosa* (Sūyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=*dveṣa*, *pradveṣa*², but=*dosa*, *pradoṣa* with a change of meaning.³ Add to it also *dosākarāṇa* (anger; Deśin. 5,51). *dveṣa* becomes *bosa* (§ 300).

1. So wrongly also LASSEN, Inst. p.136, note *. —2. CHILDERS, s.v.; WEBER, Bhag. s.v.; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; Erz. p.xxv, note 1; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; KLATT, Rṣabhap. s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 23.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,14ff.

§ 130. *o* becomes *ō*, *u* before consonant—groups (§ 84), in auslaut before enclitics with double consonants in anlaut *ō*, dialectically also otherwise *ō*, *u* (§ 85.346). The secondary *ō* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant—group, simplified (§ 66.127). In A. *o* becomes *u* not only in the auslaut (§ 85.346), but occasionally in the inlaut as well, as in *viuē* for *vioē*=*viyogena* (Hc. 4,419,5).—M.*annanna* (Hc. 1,156; G.H.), J.M. *annanna* (Erz.) is not=*anyonya*, which becomes *anṇōṇṇa*, *anṇunṇa* (§ 84), but=Vedic *anyānya*.—*āvajja* is not=*atodya* (Hc. 1,156), which becomes *āōjja*, *āujja*, Ś. *pakkhāujja*=*paksātodya* (Karp. 3,3), but=**āvādyā*.—*a* for *o* is seen in *pulaāi*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* beside *puloei*, *paloiei*, *puloia*, *paloia*=*pralokayati*, *pralokita* (§ 104) and *pallaṭṭai* beside *paloṭṭai* upsets; Hc. 4,200), *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,47.68) beside *paloṭṭa* (Hc. 4,258). Probably these words are derived from different roots. On *pavaṭṭha*, probably=*prakoṣṭha*, see § 129.—AMg.JM. *theva* (a drop, a little; Pāṇyāl. 164; Hc. 2,125. Deśin. 5,29; Dasav. N.652,32; KI.7; Āv. 45,2; Erz.), has nothing to do with *thova*=*stoka* (§ 230), but it belongs with *thippai*. (Hc. 4,175) to roots *stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4), as has correctly been shown by CHILDERS for Pāli *theva*.

(f).—SEPARATION VOWELS.

§ 131. Consonant-groups are often separated in Pkt. by a separation or epenthetic vowel, and the different consonants are then treated according to the phonetic rules holding good for the different dialects. Vocalic development takes place only when one of the consonants is *y*, *r*, *l* or a nasal. The exact quality and quantity of the separation vowels remain undetermined so that they appear as *a*, *i* and *u*. Metrically they are sometimes without any value. Thus in AMg. *a* in *agaṇi* : *nivvāvaō agaṇi* *nivvāyaejja*, *ṇa paṇḍie agaṇi samārabhējjā* (Sūyag. 330); in *garahio*; *musāvāō ja lagammi savvasāhūhi garahio* (Dasav. 625.3); cf. Sūyag. 912.914; *i* in *kiriyaḥkiriyaṃ veṇaiyāṇuvāyaṃ* (Sūyag. 322); in *kimpurisa* : *asogo kimparāṇaṃ ca kimpurisāṇaṃ ca campao* (Thāṇ. 505; Abhayadeva on Samav. 21); in *arihaī* : *bhikkhū akkhāum arihaī* (Dasav. 631,8), so *bhāsium arihaī kiriyaṇvādam* (Sūyag. 476; also in *kiriya*)¹; in *āyariya* : *āyariyassa mahappaṇo* (Dasav. 631,33)¹. It does not even hinder the shortening of a long vowel under the influence of the accent, as AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācārya* (§ 81.134), M.Ś. *veruliya*, AMg. JM. *veruliya*=*vaidūrya* (§ 80), Ś. *murukha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 139), AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 82; C.3,30; Hc. 1,118; 2,113; Āyār. 2,4,1,7; 2,15,3; p. 131.132; Sūyag. 128.217.493; Paṇṇav. 72.81.83; Paṇhāv. 274; Jiv. 39.41.313; Aṇuog. 260.391.392; Vivāhap. 105.943.1385.1438; Uttar. 1040; Ovav.; Kappas.)², nor the doubling of the consonant according to § 195, nor the change of *a* into *i* according to § 101, as in AMg. *nigina*=*nagna* (§ 133), nor the transition of *tya* to *cca* and *dhyā* to *jja* (§ 280.)

1. More examples in JACOBI, KZ. 23,594ff.—In Sūyag. 174 (=3,2,1) the printed edition reads *ah' ime suhamā saṅgā*, in the beginning certainly correctly so that with JACOBI, KZ. 23,595, *suhmā* is not to be accepted. Cf. § 323.

§ 132. Only in AMg. and A. *a* is more frequently a separation-vowel: it so occurs very rarely in other dialects. AMg. *agaṇi*=*agni* (Hc. 2,102; par ex. Āyār. 1,1,4,6; Sūyag. 273; Vivāgas. 224; Vivāhap. 120; Dasav. 616,32 and very often); AMg. *abhikkhaṇaṃ*=*abhikīṣaṇaṃ* (Kappas.); AMg. *garahā*=*garhā* (Vivāhap. 132), *garahaṇā*=*garhaṇā* (Ovav.), *garahāmo*, *garahai* (Sūyag. 912.914), *garahaha* (Vivāhap. 132.332), JM. *garahasi* (Erz. 55,29), AMg. JM. *garahiya* (Sūyag. 504; Dasav. 625,3; Erz. 35,15); AMg. *vigarahamaṇa* (Sūyag. 912), JS. *garahana* (Kattig. 400, 331), beside *gariha* (Vr. 3,62; Ki. 2,59), AMg. *garihā* (Hc. 2,104; Mk.

fol. 29; Pāiṃyāl. 245; Thān. 40), *garihāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *garihasi* (Sūyag. 912; read °ra°), JM. *garihasu* (Erz. 42,18); AMg. *rajaṇi*=*aratni* (§ 141)¹; AMg. *rahasa*=*hrasva*, M.AMg. Ś.A. *dihara*=*dirgha* (§ 354); AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthini* (§ 358); AMg. *haraja*=*hrada* (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f.; Vivāhap. 105.194.270). A. *garāsa*=*grāsa* (Piṅgala 2,140), *tarāsai*=*trasyati* (P.2,96), *paramāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (P. 1,28), *parasaṇṇa*=*prasanna* (P. 2,49), *parāvahi*=*prāpnuvanti* (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. *raṇa*=*ratna* (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29; G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JS. *rajaṇa* (§ 70; C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. *radaṇa* (Mṛcch. 52,9; 68,25; 70,24; 71,1; Śak. 38, 5; 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc.² D. *radaṇa* (Mṛcch. 101, 12; 159, 12, 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. *ladaṇa*, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117,5), Ś. *sattuḥaṇa*=*satruḥṇa* (Bālar. 310,15; Anarghar. 317,17), beside *sattuggha* (Bālar. 151,1); M.Ś. *śalāhā*=*ślāghā* (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2, 101; Ki. 2, 57; Mk. fol. 30; G.; Caṇḍak. 95,8), M. *salāhaṇa*=*ślāghana* (H.); *salahai* (Hc. 4,88), M. *salāhamāṇa* (H.), *ahisalāhamāṇa* (G.), *salāhaṇijja* (H.), Ś *salāhaṇia* (Mṛcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304.18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. *śalāhaṇia* (Mṛcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. *śalāhiadi* (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. *salahijjasu*, *salahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,95.117); JM. *bhasama*=*bhasman* (Erz.); P. *dharamapatni*=*dharmapatni* (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of *gahara* from **grdhara*=*grdhra* (Pāiṃyāl. 126; Deśin. 2,84); *palakkha*=*plakṣa* (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMg. has *pilamkhu*, *pilakkhu* (§ 74.105); *sāraṅga*=*śārṅga* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. *purava*, and according to 4,302, in Mg. *pulava*=*pūrva* are used.³ Against the principal rule is P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4,314; Ki. 5,109; ed. *kaṣṭam*; cf. LASSEN, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. *parāṇa*=*prāṇa* (Cait. 54,10) for which read *pāṇa*, for example Mṛcch. 155,18; 166,9.14.15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMg. *ahārāṇijjāe*=*yathāratnikāya* (Thān. 355.356) is to be read as *ahārāyaṇijjāe*.—2. The printed editions write without exception *raṇa* in Ś. *laṇa* in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—3. For in Ś. and in Mg.; these are not attested by the texts (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JS.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel *i*. In AMg. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMg. *usiṇa*=*uṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,6,4; 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132.590; Thān. 131.135; Paṇṇav. 8.10.786ff.; Jiv. 224.295; Vivāhap. 194.195.250. 436. 465.147off.; Āṇuog. 268; Uttar. 48.57), *accusiṇa*=*atyusṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), *siyosiṇa*=*śitoṣṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862.863), beside *siuṇha* (Sūyag. 134); Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (Venis. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMg. *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛtsna* (Hc. 2,75.104; Sūyag. 26.28.172.292.416.439.460; Vivāhap. 205; Āṇuog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ovav.; Kappas.) and=*kṛṣṇa*, beside *kaṣaṇa*, *kaṇha*, *kiṇha* (§ 52); AMg. JM. *tusiṇijja*=*tusṇika*, beside *tunhia*, *tunhikka* (§ 81.90); AMg. *dosiṇa*=*jyotsnā*, Ś. *dosiṇi*=*jyautsnī* (§ 215); AMg. *nigīṇa*=*nagna* (Āyār. 2,2,3,11; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text *nigana*]) with *i* in the first syllable according to § 101, beside *nagiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), *nagiṇiṇa* (sic; Uttar. 208), *nāgaṇijja*=Sūyag. 344)=*nagnatva*; AMg. *paṣiṇa*=*praṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17, Sūyag. 383.918; Nāyādh. 301.577.578; Vivāhap. 151.973.978.1251.1261.1408; Nandis. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *siṇāṇa*=*snāna* (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,2,1,8; 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344.382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14; 134,9; 150,7; 260,4); AMg. *asiṇāṇa* (Dasav. 626,39), *pāosiṇāṇa*=

prātaḥsnāna (Sūyag. 337), *siṇāi=snāti* (Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 340); *asiṇāittā* (Sūyag. 994), *siṇāyanta-*, *siṇāyanti* (Dasav. 626,37,38), probably incorrectly also *Ś. siṇāvēnti* (Cait. 44,13), *siṇāyaga=snātaka* (Sūyag. 929.933.940), *siṇāyāja* (Uttar. 755; text *siṇāio*); *P. sināta=snāta* (Hc. 4, 314), *katasinānena=kṛtasnānena* (Hc. 4,322; read as such); *siṇa*, *siṇa*, *suṇa*, *sumiṇa=svapna* (§ 177). *i* is a separation vowel also in the declension of *rājan*, as in inst. sing. JM. *rāiṇā*, P. *rāciṇā* (§ 399).

§ 134. 2) One of the consonants is *ya*, which except in AMg. JM. JS. drops after the separation vowel *i*: AMg. JM. *ceija*=Pāli *cetiya*=*cāiya* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7;2,3,3,1;2,10,17;2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thāṇ. 266; Samav. 101.233; Paṇhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jiyak. 6; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; T.6,24; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *ciyatta*=**tyakta*=*tyakta*, *jhiyāi=dhyāyati* (§ 280); AMg. *teṇiya*=*stainya* (§ 307); AMg. *bāliya=bālya* (Vivāhap. 132); AMg. JM. *bahiya=bāhyāt* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10); AMg. *viyaggha=vyāghra* (Paṇhāv. 20); *Ś. diṭṭhiā=diṭṭyā* (Hc. 2,104; Mṛcch. 68,2;74,11; Śak. 52,10;167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); *hiṇjo=hyas* (Deśin. 8,67; Pāiyāl. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). *Ś. hio* (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolutive in *-ya*, for example AMg. *pāsiya*, JM. *pecciya*, *Ś. pekkhia*, Mg. *pe'skia*, Dh. *paḍissudā* (§ 590.591), the optative in *-yā*, as AMg. *siyā=syāt*, *haṇiyā=hanyāt* (§ 465), *bhuñjējjā=bhuñjyāt*, *karējjā=*karyāt* (§ 459), the participia nec. and adjectives in *-ija*, as *karaṇija*, *ramaṇija* (§ 91. 571), the numeral, as *M. biia*, *bijja*, AMg. JM. *biiya*; *M. tāia*, AMg. JM. *taiya*, *Ś.Mg. tadia*, *A. taijji* (§ 82.91.449). The separation-vowel *i* is especially frequent in the consonant-group *rya*. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81 under the ākṛtigāṇa *cauryasama*. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *rya*. Thus AMg. *āriya=ārya* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3;1,2,5,2,3;1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Paṇṇav. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovav.); *aṇāriya* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210. 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMg. JM. *āyāriya=ācārya* (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thāṇ. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Dasav. 633,41;634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17;38,13,18;40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.), also *āriya* (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), *Ś. ācāria* (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13), Mg. *ācālia* (Prab. 28,14;29,7;58,17;61,5;62,1.2.6; Cait. 149,17.19;150,2.3.3); *M.Ś. coria=caurya* (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1), AMg. JM. *bhāriyā=bhāryā* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *viriya=vīrya* (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovav., Kappas.; Pav. 379,2;381,19;386,1); *M.Ś. verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya=vaidūrya* (§ 80); AMg. *sūriya* (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040. 1273.1282; Ovav. § 163; Kappas.), *asūriya* (Sūyag. 273); *soria=sāurya* (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples *theria=sthairya*, *gambhīria*, *gahīria=gāmbhīrya*, and after a short vowel *sundaria=saundarya*, *varia=varya*, *bamhacaria=brahmacarya*. Corresponding to AMg. *moriyaputta=mauryaputra* (Samav. 123.151; Bhag.), JM. *moriyavamsa=mauryavamśa* (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has *molīa=maurya* (Mudrār. 268,1). After a short vowel *i* has entered into the group *rya* in AMg. *tiriyam=tiryak* (Āyār. 1, 1,5,2,3;1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191.273.304.397.428.914.931; Kappas.), *tiriyā* (Hc. 2,143), AMg. JM. JS. *tirīya* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380.12;383,70,27); AMg. *pariyāga=paryāya* (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235.796.845; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), often beside *pariyāya*; AMg. *vippariyāsa=viparyāsa* (Sūyag. 468.497.498).

§ 135. 3) Consonant-groups with *r* besides *rya* (§ 134): PG. *pari-haritavam*=*parihartavyam* (6,36); M. *kiriā*, AMg. JŚ. *kiriā*=*kriyā* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.: Sūyāg. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381,21; 386,6.10; Kattig. 403,373.374); AMg. *darisaṇa*=*darśana* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyāg. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), *darisi*=*darśin* (Nandis. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *darisañijja*=*darśaniya* (Paṇṇav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); *darisai*, JM. *darisei*, Ā.D. *darisedi*=*darśayati* (§ 554); *ārisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMg. *ādarisa* (Ovav.)=*ādarśa*; M.AMg. *pharisa*=*sparśa* (Vr. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāiṇyāl. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); AMg. *pharisaga*=*sparśaka* (Kappas.), *dupparisa*=*duḥsparśa* (Paṇḥāv. 508); *pharisai*=*sparśayati* (Hc. 4,182); *marisai*=*marśayati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. *amarisa*=*amarśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. *āmarisa*=*āmarśa* (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarar. 20,11), Mg. *āmaliśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); Ś. *parāmarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mṛcch. 15,6; 70,1), *marisedu* (Mṛcch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), *marisehi* (Mālav. 38,4; 55,12); cf. Śak. 27,6; 58,9.11; 73,6; 115,2; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *varisa*=*varśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.H.; Ovav.; KI. 19; Āv. 13.25; 14,12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Bālar. 276,3; Venis. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2; 259,6); AMg. *varisā*=*varśāḥ* (Hc. 2,105; Nirayāv. 81); *varisaṇa*=*varśaṇa* (Mk. fol. 29); Ś. *varisi*=*varśin* (Venis. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMg. A. *varisai* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Dasav. N.648,10; Piṅgala 1,62); A. *varisei* (Vikr. 55,2); JM. *varisium*=*varśayitum* (Āv. 40,4); Ś. *varisidum* (Mālav. 66,20), *varisanta* (Prab. 44,3; Caṇḍak. 16.18); Mg. *valiśa* (Venis. 33,4); AMg. *sarisava*=*sarsapa* (Paṇṇav. 34.35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424f. 1526; Ovav. § 73); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *harisa*=*harśa* (Vr. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; Ki. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venis. 62,12; 65,7); AMg. *lomaharisa* (Paṇṇav. 90); Ś. *saharisa* (Mṛcch. 71,19; Venis. 65,7); *harisai*=*harśati* (Hc. 4,235), AMg. *harise*=*harset* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), Ś. *harisāvida* (Bālar. 242,6); AMg. *vāira*=*vajra* (Sūyāg. 834; Thāṇ. 265; Vivāhap. 499.1326; Uttar. 589.1041; Kappas.), *vāirāmaṇya*=*vajramāya* (§ 70). On *siri*=*śri* and *hiri*=*hri* (Vr. 362; C.3.30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; Ki. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

§ 136. One of the consonants is *l* (Vr. 3,60.62; Hc. 2,106; Ki. 2,59.104; Mk. fol. 29): M. *kilammai*=*klāmyati* (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMg. *kilamejja*=*klāmyet* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), Ś. *kilammadi* (Śak. 123,8; Mālatim. 135,5; Mallikām. 69,7; 133,14; 159,8; [text °ai]), M. A. *kilāmia*=**klāmita* (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. *kilanta*=*klānta* (Grr.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyap. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarar. 18,12 [text *kilinta*]; Mṛcch. 13,7.10 [text *kilinte*]; see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM.Ś. *kilammanta* (Erz.; Mālatim. 81,1); Ś. *kilammida*=**klāmita* (Karnas. 47,12; text °li°), *adikilammida* (Mālatim. 206,4); JM. *kilissai*=*kliśyati* (Erz.), AMg. *samkilissai*=*samkliśyati* (Ovav.; Ś. *adikilissadi* (Mālav. 7,17), *kilissanta* (Ratn. 304,30); JM. *kiliṭṭha* (Grr.; Erz.), AMg. *samkiliṭṭha* (Ovav.), *asamkiliṭṭha* (Dasav. 642,41); Ś. *kilesa*=*kleśa* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 68,8.10; Lalitav. 562,22); MŚ. *kiliṇṇa*=*klinna* (Hc. 1,145; 2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. *kilinnai* (Hc. 4,329), beside *kiṇṇai* (cf. § 59); AMg. *kiliva*=*klīva* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMg. *gilai*, *vigilai*=*glāyati*, *viglāyati* (Hc. 2,106; Sūyāg. 200.215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *milai* (Hc. 2,106; 4,18; Āyār. 1,1,5,6); M. JM.Ś. *milāna*=*mlāna* (Grr.; G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cait. 73,9), Ś. *milānta* (Mālatim. 249,4), *milāmāṇa* (Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for Ś. *pammalādi* (Mālatim. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read *parimilādi* § 479); *miliecha*, AMg. *milakku*, beside AMg. JM.Ś. A. *mecca*, AMg. *miccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84.105); *silimha*=*śleṣman* (Hc. 2,106); AMg. JM. *siliṭṭha*=

śliṣṭa (Grr.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 38,10,12), *asiliṭṭha* (Āv. 38,8); *Ś. susiliṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 71,13; Mālatīm. 234,3), *dussiliṭṭha* (Mahāv. 23,19); AMg. *silesa*=*ślesa* (Hc. 2,106; Vivāhap. 658); AMg.JM. *siloga*=*śloka* (Sūyag. 370.497.938; Aṇuog. 557; Dasav. 637,31.44; 638,8; 641,7; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *siḷoṣa* (Sūyag. 405.417.506), *Ś. siloa* (Hc. 2,106; Lalitav. 554,13; Mudrār. 162,6; Viddhaś. 117,13; Karpas. 30,3.5); *suila* (Hc. 2,106), AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla* (Hc. 2,106 [read as such]; Thāṇ. 569; Jiv. 27.33. 224.350.457.464.482.554.928.938; Aṇuog. 267; Uttar. 1021.1024.1041; Ovav.; Kappas.¹; JM. *sukkiliṣa* (Āv. 7,16).

1. The Indian editions very frequently write *sukkila* (e.g. Thāṇ. 339.345.348.349. 406.568, Vivāhap. 436.532.535.544.1033.1322.1323.1421.1451.1456, Paṇṇav. 8.11ff. 46.241. 379.380.481.525, Paṇhāv. 167; Samav. 64; Rāyap. 50.55.104.110.120 (*sukilla*) etc. Sometimes both the forms stand side by side, thus Thāṇ. 568 *sukkila*, but 569 *sukkila*, Aṇuog. 267 *sukkila*, but 269 *sukkilla*. According to Hc. 2,106, the correct form is *sukkila* in spite of § 195.

§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr*, *ml* (§ 295): *ambira*=*āmra* (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. *tambira*=*tāmra* (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. *āmbira*=*ātāmra* (G.H.); *tambirā* (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMg. JM. *ambila*=*amla* (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,7,7; 2,1,11,1; Thāṇ. 20; Paṇṇav. 8.10.12ff.; Vivāhap. 147.532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N.656,29; Kappas.; Āv. 24,18); AMg. *aṇambila* (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), *accambila* (Dasav. 621,14); *ambiliyā* (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMg. *āyambila*=*ācāmla*¹ (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovav.; Dvār. 498,2), *āyambilaṣa*=*ācāmlaka* (Thāṇ. 352; Ovav. [text °*bilie*]). For Mg. *tikkhā-bilakeṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,19), according to v.l. in GODABOLE p. 442, we should read *tikkhambilakeṇa*.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *āyambiliya* and in WEBER, JS. 16,305, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in -*ia* as in *padhiadi*=Pāli *pathiyate*=*pathyate*, against M.AMg.JM.JŚ. *padhiṣṣai*, P. *padhiyyate* (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in -*aṇia* as in Ś. *karaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia*=*karaṇiya*, Ś. *ramaṇia*, Mg. *lamaṇia*=*ramaṇiya*, against M.AMg.JM.JŚ. *karaṇiṣṣa*, *ramaṇiṣṣa*=**karaṇyā*, **ramaṇyā*' (§ 91.134.571), and in M.AMg. in the ending -*mīṇa*=Skt. -*māna* as in AMg. *āgamamīṇa* (§ 110.562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in M.Ś. *accharia* JM. *acchariṣa*=*āścarya* (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mṛcch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2; 85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatīm. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.¹; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. *aścalia* (Lalitav. 565,11 [°*ya*°]; 566,3; Venis. 34,6) and Ś. *accharia* (Hc.; Mṛcch. 73,8; Śak. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25; 300,7.13; 306,1; 313,23; 322,23 etc.); M.AMg. also *acchera* (Bh. 1,5; 3,18.40; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Ki. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇhāv. 380 [text *acchara*]), AMg.JM. *accheraṣa* (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas.; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *accheraṣa* (Paṇhāv. 288), according to Hc. also *acchariṣa*, a form which points to accentuation as *āścaryā*, and *acchaara*, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside M. *piloṣa* (G. 589; [read as such])=*ploṣa*, *piluṭṭha*=*pluṣṭa* (Hc. 2,106) we have also *piluṭṭha* (Deśin. 6,51). M.Ś. *jīā* (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Ki. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=*jyā*, but=*jivā*. In PG. *āpittiyam*=*āpittiyām* (6,37), and in inscriptions *ī* frequently stands for *i*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *acca*. Cf. § 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. *uddhumāi*=**uddhmāti* (Vr. 8,32;

Hc. 4,8), *uddhumā*=*uddhmāta* (G.R.), *uddhumāia* (R.); *khuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. § 206); AMg. *chāūma*=*chadman* (Hc. 2, 112), especially in *chāūmattha*=*chadmastha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thāp. 50.51. 188; Vivāhap. 78.80; Uttar. 116.805.812; Ovav.; Kappas.); *tuvarāi*=*tvarate* (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. *tuvara*=*tvarasva* (H.; Śak. 77,3;79,6), Ś. *tuvaradi* (Mrcch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); *tuvaradu* (Mrcch. 160,14; Śak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7), *tuvaradu* (Mālav. 39,11), *tuvaramha* (Ratn. 293,31), *tuvaranta* (Mālatim. 119,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālatim. 24,4), *tuvarāvedi* (Mālav. 33,7;39,13), *tuvarāvedu* (Mālav. 27,19), *tuvarānti* (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. *tuvaladu* (Mrcch. 170,5), *tuvalēsi* (Mrcch. 165,24); AMg. JM.Ś. *duvāra*=*dvāra* (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Pāiyāl. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff.; Vivāhap. 1264; Nāyādh.; Āv. 25.34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,8 [read as such with v.l. for *dāra*]; Ratn. 303,2;309,10;312, 22; Mālav. 23,6;62,18;65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9;38,7), *duāra* (Mrcch. 39,3;50,23;70,9;72,13;81,25; Śak. 115,5; Viddhaś. 78,9;83,7); *duāraa* (Mrcch. 6,6;44,25;51,10;68,21;99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. *duwāla* (Prab. 46,12), *duāla* (Mrcch. 43,11; Cait. 150,), *duālaa* (Mrcch. 45,2; 97,17); AMg. JM. *duwālasa*=*dvādaśa* (§ 244); M.AMg.Ś. Mg. *duve*, A. *dui*=*dve* (§ 437); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *paūma*=Pāli *paduma*=Skt. *padma* (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutaś. 36,44.90.94 [text *paduma*]; Thāp. 75ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 [°du]); Ś. *paūmarāa*=*padmarāga* (Mrcch. 71,1); AMg.Ś. *paūmini*=*padmini* (Kappas.; Mrcch. 77,13); AMg. *paūmāvai*=*padmāvatī* (Nirayāv.), Ś. *padumāvadī* (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *puruvva*=*pūrva* (Mrcch. 39,23; 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMg. *riuvveja*=*rgveda* (Thāp. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Kappas.); M.AMg. JM. *sumarāi*, Ś. *sumaradi*, Mg. *sumaladi*=*smarati* (§ 478); AMg. *suve* (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114), *sue* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Uttar. 103; Dasav. 639,15), Ś. *suvo* (Mukund. 14,18)=*svaḥ*. The separation vowel *u* appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in *-u* (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Ki. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in *guruvi* (Grr.)=*gurvī*, while *garuī* belongs to *garua*=*guruka* (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with *b* is to be corrected as *guruvi*; *taṇuvi*=*tanvī* (Grr.), M. *taṇuī* (H.); *lahuvi*=*laghvī* (Grr.), M.Ś. *lahuī* (G.; Mrcch. 73,11); *maiūvi*=*myḍvī* (Grr.), M. *maiū* (G.); *bahuvi*=*bahvī* (Grr.); *sāhuvi*=*sādhvī* (Mk.). The feminine of *prthu* is *puhuvi*, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131;2,113), against which M. JM.Ś.A. *puhavī*, *puhāi*, AMg. JM.Ś. JS. *puḍhavī* in the meaning "the earth" (§ 51.115). In the same way may be explained also the absolute Ś. Mg. Dh. *kadua*=*kṛtvā*, *gadua*=*gatvā* from **kaduṽ*, **gaduṽ* (§ 581), and the absolute in *-tuāṇam*, *-tuāṇa*, such as *kāuāṇam*, *kāuāṇa*=**karvāṇam* (§ 584).—Sometimes *u* is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains *u* or *o*. Thus *murukkha*=*mūrkhā* (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the *prācyā bhāṣā* that should be spoken by the *Vidūṣaka* (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in Ś. [text *murukha*], whilst otherwise *mukkha* is used (e.g. Ś Mrcch. 52,11.15;81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5.14;38,1.8; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mrcch. 81,17.19; Prab. 50,13); P. *sunusā*=*snuṣā* (Hc. 4, 314), to which *sunhā* and *soṇhā* of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); *suruggha*=*sruggha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *duruhaī*=**udruhati* (§ 118.141.482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between *a* and *i* in *kaṣaṇa*, *kasiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); M.Ś. *barahi-*, AMg.Ś. *barahiṇa* (§ 406)=*barhin*, beside *bariḥa*=*barha* (Hc. 2,104), A. *barihiṇa*=*barhin* (Hc. 4,422,8); *saṇeha*=*sneha* (2,102), A. *saṇehi* (Hc. 4,367,5), *saṇiddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. JM.Ś. *siṇeha*, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only

form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,17; 28,10; Śak. 9,14; 56,15; 90,12; 132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatīm. 94,6; Uttarar. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) *Ś. nissineha* (Mṛcch. 25, 21), M. AMg. JM. *Ś. siniddha=snigdha* (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,52; 57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24; 72,7; Śak. 53,8; 84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10; 60,6); M. *siniddhaam* (Vikr. 51,7; 53,5); AMg. *sasiniddha=sasnigdha* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6.7.9 [sasa°]; v. l. Kappas.). Beside these forms, we have also M. A. *neha*, AMg. JM. *neha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, M. *niddha=snigdha* (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between *a* and *u* in *puhavī*, *puhai*, *puḍhavī* and *puhuvi* (§ 139); AMg. *suhuma* (§ 131) and AMg. *suhama* (Hc. 2,101; Sūyag. 174); *Ś. sakkaṇomi* and *sakkuṇomi=sāknomi* (§ 505). Dialectically *a*, *i* and *u* are exchanged in *arh*, *arha* and *arhant* (Hc. 2,104,111): AMg. *araha-* (Sūyag. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JŚ. *arahanta-* (Sūyag. 322; Thāṇ. 288; Vivāhap. 1.1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3.4 [here the text has *ori°*]; 383,44; 385,63); AMg. JM. M. *arihai* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyag. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Śak. 120,6), *Ś. arihadi* (Śak. 24,12; 57,8; 58,13; 73,8; Ratn. 323,1), Mg. *alihadi* (Śak. 116,1); *Ś. ariha=arha* (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4); *arihā=arhā* (Ki. 2,59); AMg. JM. *mahariha=mahārha* (Vivāgas. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *jahāriha=yathārha* (Erz.; Kk.), *Ś. mahāriha* (Śak. 117,7), Mg. *mahāliha* (Śak. 117,5); Mg. *alihanta-* (Prab. 46,11; 51,12; 52,7; 54,6; 58,7; 59,9; 60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Laṭakam. 12,13; 14,19; Amṛt. 66,2); JM. *aruha* (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside *arahantāṇam*, v.l. *ori°*). The reading *aruhadi* is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (BÖHTLINGK on 17,7.8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1; 65,2), likewise we find it in Priyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in *Ś.* assuredly falsely. — *arahanta-* (Hc. 2,111).

g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation: AMg. *daga=udaká* (Sūyag. 203.209.249.337.339.340; Thāṇ. 339.400; Paṇhāv. 353.531; Vivāhap. 942; Dasav. 619.27; 630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside *udaga*, *udaya* (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyag. 337 *udageṇa* [= *dageṇa*] *je siddhim udāharanti sâyam ca pâyam udagam phusantā*¹ [*udagassa*] = *dagassa phāseṇa siyā ya siddhi sījhimsu pānā bahave dagaṇsi*. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: M. *uaa* (G.H.R.), *udaya* (Erz.), *Ś. udaa* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 112,10; 133,7; 134,7). JM. AMg. *duruha* = **udruhāti* (§ 118.139.482). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo=upāndhau* (Sūyag. 384 [text *pānahāo*]; Thāṇ. 359 [text *°vā°*, commentary *°pā°*]; Paṇhāv. 487 [text *°vā°*] 1212 [text *vānahāo*]; Ovav. *°pā°* and *°vā°*, beside *Ś. uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), AMg.; *chattovāhāṇa* (Sūyag. 249 [text *°vāṇaha*]; Vivāhap. 153), *apovāhāṇaga*, *°ja* (§ 77). — AMg. JM. JŚ. *posaha=upavasathá* (Antag. 19; Sūyag. 771.994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,359; 403,376); AMg. *posahiya=upavasathika* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). — AMg. *rajanī=aratrī* (§ 132; Vivāhap. 1563; Ovav.). — AMg. *lāu=alābū'*, *lāu=alādbu* (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Aṇuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VII [to be read as such]), *lāuya=alādbuka* (Āyār. 2,6,1,4; Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 41.1033; Paṇhāv. 31), also *lām* (Hc. 1,66), beside AMg. *alāu* (Sūyag. 245), *alāuya* (Sūyag. 926.928 [°bu°]), *Ś. alāvū* (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in AMg. *gāra=āgāra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 126.154.345), *gārattha=agārastha* (Sūyag.

642.986; Uttar. 208), *gāri*=*agārin* (Uttar. 207), beside *agāra* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,5; Nāyādh.).—M. AMg. *rahaṭṭa*=*araghaṭṭa* (H. 490; Paṇhāv. 67), beside M. JM. *arahaṭṭa* (G. 685; Rṣabh. 30.47; not correctly the ed. Bomb. 47 *palliā rahaṭṭa vva*).—M. *vaam̐sa*=*avatam̐sa* (H. 439), AMg. *vaḍim̐sa*, *vaḍim̐saga* (§ 103), beside M. *avaam̐sa* (H. 173.180), *avaam̐saanti* (Śak. 2,15).—Mg. *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakah*; A. *haū*=*ahakam* (§417). AMg. JM. *he'tthā*=*adhāstāt* and derivatives (§ 107).—To this further belong the cases like AMg. *tiya*=*atīta* (Sūyag. 122.470; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.155; Uttar. 833; Uvās.; Kappas.).—AMg. *pinidhattae*=**apinidhātave* (Ovav. §79,X).—AMg. *pūha*=**apyūha* (§286).—AMg. *vakkam̐i*=*apakrām̐i* beside *avakamm̐i*, Ś. Mg. *avakkam̐i* (§ 481), AMg. *vakkanta*=*apakrānta* (Pannav.41; Kappas.), *vakkanti*=*apakrānti* (Kappas.); M. *valagganti*=*avalagyanti* (G. 226.551); Ś. *vaṭṭhida*=*avasthita* (Mṛcch. 40,14); *vamhala*=*pasmārāḥ* (Hc. 2,174), where also the shortening of the *ā* points to final accentuation. Agreeing with Skt. is M. AMg. *pinaddha*=*pinaddha* (G.H.R.; Rāyap. 81f; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). A different accent from that of Skt. is presupposed in M. AMg. JM. A. *raṇṇa*=*āranya* (Vr. 1,4; Hc. 1,66; Kī. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117.1439; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 58,9;71,9; 72,10), beside the rarer *araṇṇa* (G.H.; Āyār. p. 133,32; Kappas.; Erz.), which is the only form in Ś. (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Mālatīm. 30,9; Uttarar. 190,2; Dhūrtas. 11,12; Karṇas. 46,12; Vṛṣabh. 28,19;50,5; Candak. 17,16;95,10); against the dialect is *pāraddhiran̐na* (Viddhaś. 23,9).—M.A. *riṭṭha*=*ariṣṭa* (R.1,3; Piṅgala 2,72), JM. *riṭṭhanemi*=*ariṣṭanemi* (Dvār. 496,2;499,13;502,6;505,27), beside AMg. JM. *ariṭṭhanemi* (Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,26;504,19;505,5); AMg. *riṭṭha* (a precious stone; Jiv. 218; Rāyap. 29; Vivāhap. 212. 1146; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.)=*āriṣṭa*, Pāli *ariṭṭha*, AMg. *riṭṭhaga* (Nāyādh. §61; Uttar. 980), *riṭṭhaya* (Ovav.)=*ariṣṭaka*, *riṭṭhāmaja*=*ariṣṭāmaya* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), beside *ariṭṭha* (a tree; Pannav. 31). Cf. *ariṣṭātālī*. Probably to this group belongs also M. AMg. JM. Mg.A. *to*, which the grammarians and, with them, S. GOLDSCHMIDT², connect with *ta-*, but which could better be derived from *dtas*.

1. WINDISCH, ZDMG. 49,285 against whose explanation goes Pkt.—? Prākṛtica p. 22.

§143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus : *api* after an anusvāra becomes *pi*, after a vowel, *vi*, as PG. *anne vi*=*anyān api* (5,6), *amheki vi*=*asmābhirapi* (6,29); M. *marañam pi* (H. 12), *taṃ pi* (G. 430), *caḍulaṃ pi* (R. 2,18), *ajja vi*=*adyāpi* (H. s.v. *vi*), *taha vi*=*tathāpi* (R. 1,15), *ñimmalā vi*=*nirmalā api* (G. 72), *amhe vi*=*asme api* (H. 232), *appavaso vi*=*alpavaśo'pi* (H. 265). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence *a* remains: PG. *api* (6,37), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *avi* (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mṛcch. 46,5;57,6;70,12;82,12; Śak. 49,8; often in *avi a* and *avi nāma*), so in verses after *m*, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMg. *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *kālagam avi* (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMg. *-ām* remains against the rule (§68); further in AMg. JM. *puṇar api* (§342) and in AMg. JM. *jāvi*=*ja+api*=*cāpi* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5;1,1, 5,3; Sūyag. 120; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. *keṇāvi* (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. *teṇāvi* (Erz. 10,25;17,17;22,9; Mālatīm. 78,8), Ś. *ēttiṇēnāvi* (Śak. 29,9); Ś. Mg. *mamāvi* (Mṛcch. 65,19; Śak. 9,13;19,3;32,3;50,4; Mṛcch. 140,1); Ś. Mg. *taṇāvi* (Mālatīm. 92,4; Mṛcch. 124,20); AMg. *khaṇam avi*=*ksaṇam api* (Nāyādh. § 137); JM. *evam avi* (Āv. 16,24); JM. *sajalam avi* *jivaloḥyam*

(Kappas. § 44); M. *piāṭṭaṇeṇāvi* = **priyātvaṇeṇāpi* (H. 267); Ś. *jivida-savvasseṇāvi* = *jivitasarvasenāpi* (Śak. 20,5). In all such cases an special emphasis is to be laid on the word standing before *avi*¹. On AMg. *app* see §174.—After anusvāra *iti* becomes *ti*, after vowels, *tī*; and long vowels are shortened before it (§92): PG. *ca tti* = *ceti* (6,37); *jīviām tī* = *jīvitam tī* (R. 5,4), *ṇatthi tti* = *nāstīti* (G. 281); AMg. *iṇām tī* = *enad itī* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3), *anupariyaṭṭāi tti* = *anuparivartata itī* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *laheṇ tī* = *labheyam itī* (Śak. 13,9), *pekkhadi tti* = *prekṣata itī* (Śak. 13,6). So in all the dialects. On AMg. *i* see §93, on M. *ia*, AMg. JM. *iya* at the beginning of a sentence see §116, on AMg. *icc* §174. In M. AMg. JM. after anusvāra and short vowels *iva* becomes *va*, after long vowels which are shortened (§92), in verses sometimes even after short vowels it becomes *vva*: M. *kamalam va* = *kamalam va* (G. 668), *uaassa va* + *udakasyeva* (H. 53), *ṭakkhehi va* = *ṭakṣair va* (H. 218), *ālāṇakkhambhesu va* = *ālāṇastambhesu va* (R. 3,1), *mahumahaṇṇa vva* = *madhumathaneneva* (H. 425), *samūsasanti vva* = *samucchvasanti va* (H. 625), *dāru vva* = *dāroiva* (H. 105); AMg. *puṇcham va* = *puccam va* (Uvās. 94); JM. *puttam va* = *putram va* (Erz. 43,34), *kaṇagam va* = *kanakam va* (Kk. 258,23). Ś. Mg. do not know the word but substitute *via* for it (Vr. 12,24). In M. AMg. JM. occurs also *iva*: M. (G.); AMg. *ṭaṇkaṇā va* (Sūyag. 198), *meham va* = *megham va* (Uvās. §102); cf. §345; JM. *kiṇnaro va* (Āv. 8,28), *tiṇam va* = *trīṇam va*, *vammaho va* = *manmatha va* (Erz. 24,34;84,21). On A. *jīva*, M. AMg. JM. P. *piva*, *viva*, *miva* see §336.

1. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 156f. wrongly rejects the writings of this sort.

§144. In Ś. Mg. *idāṇim* is often used enclitically in the weakened sense of “well”, “now”, “then”, and then it becomes *dāṇim* (Hc. 4,277.302). Ś. *vāṭaḍo dāṇim aham* = *vyāṭṭa idāṇim aham* (Mṛcch. 4,24), *jo dāṇim...so dāṇim* (Mṛcch. 6,4,8;147,16,17), *kiṁ khu dāṇim* = *kīṁ khalv idāṇim* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *ko dāṇim so* = *ka idāṇim sah* (Mṛcch. 28,13), *anantarakaraṇiām dāṇim āṇavedu aṇṇo* = *anantarakaraṇiām idāṇim āṇāpayaḷu āryaḷ* (Hc. 4,277 = Śak. 2,5); Mg. *āyiviā dāṇim samvuttā* = *ājivikedanīm samvuttā* (Mṛcch. 37,6), *ṣe dāṇim, ke dāṇim*, (Mṛcch. 37,19,25), *ēṭṭha dāṇim* (Mṛcch. 162,18), *toṣide dāṇim bhaṭṭā* = *toṣita idāṇim bhartā* (Śak. 118,1). In other dialects this use is rare, as PG. *ēṭṭha dāṇi* (5,7); M. *aṇṇam dāṇim bohiṁ* = *anyām idāṇim bodhim* (Hc. 4,277), *kiṁ dāṇi* (H. 390), *to dāṇi* (R. 11,121). In the beginning of a sentence and when stress is to be laid on the meaning “now” the *i* is retained in Ś. Mg.¹ too: *idāṇim* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Śak. 10,2;18,1;25,3;56,9;67,6;77,6;87,1;139,2; Vikr. 21,12;22,14;24,1;27,4 etc. (read so everywhere). M. hardly uses the word, but it employs *inhiṁ*, *ēṇhiṁ*, *ēṭṭahe*, that are quite foreign to Ś. and Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. have *iṇāṇim*, *idāṇim* even inside sentences (e.g. Āyār. 1.1.4,3; Uvās. §66; Ovav. §86.87; Āv. 16,14;30,10;40,5; Pav. 384,60), metrically also AMg. *iṇāṇi* (Dasav. N. 653,40).

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125, who in his edition of Ratn. rightly maintained the distinction.

§ 145. An initial *a* generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root *as* “to be” in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically: AMg. JM. *mi* (§ 498), M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* [text *mhi*], *śi*. Thus for example AMg. *vañcio mi tti* = *vañcito’smīti* (Uttar. 116); JM. *viddho mi tti* = *viddho’smīti* (Āv. 28,14); M. *ṭhia mhi* = *sthitāsmi* (H. 239); Ś. *iām mhi* = *iyamasmī* (Mṛcch. 3,5; Śak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [read so]; Nāgān. 2,16 [and so on]; Pārvatip. 1,18 [and so on]; Mg. *kilante’smi* = *klānto’smi* (Mṛcch. 13,10). cf. § 85.96.—M. *aṇṇa si* = *adyāsi* (H. 861), *taṁ si* = *tvam asi* (G.H.R.), *diṭṭhā si* = *dṛṣṭāsi* (R. 11,129) *mūḍho si* (G. 487); JM. *kā si* (Erz., 4,8,12), *mukko si* = *mukto’si* (Kk. 266,25),

taṃ si=*tvam asi* (R̥ṣabhap. 15); *paccādiṭṭho si*=*pratyādiṣṭo 'si* (M̐rcc. 5,3), *pucchidā si*=*pr̥ṣṭāsi* (M̐rcc. 28,21), *dāṇiṃ si* (M̐rcc. 91,18), *sariraṃ si* (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. *śante si kilante śi*=*śrānto 'si klānto 'si* (M̐rcc. 13,7), *eśā śi*=*eṣāsi* (M̐rcc. 17,1).—*atthi*=*asti* is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense="there is", "it actually exists" and remains, whilst as copula are used M.AMg.JM. *hoi*, J̐S. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi*=*bhavati*, as already pointed out by LASSEN, Inst. p. 193. On AMg. *namo 'tthu ṇaṃ* see § 175.498, on M.JM. *kiṃ tha* § 175, on AMg.JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. *ṇaṃ*=*nūnāṃ* § 150.

§ 146. Final *a* has dropped in the ins. sing. of *a*-stems in A.: *aggiē*=*agnikena*, *vāem*=*vātena* (Hc. 4,343,1); *em cinhem*=*ena cinhena* (Vikr. 58,11); *koem*=*krodhena* (Piṅgala 1,77^a); *daem*=*dayitena* (Hc. 4,333.342); *daivem*=*daivena* (C. 4,331); *pahārem*=*prahāreṇa* (Vikr. 65,4); *bhamanem*=**bhramantena*=*bhramatā* (Vikr. 58,9;69,1;72,10); *rūem*=*rūpeṇa* (Piṅgala 1,2^a); *sahajem*=*sahajena* (Piṅgala.1,4^a). In the ins. sing. of *i*- and *u*-stems, *ā*, after its transition into *a*, (§100) has dropped off likewise: *aggiṃ*, beside *aggiṇa* from *aggiṇā*=*agninā* (Hc. 4,343). On *m* from *n* see §348. In A. *a* has decayed in the absolutive in *-i* from *-ia*=*ya*, as *dāi*=*Ś*, *daia* (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of *strī* shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AMg.J̐S.JM.Ś. *itthī* (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97.160), AMg.JM. *itthiyā* (Dasav. 628,2; Dvār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. *itthiā* (e.g. M̐rcc. 44,1,2;148,23; Vikr. 16,9;24,10;45,21;72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5;39,6 etc.), also Ā. (M̐rcc. 148,22), Mg. *istiā* (§ 310)=*strikā*, the *i* is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by JOHANSSON¹. In M. *itthī* is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityad. 178,3), *itthiāṇa* (Śukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires *itthī* for Ś.² In AMg. we also find, mostly in verses, *thī* (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483.485) and *thijā*=*strikā* (Sūyag. 285) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AMg. *itthī*. A. also has *thī* (Kk. 261,4).

1. Shāhbāzgarhi 1,149. But his etymology is not correct; Correct BEZZENBERGER, GN. 1878, 271ff.—2PISCHEL on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 26,745 WEEBER, H.2 p. 454.

h).—DROPPING OFF OF VOWELS

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially *a*, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words: *katta* "wife" (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251)=*kālatra*, **kaltra*; AMg. *piusiṇā*=*piṭṛṣvasrkā* from **piusasiṇā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. *piussiā* (Mk. fol. 40), AMg. *piussiṇā* (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AMg. *māusiṇā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Pāiṇal. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text *māsiṇā*; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text *māu siu tti*], M. *māussiā* [Mk. fol. 40; MS. *māussāā*]=*māṭṛṣvasrkā*. M. *piucchā*, *māucchā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiṇal. 253; H.), AMg. *piucchā* (Nāyādh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā* (Karp. 32,6. 8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of *ṣa* into *cha* according to §211. *pupphā*, *pupphiā*=*piṭṛṣvasā* (Deśin. 6,52; Pāiṇal. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding BÜHLER, ZDMG. 43,146; E. KUHN. KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of *i* is without an analogy. M. *po'pphala*=*pūgaphala* from **pūgphala*, **pupphala* (§ 125.127; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AMg. *pūyaphala* (Sūyag. 250), M.Ś. *po'pphalī*=*pūgaphalī* (Hc. 1,170; Śukasaptati 123,9; Viddhaś. 75,2 [text *pophalli*]); AMg. *saṇapphāya*=*sānakhapada* Sūyag. 288.822; Thāṇ. 322; Paṇṇav. 49; Paṇhāv. 42; Uttar. 1075)¹;

AMg. *subbhi*=*surabhi*' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4; 1,8,2,9; 2,1,9,4; 2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409. 590; Thāṇ. 20; Samav. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇhāv. 518.538; Vivāhap. 29.532.544; Uttar. 1021.1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhap. 29 has *subbhi durabhi*, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has *surabhi durabhi* side by side. In *khu*, *hu*=*khálu* (§ 94) the dropping off of *a* is explained through **khlū*, by the enclitic use of *khalu*. AMg. *uppiṃ* (e.g. Thāṇ. 179.492; Vivāgas. 117.216.226.227.235. 253; Vivāhap. 105.199.233.250.410.414.797.846; Jiv. 439.483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation **ūpāri* or **upāri*', whilst *upāri* becomes M. JM. *Ś. uvari*, M.AMg. JM. *uvarin*, Mg. *uvali*, M. also *avarin* (§ 123).—*ā* has disappeared in JM. *bhāujjā*=*bhrāṭṭjāyā* (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.l.]).—*i* has dropped off in M.Ś. *majjhaṇṇa*=*mādhyaṃdina* (Vr.3,7; Hc. 2,84; Ki. 2,54; Mk. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikām. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also *ṇha* 46,10.17]), Mg. *mayyhaṇṇa* (text *majjhaṇṇa*; Mṛcch. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3), *mayyhaṇṇika* (Mṛcch. 117,14), beside Ś. *majjāṃdina* (Śak. 29,4). The grammarians derive *majjhaṇṇa* from *madhyāhna*, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH² has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL³; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disinclination, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disinclination is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—*u* has dropped in AMg. JM. *isattha*=*iṣṣāstra* (Samav. 131; Paṇhāv. 322 [text *i*°]; Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1.2)⁴; AMg. *challuja*=*ṣaḍulūka* (Thāṇ. 472; Kappas. Th. §6 [read so], with shortening of *ū* of *ulūka*, according to §80; JM. *dhīyā*, Ś.Mg. *dhidā* (Prākṛtamañjari on Vr. 4,33 *dhidā ca duhitā matā*) mostly in the compounds JM. *dāśiedhiyā*, Ś. *dāśiedhidā*, Mg. *dāśiedhidā* (§ 392)=**duhitā* for *duhitā*⁵; M. AMg. JM.Ś. *suphā* (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 628.631.633.634.647.660. 820.1110; Vivāgas. 105; Vivāhap. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. *soṇhā* with *o* according to § 125 (Vr. 2,47; Ki. 2,91; Mk. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in Ś. [text *sohṇā*]=*snuṣā*, from P. *sunusā* (§ 139), **snuhā* (§ 263)⁶; so also AMg. *suphata*=**snuṣātra* (Vivāhap. 1046), beside AMg. *ṇhusā* (Sūyag. 377) and Ś. *susā* (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—*ū* has dropped off in *ohala*, *o'kkhala*, AMg. *ukkhala*=*udūkhala* (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than *ulū'khala*⁷. On *ētto*, *aṇṇo* see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an avyayibhāva. JACOBI, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a bahuvrīhi, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. Vr. and Hc. p. 33f.—3. KZ. 33,575f., Altind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s.v. and JACOBI Erz. s.v. explained the word with *iṣvastra*, that is factually and linguistically impossible, Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as=*iṣṣāstra* Cf. §117 HOFER, De Prākṛita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,693 reject the derivation of the word from *dhūtā* from *√ dhai*, BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another *duhitā*=*duhitā*, wherein *i* remains unexplained.—5. Wrongly JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxii, note 3, has understood the word *suphā* to have developed from *ṇhusā* through metathesis. AMg. proves that *ṇhusā* was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Ki. 2,91 there occurs also *nohā* beside *soṇhā*.—7. Wrongly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,582; PISCHEL, KZ. 34,573f.

i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable *ya* occurs in M. A. *attha-maṇa*=*astamāyana* (H.; Hc. 4,444,2), the form has crossed also into Skt. as *astamana*; A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (Piṅgala 1,104.143) with reduplication of *ma* according to §194; *ṇisaṇi*, *ṇisaṇiā* (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)

=*niḥśrayanī*, *niḥśrayanikā*, beside AMg. *nissenī* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,6).—*va* has dropped in *aḍa*=*avaṭā* (Hc. 271; Pāiyāl. 130); AMg. JM. *em*=*evām* in AMg. *em ee*=*evam ete* (Thāp. 576. 579; Dasav. 613,9). JM. *emāi*=*evamādi* (Erz.; Śagara 8,12), M. *emea* (G.H.), AMg. JM. *emeva* (Hc. 1,271; Pāiyāl. 166 [emeja]); Āyār. 2,1,6,4,7,5; 2,5,1,11; Uttar. 442.633.804; Dasav. N.646,9; 650,28; 652,21; 660,29; 662,43; Āv. 19,37). In JM. *evadda*, *evaddaga* (so big; Āv. 45,6,7), AMg. *emahālaya*, femin. *emahāliya* (Vivāhap. 412.415 [femin.]. 1041; Uvās. §34), *emahiddhiya* (Vivāhap. 214), *esuhuma* (Vivāhap. 1191f.; Ovav. § 140) *e* should not with HERNLE¹ be equated as=*evam*, but with WEBER² as=*iyat*, more rightly **ayat* (§153), to which AMg. *evaiyā* (Vivāhap. 212.214.1103; Kappas.), *evaiikhutto* (Kappas.) and the parallel *kemahāliya* (Paṇṇav. 599ff.; Jiv. 18,65; Anug. 401ff; Vivāhap. 415), *kemahiddhiya*, *kemahajjiya*, *kemahābala*, *kemahāyasa*, *kemahāso* *kkha*, *kemahānubhāga* (Vivāhap. 211), *kemahesakkha* (Vivāhap. 887), *kevaīya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Vivāhap. 17.26.209.211.239.242.734.738.1076ff.), *kevacciraṇ* (Vivāhap. 180.1050; Paṇṇav. 545ff.), *kevacciraṇ* (Jiv. 108.128ff.) M.*keccira*, *kecciraṇ* (R.3,30.33)³, *Ś.kecciraṇ* (Mālatim. 125,2 [read so]; 278,8; Viddhaś. 18,11; 61,8; Kāleyak. 9,22), *kecciraṇa* (Mālatim. 276,6) point. WEBER has likewise already compared Vedic. *ivat*; Vedic *ivat* stands in the same relation to *keva*-. Cf. also §153.261.434. Dropping off of *va* occurs in *kalera* (rib; Deśin. 2,53; Triv. 1,3,105) from *kalevara*=*kalebara*⁴. An isolated case is *duggāvi*=*durgādevi* (Hc. 1,270).

1. Uvās. s.v. *emahālaya*.—2 Bhag. 1,422.—3 S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p.23, note 1.—4 FISCHER, BB. 6,95.

§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. *ṇaṇ*=*nūndm* (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1; 1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,3; 16,17; 17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,12; 17,22; 23,10; Śak. 3,4; 27,5; 37,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,16; 22,5; 31,2; 81,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 32,23; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,10,13). The usual derivation of the word from *nanū*¹, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since *ṇaṇ* in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard AMg. *ṇaṇ*, with WEBER², as the remnant of an old pronominal stem *na* and separate it from the *ṇaṇ* of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, AMg. sometimes employs *nūṇaṇ* exactly like *ṇaṇ*; e.g. *se nūṇaṇ* (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against *se ṇaṇ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff.). Sometimes *nūṇaṇ* as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. JM. *nūṇaṇ gaheṇa gahia tti teṇa tte mamaṇ dinnā* (Āv. 12,28); Ś. *nūṇaṇ esa de attagado maṇoradho* (Śak. 14,11); Mg. *nūṇaṇ. ., takkemi* (Mṛcch. 141,1), as otherwise in Ś. Mg. *ṇaṇ*. That in AMg. JM. *ṇaṇ* is always written with cerebral *ṇa* (§224) is also an argument for its having been originally used within a word, although it may have its source in the enclisis.—M. *dhilla*=*śithilā* (§194; Karp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian³, beside *saḍhila*, *sidhila* (§ 115). Identical with it is *dhe'lla* (poor; Deśin. 4,16), with *e* for *i* according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in *ova* (elephant-trap; Deśin. 1,49)=**āvapata*, AMg. *ovā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside *oā* (Deśin. 1,166)=*avapāta*; *kisala*=*kisālaya* (Hc. 1,269); cf. *pisalla* (§232); M. AMg. JM. *je*, A. *ji* for *jeva*=*eva* (§336); M. *dā* for *dāva*=*tāvat* in *mā dā* (R. 3,10,27) against the dialect (§185); Mg. *ghaḍukka*=*ghaṭokkaca* (Mṛcch. 29,20). In *sahia*=*sahṛdaya* (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is=**sahṛd* with a regular descent to the *a*-declension. Likewise is *hia* (Mk. fol. 33), AMg. *hiya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5)=*hṛd*, Mg. *haḍakka* (§194)=**hṛdaka*.

1. LASSEN, *Inst.* p. 173; BOHTLINGK on Śak. 4,4 p. 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 FISCHER on Hc. 1,89.

k) SAMPRĀSARANA

§151. Samprasārana takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Skt.; *ya* in an unaccented syllable becomes *i*, and *va* becomes *u*: Ś. *iṭṭhi=isthi* from *yaj* (Śak. 70,6); M. *utta=uṭta* from *vap* (G); M. AMg. JM. *sutta=supta* from *svap* (H; Kappas.; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Skt. shows *ya* and *va*. Thus *ya* becomes *i*: AMg. *abhintara=abhyantara* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *tirikkha=*tiryakṣa* from *tiryak* (Thān. 121.336; Sūyag 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. *tiricchi* (Hc. 2,143; 4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text °ra°]; Hc. 4,414, 3,420,3), Mg. *tiliści* (Hc. 4,295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. *tiriccha* (Bālar. 68,14; 76,19; 246,9; Viddhaś. 34,10; 124,3); AMg. *vitiriccha* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. *paḍiṇiṇya=pratyānika* (Ovav. §117; *viṇa=vyajana* (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Kt. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5); M. *vilia=vyalika* (Hc. 1,46; H.); in future such as *kāhimi* from **karsyāmi*, *dāhimi* from **dāsyāmi*, and the endings *-ihisi*, *-ihii* in M. AMg. JM. (§520ff.). On *bāhim* see §181. In AMg. sometimes even the secondary *ya*, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes *i*: *āriya* beside *āyariyā=ācāryā* (§81.134), *rāiṇṇa* for **rāyaṇṇa=rājanyā* (Thān. 120; Samiv. 232; Vivāhap. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).¹ *ya* has become *i* in AMg. *viikkanta=vyatikrānta* (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text vi°]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. *viikkanta*; Uvās. s. v. *vaikkanta*); *viivayamāna=vyativrajamāna* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *viivaittā=*vyativrajitvā* (Ovav.)². For *yā* has developed *ī* in *thīṇa*, *thīṇa=styāna* (Hc. 1,74; 2,33.99), beside *thiṇṇa*, M. *thiṇṇa* (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; falsely JACOBI, KZ. 35,573. The frequent interchange of *ya* and *i* in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with *i*, and for *āriyā* the change to *i* has been explicitly taught by the grammarians.—2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is *vi*, and not *vi* or *va* that is to be written. The lengthening of the second *i* is explained according to §70.

§ 152. *va* is changed to *u*, before double consonants also to *o* (§125) AMg. *amsoṭṭha*, *assoṭṭha*, *āsoṭṭha=aśvasthā* (§74); *gaūā=gavayā*, *femin.* *gaūā* (Hc. 1,54.158; 2,174; 3,35); A. *jāū=yāvat*, *tāū=tāvat* (Hc. 4,406.423,3; 426, [read *jāū*]); M. A. *turiā=tvaritā* (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Piṅgala 1,5), AMg. JM. *turiya* (Pāiyāl. 173; Vivāhap. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). Ś. *turida* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 41,12; 170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Vepīś. 22,20; Mālatim. 284,11; 289,6 etc.), Mg. *tulida* (Mṛcch. 11,21; 96,18; 97, 1; 98,1.2; 117,15; 133,11; 171,2; Caṇḍak. 43,8), A. D. Ā. *turiā* (Vikr. 58,4; Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3.11); *viśuṇ=viśvak* (Hc. 1,24.43.52); M. *suoi*, *suvaī*, JM. *suīai=*svapāti=svapiti*, JM. Ś. *suwāmi*, A. *suahī* (§497), AMg. *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa*, A. *suīṇa=svāpnā* (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. *soṭṭhi=svasti* (Kt. 2,148; H.; Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11.19; 73,18; Vikr. 15,16; 29, 1; 44,5 etc.), *soṭṭhivāṇa=svastivācana* (Vikr. 43,14; 44,13), *soṭṭhivāṇa* (Vikr. 26,15), AMg. *soṭṭhiya=svastika* (Paṇhāv. 283.286; Ovav.); AMg. *souṇiya=sauvanika* (dog-keeper; Sūyag. 714; but *sovaṇiya* 721). Also secondary *va*, which has first arisen in Pkt., sometimes becomes *u* through ablaut in the prefix *upa* (§155); further in A. *ṇāu* from **ūnāvam=nāma* (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary *u* is sometimes also raised, as in *sovaī*, JM. *sovēnti*, *soum*, A. *soevā*; *sovaṇa*, AMg. *osovāṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *svap* (§78.497); AMg. *sovāga=śvabāka*, *sovāgi=śvapāki* (§78), and *o* arising from *u* is lengthened, as in M. *soṇāra=svaṇakāra* (§66).—*vā* appears as *ū* in the absolutive in PG. M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇam*, P. *-tūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇa*, P. *-tūṇa*, JŚ. *-dūṇa*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇa=Vedic tvānam*, as in PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūṇam*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇam*, JŚ. *kādūṇa* M,

JM. *kāūṇa* = **karvānam*, **karvāna* (§ 584 ff.). On *do*, *du* apparently = *dvī*, see § 435.

§ 153. Under the law of *saṃprasāraṇa* falls also the change of *aya* into *e* and of *ava* into *o*. Thus *aya* becomes *e* in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as PG *aṇuvatṭhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati*, AMg. *ṭhāvei*, M. AMg. JM. *ṭhavei* = *sthāpayati* (§ 551f.); M. AMg. *kahei*, Mg. *kadhedi* = *kathayati*, Ś. *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (§ 490); Ś. *sidalāvedi* = *śitalayati* (§ 559). Further in cases like M. *nei*, JM. *nei* = *nayati*, Ś. *nedu* = *nayatu* (§ 474); M. JM. *dei*, Ś. *dedi* = **dayati*, Mg. *dedha* = **dayata* (§ 474); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* = **trayadaśa* = *trayodaśa* (§ 443), AMg. JM. *tevīsaṃ*, A. *teisa* = **trayaviṃśati* = *trayaviṃśati*; AMg. JM. *teṭṭisaṃ*, *tittisaṃ* = *trayastrimśat* (§ 445); AMg. *nissenī* = *niḥśrayaṇī* (§ 149).—AMg. *leṇa* = *layana* (Sūyag. 658; Thāṇ. 490.515; Paṇhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. Ś. A. *eṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mṛcch. 41,19; 60,12; 77, 10,24; Vikr. 45,4; Mālav. 26,10; Mālatim. 82,9; Uttarar. 18,2; 66,1; 72,6; Hc. 4,341,2), JM. *eṭṭiya* (Āv. 18,6; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *eṭṭika* (Śak. 29,9; 59, 3; 70,10; 71,14; 76,6; Vikr. 25,7; 46,8; 84,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 125,24; 165,14; Śak. 114,11), *ittia* (Hc. 2,156) can neither with LASSEN¹ be referred directly to **ati* nor with S. GOLDSCHMIDT² with the support of Hc. directly to *iyat*, but it presupposes one **ayat*, from which was derived **ayattya*, with a separation-vowel **ayattiya*, corresponding to Skt. *ihatyā*, *kvatyā*, *tatraiyā*. In the same way M. Ś. A. *keṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mṛcch. 72,6; 88,20; Vikr. 30,8; Hc. 4,383,1), JM. *keṭṭiya* (Erz.) = **kayattya*, **kayattiya* from the stem *kaya-*. So we must explain *e-* and *ke-* also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. Ś. (§ 149). Analogous formations are M. *jeṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. *yeṭṭika*, *yeṭṭia* (Mṛcch. 132,13; 139,11); *jittia* (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. *teṭṭia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 139,12; Hc. 4,395,7), Mg. *teṭṭika* (Mṛcch. 132,14); *tittia* (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are *eṭṭila*, *keṭṭila*, *jeṭṭila*, *teṭṭila* (Hc. 2,157), JM. *eṭṭilliya* (Āv. 45,7), A. *eṭṭula*, *keṭṭula*, *jeṭṭula*, *teṭṭula* (Hc. 4, 435).

1. Inst. p. 125.—2. Prākṛtica p. 23.

§ 154. *ava* becomes *o* through *au*, e.g. in M. *oaraṇa* = *avataraṇa* (G.H.); M. *oāra* (G.H.), Ś. *odāra* (Śak. 21,8), beside *avadāra* (Vikr. 21,1) = *avatāra*, Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati*, Mg. *odala* = *avatara* (§ 477); JŚ. *oḡgaha* = *avagraha* (Pav. 381,21); AMg. *oma* = *avama* (Thāṇ. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), *aṇoma* = *anavama* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), *omāṇa* = *avamāṇa* (Uttar. 790), *vodāṇa* = *vyavadāṇa* (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix *ava* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *osā* = *avaśyā* (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also *ussā* for *ośśā* (Thāṇ. 339; Kappas. S. § 45; v.l. *osā*, as should read be everywhere), *bahuosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1), *apposa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,1,2); M. Ś. *osā* = *avaśyāya* (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v.l. and the Drāviḍa recension 625,11, ed. PISCHEL]); M. AMg. JM. *ohi* = *avadhi* (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *joṇiyā* = *javanikā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), but *javaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Paṇnav. 58), *javaṇiyā* (Kappas.); M. Ś. *ṇomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mṛcch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560,9.17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatim. 81,1; Śak. 9,11; 12,13; 13,3; 15,3), *ṇomalliā* = *navamālikā* (Vr. 1,7); M. *ṇohaliā* = *navaphalikā* (Hc. 1,170; Ki. 2,148 [°am]; H.); M. AMg. JM. A. *loṇa* = *lavaṇa* (Vr. 1,7; Hc. 1,171; Ki. 1,8; Mk. fol. 6; G.H.; Kāleyak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9; 2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15.16; 625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418,7.444,4), PG. JM. *aloṇa* = *alavaṇa* (6,32; Āv. 22,39), JM. *loṇiya* *aloniya* (Āv. 22,14.30.31). According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lavaṇa* only. M. AMg. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati* (§ 475f.).

The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become *o* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. *osarāi*=*apasarati*, JM. *Ś. osara*=*apasara*, Mg. *ośaladi*=*apasarati* (§477).—*āva* appears as *o* in M. *oli*=*āvali* (Hc. 1,83, who equates it as=*āli*; G.H.R.) and in *loṇṇa*=*lāvaṇya* (Mk. fol. 6), A. also *salona*=*salāvaṇya* (Hc. 4,444,4) in rhyme with *loṇa*=*lavaṇa*. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lāvaṇṇa* only, and so it occurs in Śak. 158,10.

§155. According to Hc. 1,173, *upa* may become either *ū* or *o*. His examples are : *ūhasiaṃ*, *ohasiaṃ*, *uvahasiaṃ*=*upahasitaṃ*; *ujjhāo*, *ōjjhāo*, *uvajjhāo*=*upādhyāyāḥ*; *ūāso*, *oāso*, *uvavāso*=*upavāsaḥ*. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (*kāsyacinmate*). *ujjhāa*, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69,28;72,39), stands for **ūjjhāa* from **uujjhāa*=M. Ś. *uvajjhāa* (H.; Karp. 6,3; Vikr. 36,3.6.12; Mudrār. 35;9;36,4 6;37,1; Priyad. 34,14.17.21;35,15), AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff; Samav. 85; Thāṇ. 354f. 366.384ff.; Erz.)=*upādhyāya*. There arises, therefore, *u* from *va* according to §152 and the two colliding *u*'s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in *ūhasia* (Hc.) from **uuhasia*=*uvahasia*=*upahāsita*, beside the dialectical *ūhaṭṭha* (laughter; Deśin. 1,140)=**upahasta*; further in *ūāsa* (Hc.)=**uuāsa*=*uvaāsa*=*upavāsa*; *ūṇandīa* (overjoyed; Deśin. 1,141)=**upanandita*; *ū'aṭṭha*=**upavṛṣṭa* (Pāiyāl. 197); *ūsitta*=*upasikta* (Pāiyāl. 187)¹. Against these there occur the parallel forms with *o*, not going back to *upa*. In *ōjjhāa*, from which is derived NI. *ojhā*², *ō* is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. *paḍoṇāra*=*pratyupacāra*, *paḍoṇārei*=*pratyupacārayati* (§163) *ō*, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases *o*=*ava* or *apa* according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Skt. Thus :—*ohasia* (Hc.)=*apahasita*, as *ohaṭṭha* (Deśin. 1,153)=**apahasta*, *oāsa* (Hc.) is=**apavāsa*; *ositta* (Deśin. 1,158)=*avasikta*. *ua* never becomes *o*, for the Pāli, M. *o* (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1,172 and most of the scholiasts to =*uta*, and by others is explained with *atha vā*³, is=Pāli *ādu*⁴, AMg. *adu* (Sūyāg. 118.172.248.253.514; Uttar. 90), *adu vā* (Sūyāg. 16,46.92.142; Uttar.28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), *adu va* (Sūyāg. 182.249; Samav. 81), Ś. Mg. *ādu* (Mṛcch. 2,23;3,14;4,1;17,21;51.24;73,4; Mālatīm. 77,3; Priyad. 30,13;37,14; Adbhutad. 53,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,14; 132,21;158,7), which, as sometimes *o*, is explained as=*atha vā*. *o* has, therefore, developed from **āu*, **au*.⁵

1. In the last two examples *ū* can be equated also as=*ud*, as usually it is according to § 64.327a.—2. CROOKE, An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, PISCHEL, GGA. 1894,419, note 1.—3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s. v. o.—4. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as=Vedic *ād u*. Cf. also FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1881) p. 25ff. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5. Falsely JACOBI ZDMG. 47,578; KZ. 35,578. Pāli *oka*=*udoka* is to be explained from **ukka*, **o'kka* according to 66. AMg. *adu* cannot be=*ataḥ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,422; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p.36), because *ta* does not become *da* in AMg. Cf. §203.204.

1) VOCALIC SAMPDHI

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt. : *a*, *ā*+*a*, *ā* becomes *ā*; *i*, *ī*+*i*, *ī*=*ī*; *u*, *ū*+*u*, *ū*=*ū*. PG. *mahārājādhiraṇṇa* (5,2), *ārakhādhikate*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5), *sahassātīreka*=*sahasrātīreka* (7,42), *vasudhādhīpataye*=**patīn* (7,44), *narādhama* (7,47); M. *kaāvarāha*=*kṛtāparādhā* (H.50); AMg. *kālākāla* (Āyār.1,2,1,1); JM.

ingiyākāra (Āv. 11,22); JŚ. *surāsura* (Pav. 379,1); Ś. *kilesānala*=*klesānala* (Lalitav. 562,22); Mg. *yūḍialāvamāṇa*=*dyūṭakarāvamāṇa* (Mṛcch. 39,25); A. *sāsānala*=*śvāsānala* (Hc. 4,395,2); M. *puhaviṣa*=*prthiviṣa* (H. 780); A. *aṃsūsāsāḥi*=*aśrūcchvāsāḥi* (Hc. 4,431). So also in secondary vowels in M. *iśiṣa*, *iśiṣi*=*iṣat*+*iṣat* (§102). Before double consonants a long vowel is shortened according to §83: M. *uddhaccha*=*ūrdhvākṣa* (H. 161), *kaiṇda*=*kavindra* (Karp. 6,9); JŚ. *adindiyatta*=*atindriyatva* (Pav. 381,20); AMg. *guṇaṭṭhi*=*guṇārthiṇ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM. *rattacca*=*raktākṣa* (Āv. 12,27); Ś. *jammantare*=*janmāntare* (Mṛcch. 4,5); Mg. *aṇṇaggāmantala*=*anyagrāmāntara* (Mṛcch. 13,8); PG. *aggiṭṭhomaṇṇajapeyassamedhiyāji* (5,1). So also in the verse before a simple consonant in AMg. *rājamacca*=*rājāmātya* (Sūyag. 182; Dasav. 624,22). In AMg., more rarely in JM. JŚ., however, similar vowels often remain uncontracted, particularly in dvandva compounds. Thus: —*a*+*a*: AMg. *samaṇamāhaṇaāhi*=*śramaṇabrāhmaṇātithi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; 2,2,1,2,2,8; cf. 2,10,4), *puvāvidehaavaravideha* (Jiv. 161,174f. 210; Aṇuog. 396,397; Bhag.), *saṇṇa*=*svāṇa* (Sūyag. 364), *saṭṭha*=*sārtha* (Sūyag. 579), *kharapharusaasiṇiddhadittanaṭṭhaasubhaappiyaakanta-vaggihi* *ya*=*kharaparusaṇṇigdhaditṭāṇiṣṭāsubhāpriyākāntavagṇubhiś ca* (Nāyādh. 757), *puḍhaviḍagaagani*=*prthvyudakāgni* (Paṇhāv. 353), *indaṇilaajasi-kusuma*=*indranilātāsikusuma* (Ovav. §10), *maṇaagutti*, *kāyaagutti*=*manogutti*, *kāyāguṇṭhi* (Vivāhap. 1462); AMg. *suraasurā*=*surāsuraḥ*, JM. *suraasuramaṇṇujamahiṇā*=*surāsuramanujanamahitāḥ* (Āyār. 2,15,12; Kk. 269,26); JM. *egaakkhara*=*ekākṣara* (Āv. 7,27), *airegaṭṭhavaṣa*=*atirekāṣṭavarṣa* (Āv. 8,9) *saṇṇalaatthamiyaṇṇijāloa*=*sakalāstamitaṇṇivaloka* (Āv. 8,22); JŚ. *savvaatthesu*=*sarvārthesu*, *vandaṇaattatham*=*vandanārtham* (Kattig. 399,313; 402,356). —*a*+*ā*: AMg. *akiriyaāyā*=*akriyātmānaḥ* (Sūyag. 410; —*a* for *ā* according to §97), *selagajakkhaaruhaṇa*=*śailakayakṣārohaṇa* (Nāyādh. 966). —*ā*+*a*: AMg. *mahāḍavī* (Nāyādh. 1449), beside JM. *mahāḍavī* (Erz.); JM. *dhammakahāavasāṇa*=*dharmaḥkāthāvasāṇa* (Āv. 7,27), *mahāakkanda*=*mahākṛanda* (Dvār. 505,20). —*i*+*i*: AMg. *maṇḍdhigārava*=*maṇḍdhigaurava* (Dasav. 635,38), where, therefore, the second *i* is secondary. —*u*+*u*: AMg. *bahuujjhiya-dhammiya*=*bahūjjhitadhārmika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,4,11,9; Dasav. 621,6), *bahuudaga*=*bahūdaka* (Sūyag. 565), beside *bahūdaṇṇa* (Thāp. 400), *bahuuppala*=*bahūtpala* (Nāyādh. 509), *devakuruuttarakuru* (Jiv. 147,174,194,205,209,211; Aṇuog. 396), *kuruga* (Vivāhap. 425), *devakuruuttarakurū* (Samav. 111), *kurayāo* (Samav. 114), *suuddhara* (Dasav. 636,30), *suujjuyāra*=*svrjukāra* (Sūyag. 493), in which the second *u* is secondary. The vowels remain uncontracted in M. very rarely, somewhat more frequently in Ś. as M. *pavālaaṇkura*=*pravālāṇkuraka* (H. 680), *piāhara*=*priyādhara* (H. 827), *dhavalaaṇsua*=*dhavalāṇśuka* (R. 9,25; cf. also the v.l.); Ś. *piamvadāṇusūāo*=*priyamvadānusūye* (Śak. 67,6), *puṇṇikadaajjaṭṭakitti*=*puṇṇikṛtāryaputrakṛti* (Bālar. 289,20), *aggisaraṇaālinda*=*agniśaraṇālindaka* (Śak. 97,17), *ceḍḍaaccanāa*=*ceṭṭikārcanāya* (false dative), *pūāriha*=*pūjārha* (Mukund. 17,12,14). So also in A. *addhaaddha*=*ardhārdha*, *biaaddha*=*dvitīyārdha* (Piṅgala 1,6,50). In cases like Piṅgala 1,24,25 we must not assume composition, but the stem, used as nominative. Too general is Hc. 1,4.

§157. *a*, *ā*, with short dissimilar vowels before single consonants in compounds, undergo, the same saṃdhi as prescribed in Skt.: *a*, *ā*+*i* becomes=*e*; *a*, *ā*+*u*=*o*. Thus for example M. *disēbha*=from *disā*=**diśā*=*dig*+*ibha* (G. 148), *saṇḍaṭṭebhamoṭtia*=*saṇḍaṭṭebhamauktika* (G.236), *pañcesu*=*pañceṣu* (Karp. 12,8; 94,8), *kisoari*=*krīṣṭadārī* (H. 309), *sāmoa*=*śyāmodaka* (R.9,40.43.44), *girilulioahi*=*girilulitodadhi* (G. 148). Likewise in the other dialects. Contraction takes place in the case of secondary *i* and *u* as well, so

AMg.Ś. *mahesi* from *mahā + isi = ṛṣi*, M.Ś. *āesi* from *rāa = rāja + isi = ṛṣi* (§57); AMg. *savvūya* from *sava = sarva + uya = rtuka = sarvartuka* (Panhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Vivāgas. 10; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. 527; Pannav. 111; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niccouga, ŷa = nilvartuka* (Samav. 233; Thān. 369), *aṇūya = aṇtuka* (§77; Thān. 369). In AMg. the vowels often remain uncontracted: *savvaūvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), beside *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879); *paḍhamasamañjāvasanta = prathamasaṃyopasānta* (Pannav. 65); *kakkolaūstra* (Panhāv. 527); *āyariyaūvajjhāya = ācārvopādhyāya* (Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Samav. 85); *heṭṭhimaūvarima* (Samav. 68; Thān. 197 [hi°]); *vōyoghaṇatūdahi vātthaghanodadhi* (Vivāhap. 102); *kaṇṭhasuttairattha = kaṇṭhasūtroraṣṭha* (Vivāhap. 791); *appaūdaya = alpodaka* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *divadisāndhīnaṃ = dvīpadigudadhīnām* (Vivāhap. 82), *maḥāudaga = mahodaka* (Uttar. 714); also in the secondary second vowels: *īhāmigaūsabha = ihāmrgarṣabha* (Jiv. 481.492.508; Nāyādh. 721 [pha]; Ovav. §10; Kappas. §44); *khaggāūsabha = khaḍgarṣabha* (Ovav. §37). In other dialects the vowels seldom remain uncontracted, such as in JM. *paṇṇaṇaūvaghāyaga = pravacanopaghātaka*, *saṃjamaūvaghāya = saṃyamopaghāta* (Kk. 261,25.26); Ś. *vasantussavaūvāṇa = vasantotsavopāyana* (Mālav. 39,10; uncertain; cf. v.l.); and in the secondary second vowel Ś. *visajjidaūsīdāra = visarjitarīdāraka* (Uttarar. 123.10).

§158. If the second member of a compound begins with *i, u*, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary *ī, ū*, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2,2; of Hc. 1,10). So M.A. *gāinda = gājendra* (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1), A. *gāindaa* (Vikr. 59,8; 60,21; 63,2); JŚ. Ś. A. *narinda = narendra* (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatīm. 206,7 [so to be read]; 292,4; Piṅgala 1,21.24), Mg. *nalinda* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. Ś. Mg. *mahinda = mahendra* (Thān. 266; Mālatīm. 201,5; Mṛcch. 128,8); AMg. JŚ. *devinda = devendra* (C. 2,2; Hc. 3, 162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. *joisinda = jyoṭisendra* (Thān. 138); AMg. JM. JŚ. *jīninda = jīnevra* (Ovav. §37; Āv. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,42); Ś. *māinda = mrgendra* (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]; 156,7) and so many compounds with *indra* in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. *māinda jāla = māyendrajāla* (Āv. 8,53); AMg. *egindiya = ekendriya* (Vivāhap. 100.109.144); AMg. *soindiya, ghāṇindiya, jibbhindiya, phāsindiya = śrotrendriya, ghrāṇendriya, jihvendriya, sparsendriya* (Thān. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. p. 40, VI; Uttar. 822), A. *jibbhindia = jihvendriya* (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. *taddiasindu = taddivasendu* (G. 702); *tiasisa = tridaśesa* (Hc. 1,10); JM. *rāsira = rājesvara* (Erz.); *paṇṇadisara = parvateśvara* (Mudrār. 40,6; 46,9; 216,13); M. *kannuppala = karnotpala* (G. 760), AMg. JM. *niluppala, Ś. niluppala = nilotpala* (Uvās. §95; Ovav. §10; KI. 18 [nī°]; Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8; 33,2; 39,2); Mg. *nahuppala = nakhotpala* (Mṛcch. 122,19); M. *khandhukkheva = skandhotkṣepa* (G. 1049), CP. *pātukkheva = pādotkṣepa* (Hc. 4,326); AMg. *gandhuddhuja, A. gandhuddhua = gandhoddhuta* (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. *rajaṇujjala = ratnojajala* (Āv. 8,4); Ś. *mandamāruḍuvvelliḍa = mandamārutodvellita* (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatīm. 76,3), *paṇṇadummūlida = parvatommūlita* (Śak. 89,13); Mg. *śavvuyyāṇa = sarvodyāna* (Mṛcch. 113,19); M. *kaūsāsa = kṛtocchvāsa, liḍhūsa = liḍhoṣa* (G. 387.536), *gamaṇūsua = gamanotsuka* (R. 1,6); AMg. *egūṇa = ekona* (§144), *pañcūṇa* (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219), *desūṇa* (Samav. 152.219), *bhāgūṇa, kosūṇa* (Jiv. 228.231); M. *gāmūsava = grāmotsava* (G. 598); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava = mahotsava* (Karp. 12,9; Erz., Mṛcch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9.12; 293,13; 295,19; 298,30; Mālatīm. 29,4; 119,1; 142,7; 218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2; 113,6; Caṇḍak. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text ūssa°]; 53,19; Vṛṣabh. 11,2; Subhadr. 11,5.17); Ś. *vasantūsava = vasantotsava* (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the case of secondary

second vowels : AMg. *uttamiḍḍhi* = *uttama + ṛddhi* (Ṭhāṇ. 80), *deviḍḍhi* (Uvās. *mahiḍḍhi* (Ṭhāṇ. 178), *mahiḍḍhiya* (Ovav.); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. *viśesuvaogo* = *viśeṣopayoga* (Kk. 277,9) and Ā. *addhuia* = *ardhodita* (Mṛcch. 100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with *i*, *ū* and is followed by a simple consonant : Ś. *vāderida* = *vāterita* (Śak. 12,1); M. *kariaroru* = *kariara + ūru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925), *piṇoru* = *pīna + ūru* (R. 12,16), *pāḍoru* = *prakaṭoru* (H. 473), *valioru* = *valitoru* (G. 1161); AMg. *varoru* (Kappas. 33.35), *pīvaroru*, *disāgaīndoru* = *diggajendroru* (Kappas. §36), *egoruja* = *ekoruka* (Paṇṇav. 56), but *egūruja* (Jiv. 345ff.; Vivāhap. 717); JM. *kariaroru* (Erz. 16,12); S. *mantharoru* (Mālatim. 108,1), *pīvaroru* (Mālatim. 260,3 [so to be read]). If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg. AMg. JM. *pe cchāi*, JŚ. *pe cchadi*, Ś. *pe kkhadi*, Mg. *pe skadi* = *prekṣate* (§84); M. *aṇave kkhia* = *anapekṣita* (R.), JM. *ave kkhāi* (Erz.); Ś. *ave kkhadi* = *apekṣate* (Śak. 43,10; 130,2); M. *uve kkhia* = *upekṣita* (H.); M. *pe lliā* = *perita* (G.H.). Also in the case of *i*, *u* with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. *nisārenda* = *niśācarendra* (R. 7,59); M. Mg. *mahenda* = *mahendra* (R. 6,22; 1320; Mṛcch. 133,12); M. *rakkhasenda* = *rākṣasendra* (R. 12,77); Ś. *ṇarenda* = *narenda* (Mālatim. 90,4; 179,5); *ratto ppala* = *raktoṭpala* (Mṛcch. 73,12). JŚ. *pañcendīya* = *pañcendriya* (Pav. 388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with *i*, *u*, as for example Ś. *mahenda* (Vikr. 5,10; 6,19; 8,11.13; 36,3; 83,20; 84,2) which always occurs as *mahinda* in the Bengālī recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158)¹; for Ś. *niṇṇoṇṇa* = *nimnonnata* (Śak. 131,7) we should read *niṇṇuṇṇa* with the v.l., as there stands in M. *niṇṇuṇṇa* (G. 681); for Ś. *uṇhoṇṇa* (Śak. 29,6), the correct form will be *uṇhuṇṇa*, for Ś. *maddaloḍḍāma* = *mardalodḍāma* (Ratn. 292,11), *maddaluddāma*². Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. *ahe-sara*, *khajaresara*, *naresara* (Erz.); Ś. *paramesara* (Prab. 14,9; 17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary *isara*, and certainly in Ś. *purisoṭtama*, Mg. *puliṣoṭtama* = *puruṣottama* (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. *purisuttama* (Dasav. 613,40 [at the original place Uttar. 681 has °so°]; Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following *loguttama*]).

1. In any case BOLLESEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr. 8,11p. 176, considers that *mahinda* has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—2. Explanation of o° in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 175, note.

§160. In AMg. *a*, *ā* is often retained, even when a double consonant follows *i*, *u*, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. *kakkejaṇaīndaṇila* = *karkatanendraṇila*, *mādambiyaibbha* = *māḍambikebbha*, *koḍumbiyaibbha* = *kaḍumbikebbha* (Ovav. §10.38.48); *piśāyaīnda* = *piśācendra* (Ṭhāṇ. 90), but *piśāinda* (Ṭhāṇ. 138.229); *bhūyaīnda* = *bhūtendra* (Ṭhāṇ. 90), but *bhūinda* (Ṭhāṇ. 229), beside *jakkhinda*, *rakkhasinda*, *kiṇnarinda* etc. (Ṭhāṇ. 90; cf. §158); *annāya-ūñcha* = *aṇṇatoñcha* (Dasav. 636,17); *lavaṇasamuddaūttaraṇa* = *lavaṇasamudrottaraṇa* (Nāyādh. 966); *pehuṇaūkkhevaga* = *preṇkhaṇotkṣepaka* (Paṇḥāv. 533); *nāvāussīñcāya* = *nāvotsīñcaka* (Āyār 2,3,2,19.20); *indriyaūddesa* = *indriyoddesa*, *dugulla-sukumālaūttarija* = *dukūlasukumārōttariya*, *aṇegāūttama* = *anekōttama*, *bhāja-ūvviḡga* = *bhayaodvigna*, *sohammakappaūddhaloya* = *saudharmakalpordhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 177f. 791.809.835.920); *āyāmaūsseha* = *āyāmotsedha* (Ovav. §10). Very

rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. *paṇaṭṭhaijjoa*=*pranaṣṭoddyota*, *khaūpāa*=*khotpāta* (R. 9,77,78), *pīṇaṭṭha-ṇaūṭṭhambhīāṇa*=*pīṇastanotthambhīāṇa* (H. 294), *mukhaūvūḍha*=*mukho-dvūḍha* (Śak. 88,2). False is Ś. *mōttiāūppatti*=*mauktikotpatti* (Viddhaś. 108,2), for which we should read *mōttiūppatti* [v.l. °ōppa°]; as for example M. *piāmahuppatti*=*pitāmahotpatti* (R.1,17), AMg. *anṅkuruppatti* (Paṇṇav. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17,2 Ś. *pabohōppatti*=*prabodhotpatti* is to be corrected to *pabohuppatti*. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in *ittihī*=*strī* (§147): AMg. *asurakumārāittihō*, *thaṇijakumārāittihō*, *tirikkhajoṇijāittihō*, *maṇu-saūttihō*, °*devaūttihō* (Vivāhap. 1394); JŚ. *paraūttihāloa*=*parastryāloka* (Kattig. 401,344), *bhūsaṇaūttihāsamsagga* (Kattig. 402,358); Ś. *anteuraūttihī* (Śak. 38,5). However, there occurs also AMg. *maṇussittihō*, *devittihō*, beside *tirikkha-joṇittihō* (Thāṇ. 121); JŚ. *purisittihī* (Kattig. 401,345).

§161. Falling out of *a*, *ā* is also to be assumed before original or secondary *e*, *o*, but not before the *e*, *o* going back to Skt. *ai*, *au*¹: *gāmeṇī* (goat; Deśin. 2,84)=*grāma+eṇī*; M. *ṇavelā*=*nava+elā*, *phullelā*=*phulla+elā* (R. 1,62,63), *ukkhāṇḍīekkapāsa*=*ukkhāṇḍitaikapārśva* (R. 5,43); Ś. *avalambiderāvaṇaṇaṭṭha*=*avalambitairāvaṇaṇasta* (Mṛcch. 68,14), *silādalekkadesa*=*silātalaikadesa* (Śak. 56,11), *karuṇēkkamaṇa*=*karuṇaikamanas* (Mālatim. 251,7); M. *kusumōtthaa*=*kusumāvastṛta* (R. 10,36), *paḍhamosaria*=*prathamāpasṛta* (H. 351), *bāhomaṭṭha*=*bāṣpāvamṛṣṭa* (R.5,21), *jāloli* from *jāla+jvāla+oli*=*āvali* (§. 154; H. 589), as *vaṇoli*=*vana+āvali* (Hc. 2,177=H. 579, where *vaṇāli*), *vāoli*=*vāta+āvali*, *paholi*=*prabhā+āvali* (G. 555.1008); AMg. JM. *udaōlla* from *udaka+ōlla*=**udra*, (§111; Dasav. 625,27; Āv. 9,3), beside AMg. *udaūlla*=*udaka+ulla* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6;2,6,2,4); AMg. *vāseṇōlla*=*vārseṇa+ōlla*=(Uttar. 673); AMg. *mālohaḍa*=*māla* (platform; pedestal; Deśin. 6,146)²+*ohaḍa*=*avahrta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), *maṭṭioliṭṭa*=*maṭṭiā*=*myttikā+oliṭṭa*=*avalipṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); JM. *jaloḥa*=*jalaugha* (Erz. 3,26), *saṁthāṇosappiṇi*^o=*saṁsthānāvāsarpiṇi*^o (Rṣabhap. 47); Ś. *guḍodaṇa*=*guḍaudana* (Mṛcch. 3,12), *vasantodāra*=*vasantāvatāra* (Śak. 21,8), *kararuhorampa*=*kararuha+orampa* (attack; Mālatim. 261,2; so to be read; cf. Deśin. 1,171; Pāiyāl. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. *vāandolanaṇaṇa*=*vātāndolanāvanamita* (H. 637); AMg. *khuddagaegāvali*=*kṣudrakakāvali* (Ovav. [§38]), *viṇṇhāijyaolamba*=*viṇṇa-bhājīṭavālamba* (Ovav. §4); JM. *sabhāvōsa*=*sabhāvakāśa* (Āv. 15,12).

1. In cases like *ṇavelā*, *jaloḥa*, *guḍodaṇa* one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the help of the compounds with secondary *ē*, *ō*, *o*, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 105 note 1.

§162. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, as a rule, do not undergo saṁdhi with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1,6): M. *ṇahappahāvaliaruṇa*=*nakhaprabhāvalyaruṇa* (Hc. 1,6), *rattīandhaa*=*rātryandhaka* (H.669), *saṁjḥāvahuavaūḍha*=*saṁdhyā-vadhavagūḍha* (Hc.1,6); AMg. *jāīāriya*=*jātyārya* (Thāṇ.414), *jāīandha*=*jāty-andha* (Sūyag. 438), *sattiogga*=*śaktyagra* (Dasav. 634,11), *puḍhaviāu*^o=**prthi-vyāpaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 742), *paṇṭvahiivaaraṇa*=*prāntopadhyupakuraṇa* (Uttar. 350), *pagaiivasanta*=*prakṛtyupaśānta* (Vivāhap.100.174), *puḍhaviūḍḍhaloṇa*=*prthvyūr-dhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 920), *kadalīūsuga*=*kadalī+ūsuga* (middle, inside; cf. BÖHTLINGK 2, ūsa 1) b) c); Āyār. 2,1,8,12), *suahijjiya*=*svadhīta* (Thāṇ. 190. 191), *bahuaṭṭhiya*=*bahvastika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5 [to be read thus]. 6; Dasav. 621,4), *sāhuajjava*=*sādhvārjava* (Thāṇ. 356), *sualamkiya*=*svalamkṛta* (Dasav. 632,39), *kaṇikacchuagaṇi*=*kaṇikacchvagni* (Paṇḥāv. 537), *bahuosa*=*bahva-vaśya* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. *suisi*=*svr̥si* (Paṇḥāv. 448), *bahuiḍḍhi*=*bahuvradhi* (Nāyādh. 990). Beside AMg. *cakkhuindiya*=*cakṣurindriya* (Samav. 17) more frequent is *cakkhindiya*=*cakkha*

caksas + *indriya* (Samav. 69.73.77ff; Vivāhap. 32; Uttar. 822; Ovav. p. 40, VI). JM. *osappiniussappini*⁰ = *avasarpinyutsarpini*⁰ (Rṣabhap. 47), *suvaṇṇajatta* = *svanuṇṇajatta* (Āv. 11,15), *meruāgāra* (7.5.8); Ś. *santiudaa* = *śāntiyulaka* (Śak. 67,4), *uvarialindaa* = *uparyalindaka* (Mālatīm. 72,8; 187,2), *uvvasiakkhara* = *urvaśyakṣara* (Vikr. 31,11). *sarassadiuvāna* = *sarasvatyupāyana* (Mālav. 16,19), *śīdāmaṇḍavūmmilā*⁰ = *śīlāmāṇḍavyūrmilā*⁰ (Bālar. 151,1), *dehacchaviulluñcīda* = *dehacchavyulluñcīta* (Prab. 45,11). Quite isolated is the dropping off of *i* in AMg. *iṭṭhattha* = *stryartha* (Dasav. 638,18) and *kimcūna* from **kimciūna* = *kimcidūna* (Samav. 153; Ovav. 30,II,e), as well as of the initial *i* in AMg. *bendiya* (Thān. 275; Dasav. 615,8), *tendiya* (Thān. 275.322), beside *beindiya*, *teindiya* (Thān. 25,122.322 [ve⁰]; Samav. 228; Vivāhap. 30.31.93.144; Dasav. 615,8 [te⁰] = *dvīndriya*, *trīndriya*. AMg. *īsāsa* = *iṣvāsa* (§117) is directly derived from Skt.

§163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same saṁdhi as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (G.; Nirāyāv.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; 389,1; Mṛcch. 60,25; Mālav. 28,13); AMg. *accei* = *atyeti* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna* = *adhyupapanna* (§77); M. *abbhāga* = *abhyāgata* (H.); JM. *abbhuvagacchāviya*, *abbhuvagāya* = *abhyupagamita*, *abhyupagata* (Āv. 30,9.10); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna* = *abhyupapanna* (Mṛcch. 28,18; Vikr. 8,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 175,18); M. AMg. Ś. A. *pajjatta* = *paryāpta* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Śak. 71,7; Vikr. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. Ś. *niṇvūḍha* = *nirvyūḍha* (G.H.R.; Mālatīm. 282,3); M. *aṇṇesai*, Mg. *aṇṇesadi* = *aṇṇesati* (G.; Mṛcch. 12,3); JM. Ś. Ā. *aṇṇesanta* = *aṇṇesat* (Erz.; Vikr. 52,20; Mṛcch. 148,7.8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in AMg. JM., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in AMg. and JM., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in §162, come beside one another. M. *aiāara* (H.); JM. *aiyāyara* (Erz.) = **atiyādara* = *atyādara*; AMg. *nāiunha* = *nātyuṣṇa* (Vivāhap. 954), beside AMg. *accusiṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), M. *accuṇha* (H.); M. *aiujjua* (H.), Ś. *adiujjua* (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15) = *atyrjuka*; AMg. *ahiyāsijjanti* = *adhyāyante* (Ovav.); JM. *paḍiyāgāya* = *pratyāgata* (Erz.), beside M. *paccāga* (H.), JM. *paccāgāya* (Erz.), Ś. *paccāgada* (Uttarar. 106,10); AMg. *paḍiyāikkhiya* = *pratyākhyāta*, beside *paccakkhāa* (§565); AMg. *paḍiuccāreyaova* = *pratyuccārayitavya* (Vivāhap. 34); AMg. *pariyāvanna* = *paryāpanna* (Āyār. 2,1,9,6.11,7.8); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *paryutkṣubha* (§66); M. *viola* = *vyākula* (§166). In AMg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prati* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus beside AMg. M. *pāḍiēlka* = *pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; R.; Nāyādh. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovav. [read so in all the places for *pāḍiyakka*]) also *pāḍikka* for **pāḍēlka* (§84; Hc. 2,210); *paḍamsuā* = **pratyāśrut* (§115); *paḍāyāna* = **pratyādāna* (§258); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *vaccāi* = *orajati* (§202.590), *pāḍucciya* = *prāṭitika* (Thān. 38); AMg. *paḍuppanna* = *pratyuppanna* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 533; Thān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.78.79.80.651; Jiv. 337.338; Aṇuog. 473.510ff.; Uvās.), JM. *apaḍuppanna* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *paḍoyāra* = *pratyavatāra* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and = *pratyupacāra* (§155; Vivāhap. 1235.1251), *paḍoyāreu* = *pratyupacārayatu*, *paḍoyāreha* = *pratyupacārayata* *paḍoyāreṇti* = *pratyupacārayantu*, *paḍoyarijjamāna* = *pratyupacāyamāna* (Vivāhap. 1235.1251). On M. *pattiaī*, JM. AMg. *pattiyāī*, Ś. Mg. *pattiaādi*, AMg. *pattieya* see §281.487.

§164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§186), is called *udvṛtta*¹. An *udvṛtta* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no saṁdhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So

M. *uāa*=*udaka* (G. H. R.²); *gaa*=*gaja* and *gata*; *paavi*=*padavi* (G.H.); *saala*=*sakala*; *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *ghāa*=*ghāta* (H. R.); *kai*=*kati* (R.), = *kapi* (G. H. R.)= *kavi* (G. H.); *jai*=*yadi*; *nai*=*nadi*; *gāiā*=*gāyikā* (H.); *taūsī*=*trapuṣī* (H.); *paūra*=*pracura* (H.); *pia*=*priya*; *piaama*=*priyatama*; *piāsā*=*pipāsā* (H.); *riu*=*ripu*, *juala*=*yugala*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *sūi*=*śūci* (G. H.); *aṇea*=*aneka* (G.H.); *joṇa*=*yojana* (R.); *loa*=*loka*. The rule holds good also for compounds of all kinds : M. *āira*=*acira*; *āuva*=*apūva*; *avaamsa*=*avataṃsa* (H.R.); *āaa*=*āyata* (H.R.); *uvaūḍha*=*upagūḍha*; *paāva*=*pratāpa*; *paiva*=*pradīpa*; *dāhiṇaṃsaada*=*dakṣiṇāṃśataṭa* (G.104); *saāṇha*=*saṭṣṇa* (H.). *golāada*=*godātata* (H. 103); *disāala*=*diktala* (R. 1,7); *vasahaīndha*=*vr̥ṣabha- cihna* (G. 425); *niṣiara*=*niṣicara* (R.); *saūrisa*=*saṭpuruṣa* (G. 992); *gandhaūḍi*=*gandhakuṭi* (G. 319); *golāūra*=*godāpūra* (H.231); *viṇṇaūra*=*vit̥rnatūrya* (R. 8,65); *guruṇa*=*gurujana* (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1,8 calls the vowel *udvṛtta*. In C. 2,1 p. 37 it is called *uddhṛta*. Triv. 1,22; Sr. fol. 3; Narasimha 1,1,29; Appayadikṣita 1.1,22 call it *śeṣa*, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2,89 and Triv. 1,4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§165. *Udvṛtta* vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus *a*, *ā* with *a*, *ā* : *attamāṇa* beside *āvattamāṇa*=*āvarta- māṇa* (Hc.1,271); AMg. *āra* from **aara*=*avara* (Sūyag. 106.322) and JM. *ādara* (Kk. II); *oāava* (time of the sun'set; Deśin. 1,162)=**oāāva*=*apaga- tātaṭa*, whereas *ovāaa* (Triv. 1,4,121; ed. *oāava*; cf. also BB.13,13) is=*apa- vātaka*; *kālāsa* beside *kālāsa*, as according to Mk. always in Ś.,=*kālāyasa* (Vr. 4,3; Hc. 1,269); A. *khāi* beside *khāi*=*khādati* (Vr. 8,27; one : Kī. 4,77; Hc. 4,228;419,1); A. *khanti*=*khānti*, **khānti*=*khādanti* (Hc. 4,445,4), *khāu*=*khādatu* (Bh. 8,27), from which a root *khā* has been deduced, from which have been formed a future *khāhi* (§525), a second person singular imperative A. *khāhi* (Hc. 4,422,4.16) and a past passive participle *khāa*=**khāta* (Hc. 4,228); *gāṇa* from *gāṇa*=*gāyana* (Deśin. 2,108); *gāṇi* (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from **gāāṇi*, AMg. *gavāṇi* (Āyār. 2,10,19) =*gavādanī*; Mg. *gomāo* from **gomāao*=*gomāyavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 168,20); A. *campāvaṇṇi*=*campakavarṇi* (Hc. 4,330,1); *chāṇa* (clothing; Deśin. 3,34)=*chādana*; A. *jāi* from *jai*=*jayati* (Piṅgala. 1,85^a); *dhāi* beside *dhāvai*=*dhāvati* (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,228), M. *uddhāi*=*uddhāvati* (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of *khād*, a root *dhā*, from which are formed *dhāu* (Bh. 8,27), *dhāha* (Hc. 2,192), *dhāhi* (§525), *dhāo* Hc. 4,228); AMg. *pacchitta* (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,428), beside AMg. *pāyacchitta* (Jiyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.) =*prāyascitta*; *pāvaḍaṇa*, beside M. *pāvaḍaṇa* (H.°pa°)=*pādapatana* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. JM. Ś. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (§194); *pāvīḍha* beside *pāviḍha*=*pādapiṭha* (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); AMg. *bhante*=*bhadantaḥ* (§366b); *bhāna*=*bhājana* (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Kī. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only *bhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,6; Śak. 72,16;105,9; Prab. 59,4; Veṇṣi. 25,3.5; Mallikām. 289,3; Adbhutad. 2,15). On forms like *gāi*=*gāyati*, *jhāi*=*dhyāyati*, *jāi*=*jāyate*, *palāi*=*palāyate* see §479. 487.567.—*i*, *ī* get contracted with *udvṛtta i*, *ī* in M.A. *bīa* (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. *viya*; H. s.v. *vīa*; R. s.v. *bīia*; Piṅgala, 1,23.49.56.79.83), A. also *bīa* (Piṅgala. 1,50), AMg. JM. *bīya* (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kī. 21; Erz.), beside M. *bīia*, AMg. JM. *bīiṇa* (§82)=*dvītiya*; A. *tīa* from **tīia*=*trītiya* (Piṅgala. 1,49.59.70); AMg. *paḍiṇa*, *uḍiṇa*=*praticīna*, *uḍicīna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4;1,6,4,2; Ovav. §4), *paḍiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically *paḍiṇa* (Dasav. 625,37; cf. §99); AMg. *siā*=*śibikā* (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyādh. 865ff.; 1021f. 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirayāv. 61.62;

Vivāhap. 275.277.362.1262; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside AMg. JM. *sivijā* (Āyār. 127,15 [to be read so]; Ovav.; Erz.); in future, as JM. *hohī* beside M. JM. *hohii* = **bhoṣyati* = *bhaviṣyati* (§521). JM. *vināsihī* (§527), *jarehī*, *nivārehī* (§528), *ehī*, A. *eṣī* (§529), JM. *dāhī* (§530), *sakkehī* (§531), AMg. JM. *kāhī* (§533), AMg. *nāhī* (§534). M. *cīa* (H. 104) is = **cīa* from **citiya* = *cīya*, AMg. *cī* in *civandaṇa* = *caityavandana*, according to Hc. 1,151 is = **cii* = Skt. *citi*-.—*u*, *ū* with the udvṛtta -*u*, *ū*, are contracted in AMg. *umbara* from *uumbara*, **ūmbara* = *udumbara* (Vr. 4,2; Hc. 1,270; Ki. 2,152; Aṇuttar. 11; Nāyādh. §137; p. 289.439; Thān. 555; Jīv. 46.494; Nira-
yāv. 55, Paṇṇav. 31; Vivāhap. 807.1530).

§166. Sometimes *a*, *ā* becomes contracted with an udvṛtta *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* : *kelī* from **kailī* = **kadilī* = *kadalī* with *i* according to §101, and on the same model *kela* from **kaila* = **kadila* = *kadala* (Hc. 1,167.220)¹; M. AMg. JM. *Ś. thera* from **thaira* = *sthavira* (Hc. 1,166; 2,89; Pāiṣal. 2; Deśin. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text *thera*]; Kāvya prakāśa 73,9 = H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text *thera*]; Sarasvatik. 8,13 [*thera*]; Acyutaś. 32 [*thera*]; Thān. 141.157.286; Vivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173.185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk.; Anarghar. 63,4 [*thera*]; M. *Ś.* also *thavira* (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P.M. *thavira*]; Nagān. 3,2 [v.l. *thavira*, *thera*]; M. *therī* (Pāiṣal. 107; H. 654 [text *therī*]; ed. Bomb. 7,52 *thera*]); AMg. *theraja* (Sūyag. 176), *theraga* (Sūyag. 334), *therijā* (Kappas.); *therāsaṇa* (lotus; Deśin. 5,29), *therosana* (lotus; Triv. 1,4,121) = **s'ha-virāvasana*; *meḍambha* from **maḍambha* = **mṛgidambha* (noose for catching a roe; Deśin. 6,139); *mehara* beside **maihara* = **matidhara* (headman; Deśin. 6,121); AMg. *vera* (Kappas. §45) from *vaira* (§135) = *vajra*; A. *eha*, *jeha*, *teha*, *keha* (H. 4,402) from and beside *aīsa*, *jāisa*, *taisa*, *kaīsa* (Hc. 4,403) = *īdṛśa*, *yādrśa*, *tādrśa*, *kīdrśa* (§121); A. *jē* for the common *jāi* = *yadi* (Piṅgala. 1,4^a.97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *jamī*]); A. *de* beside *daī* = *Ś. daīa*, absolute from *daya* (§594). In AMg. A. -*aī* = -*ati*, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -*e* in poetry. So AMg. *aṭṭe* (Sūyag. 412) from *aṭṭai* (cf. *pariṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230) = **aṭṭa*'i from *aṭ* (not from *aṭṭa* = *ārta*), *kappe* = **kalpai* (Āyār. 1,8,4,2), *bhuñje* from *bhuñjai* (§507) = *bhunakti* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), *abhibhāse* = *abhibhāṣate*, *paḍiyākkhe* = *pratyākhyāti* (§491), *seve* = **sevati*, *paḍiseve* = **pratiṣevati* (Āyār. 1,8,1,7.14.17.4,5); A. *nacce* = *nṛtyati*, *sadde* = **śabdati* = *śabdayati*, *gajje* = *garjati*, *boḷle* = *boḷlāi* (Hc. 4,2), *ugge* from **uggai* = **udgāti* (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82.90.228.268), *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6) from *hosai* (Hc. 4,388.418,4) = **bhoṣyati* = *bhaviṣyati* (§521). Similarly are explained also AMg. *bemi* from **baīmi* = *bravīmi* (§494).—A. *co* = *caū* = *catur* (Piṅgala. 1,65; GOLDSCHMIDT, however, reads *aṭṭha vi lahuā* for *co laghu kattha vi* of the ed. Bomb.), *covisa*, *covisa* beside *caūvisaha* = *caturvimśati*, *coālisaha* beside *caūālīsā*, AMg. *coyālisaṃ* beside *caūyālisaṃ* = *catuṣcatvāriṃśat*, *coṭṭisaṃ* = *caturtriṃśat*, etc. (§445); M. *coṭṭha* beside *caūṭṭha* = *caturtha* (§449); *coḍḍaha* beside A. *caūḍḍaha*, AMg. *coḍḍasa* beside *caūḍḍasa* = *caturdasa* (§443), AMg. *coḍḍasama* = *caturdaśama* (§449); *coḡguṇa* beside *caūḡguṇa* = *caturguṇa*, *coṽvāra* beside *caūvāra* (Hc. 1,171); *tovaṭṭa* beside *taūvaṭṭa* (an ear-ornament; Deśin. 5,23; 6,89); M. AMg. *poṃma* = *padma* (Hc. 1,61; 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15; Pārva'ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 (text *pomaṃ*)), *poṃmā* = *padmā* (H.); M. *Ś. poṃmarā* = *padmarāga* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2; 103,4 (Ś.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Ś.); Pras. 121,8 [Ś.; text *pa*]); 155,12; Bālar. 157,12 (Ś.); 168,4 (Ś.); M. *poṃmāsaṇa* = *padmāsana* (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMg. JM. *Ś. paūma*, *paūmarā* (§139); *bohārī* beside *baūhārī* (brush; Deśin. 6,97; 8,17); A. *bhōhā* from **bhāuhā* = *bhamuha* (Piṅgala 2,98; §124.251); *moḍa* beside *maūḍi* (tress; Deśin. 6,117; Pāiṣal. 57); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. A. mora* (Vr. 1,8; Ki. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāiṣal. 42, H.;

Ānuog. 502.507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas.; Kk.; Śak. 155,10;158,13; Uttarar. 163,10; Jivān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90), A. *mora* (Piṅgala 2,228), femin. M. Ś. *morī* (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viddhaś. 20,15), Mg. *molī* (Mṛcch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMg. *mora*=*mayūraka* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *māra* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMg. *mayūra* (Vivāgas. 187.202), *mayūratta*=*mayūratva* (Vivāgas. 247), Mg. *maūlaka* (Śak. 159,3), femin. AMg. *mayūri* (Nāyādh. 475.490.491). *mora* has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc.1,171. M. *moha*=*mayūkha* (Grr.; R.1,18) from and beside M. Ś. *maūha* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. *viola* from **viāula*=*vyākula* (Deśin. 7,63; R.; cf. §162)⁴; A. *saṃhāro* from *saṃharaū*=*saṃharatu* (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also *kohala*, *samāra*, *somāla* §123, o §155. M. AMg. *bora*=*badara* (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Kī. 1,8; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 609.1256.1530), AMg. *borī*=*badarī* (Hc. 1,170; Mk. fol. 5; Pāiyāl. 254; Ānuttar. 9) presuppose one **badura*, **badurī*⁵. AMg. *būra* (v.l. *pūra*; Jiv. 489.509.559; Rāyap. 57; Uttar. 986; Vivāhap. 182; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) is not=*badara*, but=*pūra* (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as *vanaspativiśeṣa*.⁶ Obscure is *pora*=*pūta* (Hc. 1,170).

1. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573.—
2. PISCHEL BB. 13,3.—3. PISCHEL, Deśin. Introduction p. 7.—4. PISCHEL, GGA., 1880, p. 335.—5. PISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *baara* only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. *andhāra*=*andhakāra* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Piṅgala. 1,117^a;2,90), A. *andhāraa* (Hc. 4,349), M. *andhāra*=*andhakārita* (H.), JM. *andhāriya* (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. *andhaāra* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 44,19;80,9;88,17;138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Cait. 40,15), Mg. *andhaāla* (Mṛcch. 14,10 22;16,22), AMg. JM. *andhaṇāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Rṣabhap.), JM. *andhaṇāriya* (Erz.); M. JM. A. *āa* from and beside *āaa*=*āgata* (Hc. 1,268; H.; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255.264); *kāmsāla*=*kāmsyatāla* (Hc. 2,92), Ś. *kāmsatālaa* (Mṛcch. 69,24); AMg. *kammāra*=*karmakāra* (Jiv. 295) and other compounds with *kāra*, like AMg. *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra* (Hc. 1,8; Mk. fol. 32; Uvās.), beside *kumbhaāra* (Grr.), AMg. *kumbhakāra* (Uvās.), JM. *kumbhagāra* (Erz.), D. *cammaāraa*=*carmakāraka* (Mṛcch. 104,19), M. *mālārī*=*mālākārī* (H.; Deśin. 1,146,114), AMg. *lohāra*=*lohakāra* (Jiv. 293), M. *valāraa*=*valayakāraka* (H.), *soṇāra*=*svaṇa-kāra* (§66), AMg. *dodhāra*=*dvidhākāra* (Thāṇ. 401); A. *piārī*=*priyakārī* (Piṅgala 2,37); JM. *khandhāra*=*skandhāvāra* (Mk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside *khandhavāra* (Erz.); M. *calcāa*=*cakravāka* (Hc. 1,8; Kī. 2,151; Mk. fol. 32; Candrasekhara on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMg. *cakkāga* (Paṇṇav. 54); AMg. *niṇṇāra*=*nirnagara* (Vivāhap. 1277); AMg. *nimboliyā*=*nimbāgulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173); *talāra*=*talavāra* (Deśin. 5,3; Triv. 1,3,105; PISCHEL, BB. 3,261); *pāra* beside *pāāra*=*prākāra* (Hc. 1,268); M. *pāraa* (Hc. 1,271; H.; Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside *pāvāraa*=*prāvāraka*; *pārāa* beside *pārāvaa*=*pārāvata* (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. *pāvāliā*=*prapāpālikā* (H.); JM. *varisāla*=*varṣākāla* (Erz.); *vāraṇa* beside *vāraṇa*=*vyākaraṇa* (Hc. 1,268); M. *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc. 1,8.211;H.); M. *sāhāra*=*sāhakāra* (Karp. 95,1); AMg. *sūmāla* beside *sukumāla*=*sukumāra* (§123); *sūrisa*=*suurisa*=*supuruṣa* (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. *jālā*, *tālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too; falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11;124,14) and Mg. (Mallikām. 144,3)=**yāt kālāt*, **tāt kālāt*, *kālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46)=**kāt kālāt* (PISCHEL, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254,

§168. In some cases *a* at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udvṛtta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member : *indova* from **indaova*=*indragopa* (Pāṇy. 150; Deśin. 1,81), beside AMg. *indagova* (Aṇuog. 344), *indagovaga* (Uttar. 1062), **ya* (Paṇnav. 45); *indovatta*=**indragopātma* (cochineal; Deśin. 1,81); *gharoli* from **gharaoli*=**gharagoli*=*grhagoli* (domestic multipede; Deśin. 2,105), AMg. *gharoliyā*=*grhagolikā* (Panhāv. 22; Paṇnav. 53 [text *gharoila*]); *gharola* from **gharaola*=**gharagola*=*grhagola*(*ka*) (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśin. 2,106); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *deula*=*devakula* (Hc. 1,271; Mk. fol. 33; H.; Aṇuog. 387; Nāyādh. 535; T. 4,9; 7,18; Erz.; Mṛcch. 151,14; Karnās. 25,1; Mṛcch. 29,24; 30,11.12), beside and from JM. Ś. *devaūla* (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Viddhaś. 59,7; Cait. 134,10.14), AMg. *devakula* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8; 2,10,14; 2,11,8; Panhāv. 521; Nāyādh. 581; Kappas.); JM. *deuliṃyā*=*devakulikā* (Āv. 31,10); JM. D. *rāula*=*rājakula* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), Mg. *lāula* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.15; 566,13.12; Mṛcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5.9; 49,13.15; ed. M. has throughout *lāūla*, ed. P. 47,9), where *rāūla* (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3.6; 119,1; Ratn. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9.13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. *lāūla* (ed. M. *rāūla*) we should read *lāūla*; JM. has *rāyāula* (Erz.)¹ also; Mg. *lauitta* from **lauitta*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 114,1; 115,7.9; 116,9; 117,5); *vāutta* beside *vāūtta*=*vātaputra* (Deśin. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhara on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) *rāulaśabda* [so to be read] *iṣvare deśi*. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EI. 4, 312, note 7). Quite falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,576.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the auslaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. *kāñcīpurā aggiṭṭhoma*° = *kāñcīpurād agniṣṭoma*° (5,1), *sivakhaṇḍavamo amhaṃ visaye* = *śivaskandavarmās-mākaṃ viṣaye* (5,2), *govallave amacce āraḥādhikate* = *govallavān amātyān āraḥ-sādhikātān* (5,5), *tī api ca āpiṭṭiyam* = *ityapi cāpiṭṭiyam* (6,37), *tī eva* = *ityeva* (6,39), *tasa khu amhe* = *tasya khalvasme* (7,41), *sakakāle uparilikhitam* = *svakakāla uparilikhitam* (7,44); M. *na a me icchāi* = *na ca mā icchayā* (H. 555), *taṃ si aviṇiddā* = *tvamasyavinidrā* (H. 66), *daṭṭhūna unṇamante* = *dṛṣṭvoṇnamataḥ* (H. 539), *jīvie āsaṅho* = *jīvitā āsaṃsā* (R. 1,15), *paatṭai uahī* = *pravartatān-udadhī* (R. 3,58); *āmuai āngāim* = *āmuñcatyaṅgāni* (R. 5,8), *jāo elāsura-himmi* = *yāta elāsuraabhau* (G. 417), *so esa kesavo uvasamuddam uddāma*° = *sa eṣa keśava upasamudramuddāma*° (G. 1045); AMg. *atthi me āyā ovavāie* = *asti mā ātmaupapātikah* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *cattāri ee* = *catvāra ete*, (Dasav. 632,7) *tāo ajjāo eṭṭamāṇio pāsai* = *tā āryā eyamānāḥ paśyati* (Nirayāv. 59), *ege āha* = *eka āha* (Sūyag. 74), *khīne āummi* = *kṣīṇa āyusi* (Sūyag. 212), *jo imāo diṣāo anudiṣāo anusaṃcarai* = *ya imā diṣā anudiṣo nusaṃcarati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. *na* (not) not rarely undergoes saṃdhi with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb : M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *naṭthi* = *nāsti* (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. *as*; Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Āv. 9,9; Pav. 380,10; Mṛcch. 2,24), Mg. *naṭti* (e.g. Mṛcch. 19,11 [text *naṭthi*]); M. *nāmī* = *na + amī* (G. 246), *nalliai* = *na + alliai* (R. 14,5); M. JŚ.Ś. *nāham* = *na + aham* (H. 178; Pav. 384,36; Vikr. 10,13); M. *nāulabhāva* = *na + ākulabhāva* (G. 813), *nāgaa* = *na + āgata* (H. 856), *nālavai* = *na + ālapati* (H. 647); AMg. JŚ. *neva*, *neva* = *na + eva* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3.4,1; Pav. 384,59), M. *nea* (G.H.R.); AMg. *nānāgama* = *na + anāgama* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *nābhijānai* = *nābhijānāti* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *nārabhe* = *na + ārabheta* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4), *nābhībhāsinsu* = *na + abhi*°, *nāivattai* = *na + ativartate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); Ś. *nāgadā* = *na + āgatā* (Mālatim. 72,6); Mg.

nāścadi = *na* + *āgacchati* (Mṛcch. 116,5,19; 117,11); AMg. JM. *nāidūra* (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22,23), *Ś. nādidūra* (Mālatīm. 30,8), Mg. *nādidūla* (Caṇḍak. 66,13) = *na* + *atidūra*; *Ś. nārihadi* = *na* + *arhati* (Śak. 24,12); M. *nečchai* = *na* + *icchati* (H. 205), *Ś. nečchadi* (Śak. 73,4), Mg. *neścadi* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *Ś. nālaṃkidā* = *na* + *alaṃkṛtā* (Mṛcch. 18,10), *nodaradi* = *na* + *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 108,21). In such cases *na* is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root *jñā*, which after *na* very often, drops its initial *ja*, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into *ja* in AMg. JM.: M. *na āṇāmi*, *na āṇasi*, *na āṇai*, *na āṇimo*, *na āṇaha*, *na āṇanti*; AMg. JM. *na jāṇāmi* (Nāyādh. 84; Āv. 29,19), JM. *na jāṇasi*, *na jāṇai*, AMg. *na jāṇāmo*; *Ś. na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,16; 65,11; Vikr. 43,14; 46,1); Mg. *na āṇāmi* (Mṛcch. 140,12); *Ś. D. na āṇādi*; D. *na āṇasi*, *Ś. na āṇiadi* = *na jñāyate*; M. AMg. *Ś. na āṇe* = *na jāne*. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as *Ś. aāṇanteṇa* = *ajānatā* (Mṛcch. 18,22; 63,24). *aāṇia* = *ajñātvā* (Śak. 50,13), AMg. *viṇāṇi*, *Ś. Mg. viāṇādi*, AMg. *parijāṇai*, Mg. *paccabhiāṇādi* (§510). In most of the cases, however, *na* is not proclitic, and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. *na ittham* = *neṣṭam* (H. 501), *na īsā* = *nersyā* (H. 829), *na uttarai* = *nottarati* (H. 271), *na ei* = *naiti* (R. 14,43). *na ohasiā* = *nāvahasitā* (H. 60); AMg. *na ambile*, *na unhe*, *na itthi*, *na annahā* = *nāmlah*, *noṣṇah*, *na strī*, *nānyathā*, beside *natthi* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4), and so in all dialects.¹

1. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 193; BOLLSEN on Vikr. p. 193.302; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,104.

§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., *na* may be used as the first member of a compound instead of *a*, *an* in Pkt. too. M. *ṇasahiāloa* = *asodhāloka* (G. 364), *ṇasahiapaḍiboha* = *asodhapratibodha* (G. 1162), *ṇapahuppanta* = *aprabhat* (G. 16,46), *ṇapahutta* = *aprabhūta* (G. 114), for which R. 3,57 has *ṇavahutta* with *pa* treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this *na* in AMg. in cases like *taṃ maggaṃ nūttaraṃ* = *taṃ mārgam-anuttaram* (Sūyag. 419); *disaṃ ṇantajijṇeṇa* = *disamanantajinenā* (Āyār. 2,16,6); *diṭṭhiṃ ṇantāhiṃ* = *dṛṣṭibhīranantābhīḥ*, *muttisuhāṃ ṇantāhiṃpi* [text *vi*] *vaggavaggūhiṃ* = *muktisukham anantairapi vargavagnubhiḥ* (Paṇṇav. 135); *aggivaṇṇāhiṃ ṇegaso* = *agnivārṇāny anekasaḥ* (Uttar. 598); *egapae ṇegāhiṃ padāhiṃ* = *ekapade nekāni padāni* (Paṇṇav. 63), *e ssanti ṇantasao* = *esyananantasaḥ* (Sūyag. 45.56.71); *bandhaṇehi ṇegehi* = *bandhanairanekaiḥ* (Sūyag. 225); *gaṇḍavacchāsu* [text °vatthā°] *ṇegacittāsu* = *gaṇḍavakṣaḥsvanekacittāsu* (Uttar. 252); *itto ṇantagūṇijā* = *ito *ṇantagūṇikāḥ* (Uttar. 599); *virāyae ṇegagūṇovavee* = *virājate nekagūṇopetaḥ* (Sūyag. 309); *buddehi ṇāiṇṇā* = *buddhair anācīrṇā* (Dasav. 627,16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial *a* occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write *ṇ*, never *n*, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of *a*. Hence in transcription we should write *maggaṃ nūttaram*, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of *na* contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. *ahāvarā* = *athāparā* (Āyār. 2,1,11, 4ff.; 2,2,3,19ff.; 2,5,1,7ff. etc.), *ṇa jāham* = *na cāham* (Āyār. 1,7,6,1), *jeṇāham* = *yenāham* (Uttar. 241); JM. *jeṇāham* (Erz. 17,14), *jeṇāṇijāham* = *yenānitāham* [Erz. 8,23], *iḥādave* = *iḥāṭvayām* (Erz. 30,13), M. *sahasāgaassa* = *sahasāgatasya* (H. 297); AMg. *purāsī* = *purāsīt* (Sūyag. 898); JM. *sahāmacceṇa* =

sahāmātyena (Āv. 11,18); AMg. *dāriḡeyam*=*dārikeyam* (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. *ṇa hujjalā*=*na khalūjjvalā* (on H. 993); AMg. *no hūvaṇamanti*=*no khalūpanamanti* (Sūyag. 100), *ē'tthovārae*=*atroparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. *siharovari*=*sikharopari* (T. 5,10); Ś. *mamovari*=*mamopari* (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. *jassedha* [text °*eha*]=*yasyeha* (Pav. 382,24). On *ajjāvi*, *kenāvi*, *teṇāvi* etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. *samāsajjāvitaham*=*samāsādyāvitatham* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *jāñittāyariyassa*=*jñātvācāryasya* (Uttar. 43), *kammāṇānaphalā*=*karmāṇyājñānaphalāni* (Uttar. 113), *tahosujāro*=*tatthesukārah* (Uttar. 422), *iṣiṇāhāra-m-āṇi*=*ṛṣiṇāhārādini* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *māṇuse-sūvavannā*, *tirikkhesūvavannā*=*manuṣyeṣūpapannā*, **tiryakṣeṣūpapannā* (Āv. 17,22, 23), *paḍikappiēṇāgao*=*pratikalpitenāgataḥ* (Erz. 32,18), *subuddhināmeṇāmacceṇa*=*subuddhināmnāmātyena* (Erz. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So : *esovarae*=*eṣa uparataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); *uvasaggā bhīmāsi*=*upasargā bhīmā āsan* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); *tamhāvivjjo*=*tasmād atividyah* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); *buddhāṇusāsanti*=*buddhā anūsāsati* (Uttar. 33); *parājijāva-sappāmo*=*parājitā apasarpāmāḥ* (Sūyag. 186); *akayakaraṇāṇabhigoyā ja*=*akṛta-karaṇā anabhigatās ca* (Jiyakappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in *maggā-ṇusāsanti* for *maggā anūsāsanti*=*mārgamanūsāsati* (Sūyag. 465.517), *addhā-ṇugacchāi*, *pañthāṇugāmie* for *addhā aṇugacchāi*, *pañthā aṇugāmie*=*adhvānam aṇugacchāi*, *pañthānam* **aṇugāmikaḥ* (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

§173. In the auslaut vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in JM. AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut : M. *jeṇ' aham*=*yeṇāham* (H. 441), *tujjh' avarāhe*=*tavāparādhe* (H. 277); JM. *kuṇāleṇ' imam*=*kuṇālenemam* (Āv. 8,16), *tāyass' ānam*=*tātasyājñām* (Āv. 8,18), *jeṇ' evam*=*yeṇaivam* (Erz. 14,8) *iḥ' eva*=*ihaiva* (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3; 20,14), *jāv' eṣā*=*yāvad eṣā* (Erz. 53,28), *tah' eva*=*tathaiva* (Āv. 12,26; 27,19), *tass' aṇṇesaṇattham*=*tasyāṇveṣaṇārtham* (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. *ten' iha* (Pav. 387,21) *jatth' atthi*=*yatrāsti* (Kattig. 401, 353), *ten' uvaiṭṭho*=*tenopadiṣṭaḥ* (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. *akkhāy' anelisam*=*ākhyāyānīdrśam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), *jatth' atthamie*, *jatth' avasappanti*, *jatth' agañi*=*yatrāstamitah*, *yatrāvasarpanti*, *yatrāgñiḥ* (Sūyag. 129.181.273), *vuddhen' anūsāsie*=*vṛddhenānūsāsitaḥ* (Sūyag. 515), *ubhāyass' antareṇa*=*ubhaya-syāntareṇa* (Uttar. 32), *vinnavaṇ' itthisu*=*vijñāpanā strīsu* (Sūyag. 208.209), *jeṇ' uvahammāi*=*yeṇopahanyate* (Dasav. 627,13), *jah' ē'ttha*=*yathātra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), *vippaḍivann' ege*=*vipratipannā eke* (Sūyag. 170), *tass' āharaha*=*tasyā-harata* (Āyār. 2,1,11,2). *i* has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. *natth' ē'ttha*=*nāstyatra* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against Ś. *ṇatthi ē'ttha* (Śak. 121,5); AMg. *jaṇṇ' ime*=*yasminnime* (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), *sant' ime*=*santime* (Āyār. 1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200; Dasav. 625,25; 626,36); *vajant' ege*=*vadantyeke* (Sūyag. 37), *cattār' itthijāo*=*catasrah striyah* (Thān. 247), *cattār' antaradivā*=*catvāro 'ntara-dvīpāḥ* (Thān. 260) in poetry, beside °*ri a°* in prose and *cattāri agañio*=*caturō 'gnīṇ* (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, *kīlant' anne*=*kṛīdantyanne*, *tarant' ege*=*tarantyeke* (Uttar. 504.567), *tinn' udahī*, *do'nn' udahī*=*traya udadhayah*, *dvāvu-dadhī* (Uttar. 996.1000), *dalām' aham*=*dalayāmy*. (= *dadāmy*) *aham* (Uttar. 663). *e* has dropped off for example in AMg. *s' evam*=*sa evam* (Āyār. 1,7,3,3; 2,3,1, 1ff.), *paḍham' ittha*=*prathamō'tra* (Nandis. 74), *tubbh' ē'ttha*=*yusme atra*, *im' ee*=*ima ete*, *mann' erisam*=*manya īdrśam* (Uttar. 358.439.571), *im' ejārūe*=*ayametadrūpaḥ* (Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151.170.171; Uvās.). *o* has dropped off in AMg. *gurun' antie* for *guruṇo antie*=*gurorantiḥ* (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. *ṇiyojāivān' aṇantāṇam*=*niyogajivānām anantānām* (Paṇnav. 42), *cariss' aham* for *carissam aham*=*carisyāmyaham* (Sūyag. 239), *pucchiss' aham* for *pucchissam aham*=*apṛākṣamaham* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇāijān' u vāyam*=*vāinayikānām u vādam* (Sūyag. 322), *vipparijās' uve'ni*=*viparyāsam upayanti*

(Sūyag. 468,497), *dukkhāṇ' antakaro* = *duḥkhānām antakarah* (Uttar. 1005), *siddhāṇ' ogāhaṇā* = *siddhānām avagāhanā* (Ovav. 171), *paḍham' ittha* = *prathamam-atra* (Kappas. Th. §9), *im' eṇārūvaṃ* = *imametadrūpaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,24; Kappas. §94), *im' erisaṃ aṇāyāraṃ* = *imamīdrśamanācāraṃ* (Dasav. 626,27); JM. *moriṇvamaṇsāṇ' amhaṇ* = *mauryavamaṇsānāmasmākam* (Āv. 8,17), *im' erisaṃ* = *imamīdrśam* (Āv. 25,26). Almost all the examples are found in verses. In the very frequent AMg. *no in' atṭhe samatṭhe* (Sūyag. 852.986.992; Paṇnav. 366; Nāyādh. 570; Vivāhap. 37.44.46ff.79.106.112ff.204; Ovav. § 69,74; Uvās. s.v. *samatṭha*), beside *no inam atṭhe samatṭhe* (Ovav. §94) "that is not the case" *in'* is to be taken, with Hc.3,85, as the nom. sing. of the neuter, which, otherwise also in AMg. (§357), is connected with the masculine.¹ Very rarely a final vowel has dropped off in other dialects, as in Ś. *etth' antare* (Mṛcch. 40,23; also in JM. Erz. 17,30); Mg. *tav' edeṇa* = *tavaitena* (Mṛcch. 12,19) in the verse.

1. Not correctly WEBBER, Bhag. 1,409, where occurs a collection on the *saṃdhi* from Vivāhap., E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 50, HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation, note 107. Cf. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,344f.

§174. In AMg. the final vowels of *api* and *iti*, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the *saṃdhi* prescribed in Skt.: *appa* = *apy* fuses with *eka* and **ekatyā* into one word, as in Pāli: *appege* = **apyekah* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), *appege* = **apyeke* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), *jaṃsi, taṃsi ppege* = *yasmin tasminn *apyeke* (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial *vi ege* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), *vi ee* (Uttar. 1016), and *v' ege* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 234), *v' ee* (Vivāhap. 101.180), *v' eg' evam āhaṃsu* = **apyeka evam āhuḥ* (Sūyag. 240), *evam p' ege* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1.2), *puvvaṃ p' ejaṃ pacchā v'* [so to be read] *ejam* = *pūrvama-pyetaṭpaścādapyetat* (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); AMg. *appegaijā* = Pāli *appekacce* = **apyekatyāḥ* (Ovav.); also in JM. *io pp' eva* = *ito ppyeva* (Āv. 19,23). Likewise *iti*: AMg. *iccāi* = *ityādi* (Kappas. § 196ff.); *icceva* (Āyār. 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 557), *iccev' ege* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), *iccevaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *iccee* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7.4,7; 1,5,4,5), *icceehim* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *iccejāo iccejāsīm* (Āyār. 2,1,11,10.11), *iccejāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In Ś. Mg. *nu*, before *etad* becomes *nv* and then fuses with it in a word: Ś. *evam* (ēvaṃ) *ṇedaṃ* = *evam ṇetat* (Mṛcch. 22,16; 57,20; Śak. 2,5; 45,13; 71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), *kiṃ ṇedaṃ* = *kiṃ ṇetat* (Mṛcch. 3,2; 27,17; 40,17; 54,15; 60,4; 97,14; 117,17; 169,20; 171,4; 172,22; Vikr. 25,18; 31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 40,8; 134,17; 171,5), and against the dialect (§429) *taṃ ṇidaṃ* = *tannvidam* (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial *a* in verses, after *e*, *o*, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. *piō' jja* = *priyo' dya* (H. 137); AMg. *āsine' nelisaṃ* = *āsino' nīdrśam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *phāse' hiyāsae* = *sparśānadyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), *se' bhinnā' dāmasaṇe* = *so' bhinnātmadarśanaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), *sisam se' bhitāvajanti* = *śīrasamasyābhitāpyanti* (Sūyag. 280., *se' nutappai* = *so' nutappyate* (Sūyag. 226), *uvasante' ṇihe* = *upaśānto' ṇihaḥ* (Sūyag. 365), *tippamāno' hiyāsae* = *trpyamāno' dhyāsayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), *inamo' bbavi* = *idamabravīt* (Sūyag. 259), *ābhogao' ibahuso* = *ābhogato' tibahuṣaḥ* (Jīyak. 44), *bālo' varajjhaḥ* = *bālo' parādhyate* (Dasav. 624,32); Mg. *snāde' haṃ* = *snāto' haṃ* (Mṛcch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of *a* occurs in the standing formula AMg. *ṇamo' tthu ṇaṃ* = *namo' stu nūnam* (§498) and in JM. in *aham*, as in *tīe' haṃ* = *tasyāmaham* (Erz. 12,22), *tao' haṃ* = *tato' haṃ*, *jāo' haṃ* = *jāto' haṃ* (Erz. 9,36; 53,34). In AMg., seldom in JM.M., in poetry, initial *a* too frequently drops off even after vowels other than *e*, *o*. Thus after *ā* in *pajjijjamāṇā' ṭṭataram* = *pāyyamānā' ārtataram* (Sūyag. 282); after *i* in *jāijjā-rāmaraṇehi' bhidduā* = *jātijārāmaraṇairabhidrutah* (Sūyag. 156), *ciṭṭhanti' bhitappa-*

mānā=*tiṣṭhantya**bbhitapyamānā* (Sūyag. 274), *sūlāhi* *'bbhitāvayanti*=*sūlābhir* *abhi-tāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280.289), *jāvanī* *'vijjāpurisā*=*yāvanto* *'vidyāpuruṣāḥ* (Uttar. 215), *novalabhāmi* *'haṁ*=*noḥalabhhe* *'haṁ* (Uttar. 575), *cattāri* *'bhōjjāim*=*catvāry-abhojjāni* (Dasav. 626,6), *jai* *'haṁ*=*yadyahaṁ* (Dasav. 641,21), as M. too has (R. 15,88), *aguṇehi* *'sāhū*=*aguṇairasādhūn* (Dasav. 637,3); after *i* in AMg. *veṇaraṇi* *'bbhiduggā*=*vaitaranyabbhidurgā* (Sūyag. 270), *lahai* *'bbhidugge*=*labhate* *'bbhidurge* (Sūyag. 277), *jaṁsī* *'bbhidugge*=*yasminnabbhidurge* (Sūyag. 287.297 [°*duggaṁsi*]), *nadī* *'bbhiduggā* (Sūyag. 297); after *u* in JM. *dosu* *'bhiggaho*=*dvayorabbhigrahaḥ* (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal sound, as in AMg. *kahaṁ* *'bbhitāvā*=*kathamabbhitāpāḥ* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇaraṇiṁ* *'bbhiduggaṁ*=*vaitaraṇimabbhidurgām* (Sūyag. 270), *vajjanāṁ* *'bhiuñje*=*vacana-mabhiyuñje* (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is *tesim* *'lie* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for which, according to the commentators, we have to write *tesim* *antie*. Cf. §171.172.173. Even vowels, other than *a*, sometimes drop off in AMg. after *e*, *o*; so *i* in *je* *'me* for *je ime*=*ya ime* (Sūyag. 454), *je* *'ha* for *je iha*=*ya iha* (Sūyag. 304); *e* in AMg. *akāriṇo* *'ttha*=*akāriṇo* *'tra* (Uttar. 290), *anno* *'ttha*=*anyo* *'tra* (Uttar. 791), M. *ko* *'ttha* (H. 364), and after the weakened nasal sound in M. JM. *kiṁ tha*=*kiṁ e'ttha*=*kim atra* (H. s.v. *tha*; Āv. 26,9).

m) EPENTHESIS

§176. The separation vowel *i* in the sound-group *ry* (§134) has sometimes made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an *a*, *ā* of the same become fused into *e*: M. AMg. *acchera*, AMg. JM. *accheraja*, AMg. *accheraga*, beside M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. *aścala*, dialectically *accharijja* and *acchaara*=*āścarya* (§138) also; M. *kera*=*kārya*¹ (belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kāṁsav. 52,11, *keram* (on account of; Kāvya-prakāśa 28,7), Ś. *amhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 19,9), *tumhakera* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 104,6), *parakera* (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. *keraka*, *kerāa* (Mrcch. 4,3;38,3;53,20;63,16;64,19;65,10,11;68,11;74,8;153,2; Śak. 96,10;155,9; Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16;44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kāṁsav. 50,11); also in Ā. *keraka* (Mrcch. 100,18); femin. Ś. *kerikā* *keriā* (Mrcch. 88,24 [read *kerika tti*]; 90,14;95,6; Viddhaś. 83,4), also in Ā. *kerikā* (Mrcch. 104,9); Ś. *parakeraattana*=**parakāryatvana* (Mālatim. 215,3); Mg. *kelaka*, *kela* (Mrcch. 13,9;37,13;40,9;96,21,22;97,3;100,20;112,10;118,17;119,5; 122,14,15 [read *kelakāim*]; 130,10;132,2;133,2;146,16;152,6;173,9; Śak. 116,11;161,7), also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where *bhaṭṭālakakelakehim*, according to II, 34.115, is to be read; femin. *kelikā*, *keliā* (Mrcch. 21,21; 132,16; [read *kelikāe*]; 139,16 [read *kelikā*]; 164,3,8;167,3,21); A. *kera* (Hc. 4,422.373), *kerāa* (Hc. 4,359.373); M. AMg. Ś. *peranta*=*pariyanta* (Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58;2,65.93; Ki. 1,4;2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāṇyāl. 173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11;567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 103,3;118,6;248,5; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2;67,15;76,16;226,3;278,20; 287,9; Anarghar. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10;57,17), AMg. *pariperanta* (Nāyādh. 513.1383ff.; Vivāgas. 107); *bamhacera* (Hc. 1,59;2,63.74,93), AMg. A. *bamhacera* (Hc. 2,74; Āyār. 1,5,2,4;1,6,2,1;1,6,4,1;2,15,24; Sūyag. 81.171.318.643.652.759.866; Vivāhap. 10,135.722.726; Dasav. 618,33; Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās.; Ovav. §69; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. 3,24), beside *bamhacaria* (Hc. 2,63.107)=*brahmacarya*; AMg. JM. *merā*=*maryā*² (frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5;2,3,1,13;2,5,1,2;2,6,1,1; Āv. 47,23,25; Kk.); AMg. *nimmera*=*nirmarya* (Thān. 136.143 [°*ni*°]; Vivāhap. 483.1048; Ovav.), *samera*=*samarya* (Thān. 136 [text *sammera*]. 143); AMg. JM. *pāḍihera*=Pāli *pāṭihāriya*=*prātihārya*³ (Vivāhap. 1047.1189; Ovav.; Āv. 14,2), JM. *pāḍiherattana* (Āv. 13,25); AMg. *pariheraga*=*pari-*

-*hāryaka* (Ovav.); M. Ś. *sundera*=*saundarya* (§84). On *ukera* see §107, on *dera*, §112. Isolated is Mg. *ṣeṇam* from **ṣaṇiam* (Mrcch. 134,24) =M. Ś. *saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*=Pāli *sanikam* (§84). Epenthesis of *u* occurs in AMg. *pora*=*parvan* from **paurva*- (Āyār.2,1,8,11).

1. PISCHEL, IA. 2,121ff.; 366ff.; on Hc. 2,174. HOERNLE, JASB. 41,1, 124ff.; IA. 2,210 ff. Comp. Gr. §377 and BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,281 ff. derive the word from *kyta*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *nimmera*. Hc. and Triv. derive it from *mirā*.—3. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.

n) ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

§177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMg. *miri*=*mārici* (Jiv.542; Pañhāv. 254 [text °*riya*]; Ovav. [§38]. 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. §122), *samirīya*=*samaricika* (Samav.211 [text °*ma*°]; Ovav.); AMg. *miriṣa*=*marica* (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Pañnav. 531); M. *avarim*=*upāri*; M. *avahoḍsa*, *avahovāsa*=**ubathahpārśva* (§212), *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (§ 123); *bhamāyā* beside M. *bhumā*, AMg. *bhumāyā*=**bhruvakā* (§124); M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu*; AMg. *usu*=*i'su*, *susu*=*śisu* (§117); AMg. *puhutta*=*prthaktva* beside *puhatta* (§78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMg. *niuramba*=*nikuramba* (Ovav.) and AMg. *niurumba*=*nikurumba* (Samav. 211; Ovav.), beside *sarisiva*=*sarīṣva* there are often found the variants *sirisiva*, *sirisiva* (§81). M. Ś. *siṇa*=*svapna* (Vr. 1,3;3,62; C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259;2,108; Kī. 1,2;2,59; Mk. fol. 5.29; H. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6;17,1.2), M. Ś. *siṇā*=*svapnaka* (H. 2,186; H.; Karp.75,4; Lalitav.554,21.22;555,1; Vikr.24,17; Mālav.62,5; Mālatim. 179,9; Bālar 238,14; Karp.70,3.11.12;71,1;73,4; Veniṣ.18,13.20.21; Nagān. 12,11;13,4;23,3; Kārṇas. 16,9.12); M. *paḍisiṇā*=*pratisvapnaka* (Karp. 75,5); *siṇa* (C. 3,15^a p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), beside AMg. JM. *suṇa* Sūyag, 838ff; Vivāhap. 943ff. 1318ff.; Uttar. 249.456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A *suṇa* (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* (Hc.1,46; Thān. 567; Nandis. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhap. 947.1318; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), JM. *suṇaga*, *sumiṇaga* (Erz.)=*svapnaka* (§133.152.248). The forms like *kilimmi*, *kilimmihi*, *kilinta* beside *kilamma*, *kilanta* are not to be considered as correct with S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. *kilissai*². On future forms like *bhavissidi* see § 520.

1. ZDMG. 32,107.—2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,328 f. Cf. §136.

3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§178. Beside anusvāra, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of anusvāra and the other by that of Anunāsika. The distinction between anusvāra and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in -*hiṃ*, beside which -*hi*, -*hi* are used. Ś. *devehim* (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic *devēbhiḥ*, which I regard as correct; so a nasal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as=*θεσ'οφιν*¹, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, anusvāra is more probable. Likewise a nasal vowel will have to be assumed in cases, like *aggim*=*agnih* beside *aggi* and *vāum*=*vāyuh* beside *vāu* (§72), on the other hand anusvāra, for example, in the genitive plural *devānam*, beside which occur also *devānā* and *devāna*, exactly as *devehī*, *devehi*, has to be assumed. In adverbs like *uvarim* beside *uvari*=*upari* anusvāra is probable, and in *bāhim*=*bahiḥ*, a nasal

vowel. In words where *m̐* may be traced back to *n*, *m* I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.²

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §223.224.

§179. As in the Veda¹, so in Pkt. too, the anunāsika, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write *jāi vaṇṇāi*, the Bombay edition, *jāṇi vaṇṇāṇi*, whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands *jāi vaṇṇāi* which does not, as WEBER thinks², go against the metre, since ardhacandra³ never makes position. In Śak.116,3 in Mg. we have *śaṭlāṇaṁ muhaṁ=svakulāṇāṁ mukham*, the MS. Z reads *saṇṇāṇaṁ muhaṁ=svajanāṇāṁ mukham*; according to Hc. 4,300 there should be read *śaṇṇāṇaṁ muhaṁ*, which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Ki.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in *yamunā* the *m* drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of anunāsika: *jāṇṇā*. The manuscripts and the texts write in M.AMg. *jāṇṇā* only, in Ś. *jamuṇā* (§251). In the Sattasāi, the manuscript *ψ* sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place⁴. For Apabhraṁśa Hc.4,397 teaches entry of *ṽ* for *m*, e. g. *kaṽḷaḷu* beside *kamalu=kalamam*. The manuscripts ordinarily write *mv*. Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.

1. MAX MÜLLER on the Rgvedaprātiśākhya 64; WEBER on the Vājasaneyiprātiśākhya 4.9.13.—2. On H.651.—3. So I take, with WEBER, H. p. 4, the mark for anunāsika. Wrongly equate B.-R. s.v. according to WEBER, Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upanishad (Berlin 1864), p. 334, ardhacandra=anusvāra. The name for the sign for anusvāra is bindu, as has been said in the preceding and following paragraphs.—4. WEBER, H. p. 4; cf. on H. 274.289.292.489.507.548.556.572.597 and *γ* on 5.

§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables *-im̐*, *-hiṁ*, *-um̐*, *-hum̐*, *-ham̐*, at the end of a pada, according to Saṁgītaratnākara *-hum̐*, *-im̐* in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṁgītaratnākara 4,55.56; Piṅgala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. WEBER¹ in this case wishes to irradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.² Sh. P. PAṆḌIT in his edition of the Gāḍavaha puts a sign of shortness over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 *aṅgaṁ viṇhuṇo*, *bhariaṁ va*, and with the same end DURGĀ PRASĀD; ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, in their editions of the Sattasāi, of Rāvaṇavaha, of Piṅgala and of Karpūramañjarī, have employed ardhacandra.³ BOLLESEN⁴ even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which WEBER⁵ rightly rejects. Hc.3,7.26 teaches *-hi*, *-hī*, *-hiṁ* and *-i*, *-im̐* and the MS. R^u of the Rāvaṇavaha tends to write *-i*, *-hī* when a short is requisite.⁶ Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, as *tihī tihī saehiṁ*, *chahī purisaehiṁ nikkhanto*, *savejyātoranehī uvavejyā=tribhiṁ tribhiḥ śataih*, *śadbhiḥ puruṣaśatair niṣkrāntaḥ*, *savedikātoranaiḥ upetāḥ*. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in *m̐*, as is the case in Samav. at two of the places adduced. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example *sālaṁkarāṇā gāhāṇaṁ* (H.3); *silummūliāi kūlāim̐* (H. 355); *tumhehī uvēkkhio* (H.420) *pasāhiāi aṅgaṁ* (H.578); *paṇḍū salilāi* (G. 577); *vevirapaoharāṇaṁ disāṇā taṇumajjhāṇaṁ*. . . *nimiliāi muhāim̐* (R.6,89) *dhūsarāi muhāim̐* (R.8,9); *khaṇacumbiābhamarehī uḥa suumārakeṣarasihāim̐* (Śak.2,14). ardhacandra has to be written also in

cases like *tanāim sōttuṁ dinnāñ jāi* (H.379), *jai vaanār* (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc. (§179); further in cases like *A. taruhū vi* (Hc.4,341,2); *atthe hū satthe hū hatthe hū vi* (Hc.4,358,1); *mukkāhā vi* (Hc. 4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of *vi* there would have to stand *pi* after it. *m* always makes position, which *~* never does (§348.350).⁷

1. On H. 3.—2. As S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX. Against him KLATT, ZDMG. 33,451f.—3. Cf. on Hc. 1,2, note 3.—4. On Vikr. p. 521, note; p. 521f., note.—5. On H. 481.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX, note 2.—7. The nasal vowel uttered with bindu is more strongly nasalized than that indicated by ardhacandra. BOPP was not wrong to the extent assigned by BERGAIGNE (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 2,204, Note 1.

§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMg. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. *ajjam* (H.R.) beside *ajja=adya*; AMg. JM. *iham* beside *iha=iha* (Hc. 1,24; Āyār. 1,1,3,7; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.)¹, also *ihayam* (Hc. 1,24); AMg. JM. *isim* beside M. Ś. *isi* (§102); AMg. JM. *pabhiim=prabhrti* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *uppiim*, M. AMg. JM. *uvarim*, M. *avarim*, beside M. JM. Ś. *uvari*, Mg. *uvali=upari* (§123.148); AMg. *saim=sakt* (Āyār. 2,1, 1,5; Uttar. 201.235), *asaim=asakt* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. *jugavam+jugapat* (Ṭhāṇ. 227; Vivāhap. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881. 1032; Ovav.); AMg. *javam, tavam=yavat, tavat* (Vivhāp. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyāl. 224; G.; Āyār. 2,7,2,1; 2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]; Erz.), also in *bāhimsalla=bahiśśalya* (Ṭhāṇ. 314) and *bāhimhinto* (Ṭhāṇ. 408) and in AMg. *pāum=prāduh* (§341) and *muhum=muhuh* (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, *bāhim* should be equated as=*bāhyam* according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches *bahim* as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate *bāhim* from *bahim*. Cf. also *saññicāra* (§84) and §349.

1. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 217.

§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final *a* in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems (Hc. 1,27); *sabbhāveṇam=sabbhāvena* (H. 286); *paruṇṇeṇam muheṇam=praruditena mukhena* (H. 354); *samaavaseṇam=samayavaṣena* (H. 398); *°loaṇeṇam, °seṇam=°locanena, °svedena* (H. 828); *kavāḍantareṇam=kapātāntareṇa* (G.212); *pañjareṇam* (G.301); *°visaṇseṇam=°viśadāmsena* (R.3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMg. JM. So AMg. *teṇam kāleṇam teṇam samaeṇam=tena kālena tena samayena* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,1,6.17.22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §1.4.6; Ovav. § 1.15.16.23ff.; Kappas. § 1.2.14 etc.); AMg. *samaṇeṇam bhagavāyā mahāvireṇam=śramaṇena bhagavatā mahāvireṇa* (e.g. Nāyādh. § 8 [where, in addition, 21 instrumental forms in *-ṇam* follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. § 2.78.91]), *kohēṇam māṇeṇam lobheṇam=krodhena mānena lobhena* (Vivāhap. 85), *sakkeṇam devindeṇam devaraṇṇeṇam=śakreṇa devendreṇa deva-rājena* (Nāyādh. 852), *paravāgaraṇeṇam=paravyākaraṇena* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4; 1,7, 2,3), *hiraṇṇeṇam=hiranyena* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3); JM. *vaccanteṇam=vrajatā, vaddeṇam saddeneṇam=vadrena śabdena, uppaheṇam=utpathena, sureṇam=sureṇa* (Āv. 11,19; 23,14; 36,32.37), *saṇamkumāreṇam nāyāmaccavuttanteṇam kovam uvagaṇam=sanatkumāreṇa jñātāmātyavṛttāntena kopam upagatena* (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. *āṇupuvveṇam=āṇupūvyeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; 1,7,7,5; [āṇu°]; Nirayāv. § 13; Nāyādh. §118 [āṇu°]) *parampareṇam* (Kappas. S. § 27); AMg. JM. *suheṇam=sukhena* (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.

majjhenam=*madhyena* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Niraṣāv.; Vivāhap. 236; Ovav. §17).¹ In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter Vr. 5,26 teaches the ending -i : *vaṇāi, dahii, mahūi*=*vanāni dadhīni, madhūni*, Mk. fol. 43: -im: *vaṇāim dahūim, mahūim*, Kī. 3,28 beside -im in *dhaṇāim, jaṣāim, dahūim* and according to the opinion of some in *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* with anusvāra even before the ending, Hc.3,26, ī -, -im. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only -im, so AMg. *se jḡāim kulāim=sa yāni kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2) beside *kulāni* (§ 367); JM. *pañca egūṇāim addāgasajāim...pakkhittāim=pañca-ikonāny ādarśasatāni...prakṣiptāni* (Āv. 17,15); Ś. *rāarakkhidāim tavovaṇāim=rājarakṣitāni tapovanāni* (Śak. 16,13); Mg. *°śavalāim duṣṣagandhiāim civalāim=°śabalāni dūṣyagandhikāni civarāni* (Mrcch. 113,22); Dh. *bhūdāim suvaṇṇāim=bhūtāni suvarṇāni* (Mrcch.36,21). In verses -i is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. Hc. points to ī, and in Vr. 5 26 -i is probably a false reading for -im. The statement in Kī. 3,28, that some scholars required -im before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* instead of *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* given in the text, corresponding to AMg. *mahamāsa* for *mahanta+aśva=mahāśva* (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in -su, also in -sum, which preponderates in Ś.Mg. (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in -i, -u has frequently -im, as in *dahim, mahim* beside *dahi, mahu* (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in -am; according to Hc. 3,25 some taught also *dahī, mahū*. Beside *mama* M. AMg. JM. have *mamam* (§418; H.; Vivāgas. §121.122; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv.72,28). In the imperative in -hi the presses, according to the MSS.,² print, often wrongly -him for -hi (e. g. Āyār. 2,1,5,5 *paribhāhim*, read °hi; p. 126,7 *pavattehim*, read *pavattehi*; Nāyādh. 144; Vivāhap. 612.613 *bhuñjāhim*, read °hi; Kappas. §114 *jīṇāhim*, read °hi, *vasāhim*, read °hi, *nihanāhim*, read °hi; Vivāhap. 612.613 *śalajāhim*, read °hi). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of meter, as in *devamānāgasuvanna=devanāgasuparṇa* (Hc. 1,26); AMg. *chandamniroheṇa=chandonirodhena* (Uttar. 195). Compounds like M. *uvarimdhūmanivasa=uparidhūmaniveśa* (G. 140), AMg. *uvarimpuñchanō=uparipucchinayah* (Rāyap. 108; text °pucchanū), according to §181, AMg. *tiriyamvāya=tiryagvāta, tiriyambhāgi=tiryagbhāvin* (Sūyag. 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in -enam, perhaps both the Vedic instr. forms *ghanēnā* and *tējanēnā* are to be compared (LANMAN, Noun-Inflection p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in -enā (LANMAN, l.c. p. 332).—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 58, note 9.

§183. Final *n* and *m* as a rule become anusvāra, which in AMg. M. JM. often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, *r, h* a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§ 89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel (§ 72.173.175.350).

B. THE CONSONANTS.

I. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITIONS.

1. GENERAL REMARKS RELATING TO WHOLE OR SEVERAL CLASSES.

§184. Initial consonants, other than *n*, *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186.188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel¹: *M. paāsei* = *prakāśayati* (G.); *bhamaraūla* = *bhramarakula* (H. 668) beside *mahuarakula* = *madhukarakula* (G. 468); *āiṇṇa* = *ākīrṇa* (G.), *pāiṇṇa* = *prakīrṇa* (G.H.R.); *āaa* (H.) beside common *āgaā* (G.H.R.) = *āgata*; *vasahāindha* = *vṛṣabhacihna* (G.) beside *anumarāṇamaṇḍaṇacindha* (G. 479); *karaala* = *karatala* (H. 170) beside *calaṇatala* = *caraṇatala* (R. 9,37); *waīsai* = *upadiśati* (H.); *avasāria* = *apasārita*, *vihlavasāria* = *vihvalaprasārita* (R. 1,1;13,27), and so against §189 also PG. *anuvaṭṭhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (7,45)²; *gahavāi* = *grhāpati* (H.); *vaṃsavatta* = *vaṃśapattra* (H. 676) beside *aṅkollapatta* (H. 313); *Ś. ajjāutta* = *āryaputra* (e.g. *Mṛcch.* 53,18) beside *Mg. ayyapuliśa* = *āryapuruṣa* (*Mṛcch.* 132,23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become *h*: *M. vālahilla* = *vālakhilya* (G.), *raīhara* = *ratighara* (H.), *jalahara* = *jaladhara* (G.H.R.), *muttāhala* = *muktāphala* (G.), *thanahara* = *stanabhara* (H.), beside *M. sarisavakhala* = *sarśapakhala* (Hc.1,187), *palāgghana* = *pralāyaghana* (R.5,22), *vammahadhaṇu* = *manmathadhanu* (R. 1,29), *ṇimbaphala* (H.248), *rakkhābhuaṅga* = *rakṣābhujāṅga* (G.178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind p oeritics after vowels are treated as in inlaut: *Ś. Mg. D. adha im* = *atha kim* (e.g. *Ś. Mṛcch.* 17,24;60,6;67,11; *Mg. Mṛcch.* 14,7;22,1;118,2.4.6.25; *D. Mṛcch.* 101,3); *M. Ś. Mg. D.Ā.A. CP. (Hc. 4,326) a*, *AMg. JM. JŚ. ya* = *ca*; *M. ira* = *kira* = *Skt. kila* (Vr.9,5; Hc.2,186; G.R.); *M. JM. Ś. Mg. uṇa* = *punar*, in the sense of "now", "however" (Hc. 1,65.177; *Mk. fol.* 39; G.H.R.; *Āv.* 8,33; *Erz.*; *Kk.*; *Ś. e.g. Mṛcch.* 9,8;13,22;25,1;29,6 etc.; *Mg. e.g. Mṛcch.* 14,22;38,8;43,4;127,24 etc.) also after anusvāra, like *M. Ś. kim uṇa* = *kim punar* (H.25.417;R.3,28.32;4,26;11,26; *Mṛcch.* 3,20;18,3; *Prab.* 15,9;38,6;42,6); *M. enhiṃ uṇa* = *idāniṃ punar* (H. 307), *hiāniṃ uṇa* = *hṛdayaṃ punar* (H. 660); *Ś. sampadaniṃ uṇa* = *sāmprataniṃ punar* (*Mṛcch.* 18,23), *ahaniṃ uṇa* (*Mṛcch.* 25,14); *tassiṃ uṇa* = *tasmin punar* (*Vikr.* 35,5), *kadham uṇa* = *katham punar* (*Vikr.* 73,14); *Ś. Mg. kinimittaniṃ uṇa* (*Mṛcch.* 88,16;151,2; *Mg.* 19,5); *vi* = *api* (§143); *M. na vahuttaniṃ* = *na prabhūtam* (R. 3,57) for the sake of assonance³, beside *apahutta* (H.277.436). In A. the secondary *pa*, originating from *tva* (§300) as well, is treated in the absolute, as in *pekkheviṇu*, *pekkhevi*, *pekkhivi* = **prekṣitvi*, *bhanivi* = **bhanitvi*, *piavi* = **pibatvi*, *ramevi* = **ramayitvi* (§588). *M.A. navara*, *navaram*, *JM. navaram*, (*Erz.*; *Rṣabhap.*) "only" (Vr.9,7; Hc.2,187; G.H.R.; Hc.4,377.401,6 [so to be read]), *P. GOLDSCHMIDT*⁴ conjectures = *na param*, hardly rightly, as the anusvāra appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of *M. A. navari* (Vr.9,8; Hc.2,188; G.H.R.; Hc.4,423,2), *JM. navari* (*Pāṇal.* 17; *Erz.*; *Kk.*) "thereon", "so forth" from *na pare*, against which is the *i* (§85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the *ja*, after *na* in *jñā* in all the dialects; *AMg. JM.* have *ja* more often as in inlaut (§170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. FISCHER, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—

3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping off of the initial consonant in cases, like *o'vvaṇāim* for *jō'vvaṇāim* (R. 7,62), *ṇa ṇaṇā* for *ṇa dīṇā* (R. 8,61), *aṇehim* for *jāṇehim*, *ūraṇ* for *dūraṇ* (R. 8,65). The other places mentioned by S. GOLDSCHMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have "better and weightier" readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573, note; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32.105.

§185. In *tāvat*, *tu*, *te* "your", "to you", "thine" and "these" *t* becomes *d* dialectically. Hc. 4,262.302.323 mentions the transition in *tāvat* for Ś. Mg. P. In Ś. Mg. it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in Ś. *ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), Mg. *ciṭṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 9,24;114,12)=*tiṭṭha tāvat*; Ś. Mg. D. *mā dāva*=*mā tāvat* (Mṛcch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); Ś. *uṇehi dāva*=*uṇanaya tāvat* (Mṛcch. 61,10); Mg. *yāṇāhi dāva*=*jāṇihi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 80,21); Ś. *ciṭṭhadu dāva*, Mg. *ciṭṭhadu dāva*=*tiṭṭhatu tāvat* (Vikr. 34,5; Mṛcch. 167,21); Ś. *ajjuāe dāva*=*āryāyai tāvat* (Mṛcch. 94,7); *tumhe dāva*=*yusme tāvat* (16,20); Ś. Mg. *Ā. ido dāva*=*itastāvat* (Mṛcch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,20); Ś. *aṇāṇaṇ dāva* (Ratn. 298,13); *daṭṭṣaṇ dāva*=**dayiṣyāmi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 35,8); Ś. Mg. *ēvvaṇ dāva*=*evaṇ tāvat* (Mṛcch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in M. (H.R.), but very seldom without the variant reading *tāva*, as in R. 3,26.29, so that for M., as for AMg. JM., *tāva* only will be correct, which in Ś. Mg. as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.¹ On M. *dā* see §150.—*tu* (however) has become *du* in JŚ. after vowels (Pav. 381,18.20;384,58;385,64; Kattig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains *tu* (Pav. 382,23), as also in M. (G. 947), AMg. (Sūyag. 188.414.429.437.439.497), JM. (Āv.19,32;20,8) Ś. (Vikr.40,20), D. (Mṛcch. 325,19). Except in JŚ. *tu* is rare in all the dialects, it occurs more frequently in Ś. only in *kiṇ tu* (Mṛcch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9;73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write *kiṇ du*². The *u*, that occurs in M. (G.964) JM. (Āv.7,38;8,1 [yu];19,30.34;20,1.3.7; Erz.; Kk.) and especially in AMg. (e. g. Sūyag. 50.170.204.297.312.316.330.403.406.410.415.416.465 etc.; Uttar. 43.219.295.312ff. 329f.353; Dasav. 622,11.27; Niraṣāv. §2; throughout in the verse) is to be derived neither with Sh. P. PANḌIT³ and JACOB⁴ from *tu*, nor with WARREN⁵ from *ca*, but it is=*u*, that occurs also in M. *kiṇ u* (Karp. 78,9.13.14).—*te* of the pronoun of the second person, in Ś. Mg. *Ā. D.* after vowels or anusvāra becomes *de*. So Ś. *ṇa de*=*na te* (Śak. 65,10), *aṇubhava dāva de* (Śak. 67,12), *mā de* (Vikr. 6,17), *kā vi de* (Mṛcch. 5,2), *parihādi de*=*parihīyate te* (Śak. 91,5), *sutṭhu de*=*susthu te* (Mṛcch. 29,14), *amadaṇ khu de*=*amṛtaṇ khalu te* (Vikr. 9,11), *eso de* (Mṛcch. 7,3), *kudo de* (Mṛcch. 36,7), *piduṇo de*=*pituste* (Mṛcch. 95,15; so to be read with the v.l. in GODABOLE, p. 271), *sādaṇ de*=*svāgṛtaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 3,6), *jaṇ de*=*yate te* (Mṛcch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), *mantidaṇ de*=*mantritaṇ te* (Vikr. 44,9); Ś. *matthaṇ de*, Mg. *mastaṇ de*=*mastakaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 18,5;21,22); Mg. *ede vi de*=*ete pi te* (=tvām; Mṛcch. 128,12) *tado de*=*tatas te* (Prab. 50,14), *paṇṇaṇ de*=*praṇṇaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 80,18), *ēvvaṇ de*=*evaṇ te* (=tvām; Mṛcch. 128,14); Ā. *pidā vi de*=*pitāpi te*, *jadi de*=*yadi te* (Mṛcch. 104,17;105,3); D. *ahinṇānaṇ de*=*abhijñānaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in M. also. Without a v.l. are found *vi de*=*api te* (H.737); *vva de*=*iva te* (R. 4,31); *pariaṇeṇa de*=*parijanena te* (R. 4,33); *pi de* (R. 11,83), *a de*=*ca te* (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has *te*, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. *de*; R. s.v. *tu*)

so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms *te* (these) also becomes *de* in Ś.Mg. (§425). So also M. *jālā de* = **yāt kālāt te* (Dhvanyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. *dāvai*=*tāpayati* see §275.

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p.125; BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 369. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,262; BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. p.122.—2. Cf. §275.—3. G. s. v.—4. Erz. s. v.—5. Nirayāv. s.v.

§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic *k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d* usually, *p*, *b*, *v* sometimes, and *y*, except in PG.VG. P. CP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; Kī 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *loa*=*loka*; *saala*=*sakala* (H.R.); *sua*=*śuka* (H.R.); *amurāa*=*anurāga*; *juala*=*yugala*; *naara*=*nagara* (G.H.); *turaa*=*turaga* (G.R.); *ṇārāa*=*nārāca* (R.); *paūra*=*prapura* (H.); *vii*=*vici* (G.R.); *gaa*=*gaja*; *nia*=*nija*; *bhoṇa*=*bhojana* (H.); *raaa*=*rajata* (R.); *kaanta*=*kṛtānta* (G.R.); *ṇāmba*=*nītamba*; *rasāala*=*rasātala* (G.R.); *gaā*=*gadā* (R.); *pāa*=*pāda*; *maṇa*=*madana* (H.R.); *hīaa*=*hṛdaya*; *niṇa*=*nipuna* (H.R.); *riu*=*ripu*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *alāu*, *lāi*=*alābū* (§141); *viuha*=*vibudha* (Hc.); *chāā*=*chāyā*; *pia*=*priya*, *vioa*=*viyoga* (H.R.); *jia*=*jīva*; *diaha*=*divasa*; *lāaṇa*=*lāvanya* (G.); *vaḷaṇa*=*vaḍavānala* (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly articulated *ya* (*laghuprayatnatara yakāra*) is uttered, that is indicated in this grammar by *ja* (§45; C. 3,35; Hc. 1,180; Kī.3,2). Except in the MSS. written by Jainas this *ja* is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between *a*, and *ā* only, but he recognises also *piyāi*=*pibati* and 1,15 *sariyā*=*Pālisaritā*=*sarit*. Mk. fol. 14 adduces a quotation, according to which *jaśruti* occurs when one of the vowels is either an *a*- or an *i*- sound : *anādāv aditau varṇau paṭhitayau yakāravat iti pāṭhasikṣā*. In Kī. *ja* is generally written only between *a*- sounds, as : 1 *saṇalāṇa*, 9 *paṇā*, 10 *nāya*, *maṇayam pi* (sic), 11 *saṇalam pi* (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an *i*- sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside *ṇi 'a* (9) stands *ṇia* (12); in 14 there is *ija* and in 13, *ṇeya*=*naiva* also. The oldest M. S. write *ja* after all vowels before *a*, *ā* in AMg. JM. JŚ., and for these dialects *ja* is a characteristic.¹ There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as *indija*=*indriya*, *hiya*=*hṛdaya*; *giya*=*gita*; *dihijā*=*dirghikā*; *ruja*=*ruta*; *dūja*=*dūta*; *teja*=*tejas*; *loja*=*loka*. One s.ys, however, only *ei*=*eti*; *loe*=*loke*; *dūo*=*dūtaḥ*, *uiya*=*ucita*, *uūim*=**rtūni*. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jainas erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. JM. JŚ. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. HOFER, ZWS. 3,366; WEBER, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 4 f.; FISCHER, Hc. 1, p. x f.; on 1,180; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,447; JACOBI, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 25,295; STEINTHAL, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except *ch*, *jh*, *th*, *dh*, generally become *h* between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; Kī 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *muha*=*mukha* (G.H.R.)¹; *mehālā*=*mekhalā*; *sāhā*=*sākhā*; *jahana*=*jaghana*; *meha*=*megha*; *rahunāha*=*raghunātha* (R.); *lahua*=*laghuka*; *aha*=*atha*; *jūha*=*yūtha*; *mahumaha*=*madhumathana*; *raha*=*ratha*; *ahara*=*adhara*; *ruhira*=*rudhira* (G.R.); *vahū*=*vadhū*; *sihu*=*sidhu* (G.H.); *sahara*=*śaphara* (G.); *sehālā*=*śephālā* (H.); *ahinava*=*abhinava*; *naha*=*nabhas* and *=nakha*; *rahasa*=*rabhasa*; *sahā*=*sabhā* (R.); *seriha*=*sairibha* (G.H.). On *ph* see further especially § 200.

In the initial syllable transition to *h* is just sporadic: *hammāi* (goes to) with the compounds *ñhammāi*, *ñhammāi*, *āhammāi*, *paḥammāi* (Hc. 4,162), *ñhammāi* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), *M. paḥammānti* (G. 871 v.l.)=*Pāli ghammāti*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāstra², by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. JM. *havaṁ*, JŚ. *havadi*, M. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*=*bhavati*, M. *huvanti*=*bhavanti*, PG. *hoja*, P. *huveyya*=*bhavet*, Mg. *huviadi*=**bhūyate*, Ś. *haviṣṣadi*, Mg. *haviṣṣadi*=*bhaviṣyati*, AMg. JM. *hojāvva*, Ś. Mg. *hodavva*, Mg. *huvidavva*=*bhavitavya*, M. JM. *houm*, JŚ. *hoduṁ*=*bhavitum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has pretty often *h* for *bh*: *haṭṭha*=*bhraṣṭa*; *haṇida*=*bhaṇita*; *haṇiri* for *bhaṇiri*; *haṇḍaṇa*=*bhaṇḍaṇa*; *hamira*=*bhamira*; *hāa*=*bhrātā*; *huaga*, *humaṅga*=*bhujaga*, *bhujāṅga*; *humaā* for *bhumaā*; *hūsaṇa*=*bhūṣaṇa*; *hea*=*bhedā*; *hoṇa*=*bhojana*.³ On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see § 184.

i. Cf. §186, note 1.—Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya i, p. 9,26 ed. KIELHORN; Naighaṇṭuka 2,14 (p. 14,17 ed. Roth=1,238 ed. SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMI); WEBER, IS. 13,363 f.; E. KUHN, Beiträge p.42.—3. WEBER, H. s.v.

§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hoja* (§188), remain unchanged: PG. *ārakhādhikate gumike tūthike*=*ārakṣādhikṛtān gulmikān tīrthikān* (5,5); *udakādīm* (6,29); *jāmātukasa*=*jāmātrkasya* (6,14); *nāganamdisa*=*nāganandinaḥ* (6,25); *patibhāga*=*pratibhāga* (6,12); *mahārājādhiraḥ* (5,1); *appatihata*=*apratihata* (6,19); *varisaṣasahasasātireka*=*varṣaṣasahasasātireka* (7,42); *āpiṭṭi* (6,8,37); *api* (6,37); *parihāpetavva*=*parihāpavāṭavya* (6,37); *pamukhāṇam*=*pramukhāṇam* (6,27,38); *uparilikhitam* (7,44); *atha* (6,40); *tūthike*=*tīrthikān* (5,5); *assamedha*=*atvamedha* (5,1); *narādhama* (7,47); *vasudhādhipataye*=*vasudhādhipatin* (7,44); *oḥobham*=*kṣobham* (6,32); *vallabhamadena* (6,40). Exceptions are *kassava*=*kāśyapa* (6,18); *kāraṇeṇjā*=*Pāli kāraṇeṇjā* (6,40); *anuvaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (§184); *vi*=*api* (5,6;6,29); *bhaḍa*=*bhaṭa* (5,7;7,43); *koḍi*=*koṭi* (6,10); *kaḍa*=*kṛta* (7,51). Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,3 and §10.

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṇāṅkāra 2,12); *anekapa*; *makaraketu*; *sagaraputtavacana*; *viḥayasenena lapitām*; *pāṭaliputta*; *patākā*; *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307); *pāpa*; *āyudha*; *mukha*; *megha*; *sabhā*; *kamaṭha*; *maṭha*. In the initial and medial syllables *da* becomes *ta* (Hc.4,307), according to Nāmisādhū, optionally: *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; *tiṭṭha*=*drṣṭa* (Hc. 4,314, 321,323); *taṭṭhūna*, *taṭṭhūna* (Hc. 4,313,323); *tātisa*=*tādṛśa*, *yātisa*=*yādṛśa* (Hc. 4,317); *teṭi*=**dayati* (Hc. 4,318); *tevara*=*devara* (Hc. 4,324); *matana*=*madana*, *satana*=*sadana*, *patesa*=*pradeśa*, *vatanaḥ*=*vadanaka* (Hc. 4,307).—*tha* becomes *dh* according to Hc.: *adha*=*adha* (Hc. 4,323), *kadhūna*=*kathitvāna* (Hc. 4,312); *pudhuma*=*prathama* (Hc. 4,316); *kadham*=*katham* (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmisādhū it is retained: *pathama*=*prathama*; *puthuvī*=*prthivī*.

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but all medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; Kī, 5,102)¹: *kakana*=*gagana*; *kiritaṭa*=*giritāṭa*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *khata*=*ghṛta* (§ 47); *cāta*=*jāta*; *cimūta*=*jimūta*; *chacchara*=*jharjharā*; *chamkālā*=*jhaṅkāra*; *ṭamaruka*=*ḍamaruka*; *ṭimpa*=*ḍimba*; *ṭhakkā*=*ḍhakkā*; *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; *thūḷi*=*dhūḷi*; *pālaka*=*bālaka*;

pisa=bisa; phakavatī=bhagavatī; phūta=bhūta; nakara=nagara; mekha=meḡha; rāca=rājan; taṭka=taḍga; kāṭha=gāḍha; matana=madana; mathura=madhura; sāthu+sādhu; raphasa=rabhasa. According to Hc. 4,325 and Ki. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in *cacana=Pkt. jajana=Skt. yajana; paṭimā=paḍimā=pratimā; tāṭhā=Pkt. dāḍhā=daṃṣṭrā* (§76). According to Hc. and Ki. conjunct consonants too undergo the change : *tukkā=durgā; makkana=mārḡaṇa, vakkha=vyāghra; caccara=jarjara; nicchara=nirjhara; kaṇṭa=gandā; maṇṭala=maṇḍala; saṇṭha=saṇḍha; kantaṭpa=kandarpa; panthava=bandhava; ṭimpa=ḍimba; ramphā=rambhā.* Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: *gakana=gagana*, against *kakana* in Ki.; *gamana; dasavatana; gopinta=govinda; saṃgāma=samgrāma; vaggha=vyāghra*, against *vakkha* in Hc. Of these *nt* in *gopinta* is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., Ki., as also the examples of Bh. for the inlaut *mekha, rāca, nicchara, vaṭisa=vaḍiṣa, māthava=mādhava, saraphasa, salapha=śalabha.* Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root *yuj* : *gati; ghamma, jīmūta; jhacchara; damaruka; dhakkā; dāmotara; baḷaka; bhakavatī; niyojita* against *niyocita* in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of *va*. Bh. has *gopinta=govinda, kesapa=keśava*, but *vaṭisa=vaḍiṣa, dasavatana=daśa-vadana, māthava=mādhava, vaggha=vyāghra*. In Hc. original *va* is consistently retained : *vakkha=vyāghra; panthava=bāndhava; phakavatī=bhagavatī; vasuthā=vasudhā.* Ki. has 5,108 *pala=vana*, but 5,110 *vaṇṇa=varṇa*, and he retains it also in 5,107 *thvalati=dhvanati, thvalita=dhvanita*². Seemingly *pa* is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary *va*, that originated from *ya* (§254), has become *pa* in P. *hitapa=hrdaya* (Sr. fol. 64), *hitapaka=hrdayaka* (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Ki. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa 2,12; Siṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,3)³. Mk. has *pisesa=viśeṣa* (fol. 86), *kupa ci=kva cid, pisumaa=vismaya* (fol. 87) in the section on Kaikeyapaisācika. On *piva* see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I.II.p.15ff.; IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Ki. by P. is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on *rājan* is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has *rājā*, against *rācā, rācāṇaṃ* in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has *rājāṃ rājā*, against that 4,325 has *rācā* for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. °aggaḷaggapātibimban, luddaṃ samuddā are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, °pātukkhevena is to be corrected to °pena.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to LASSEN, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading *hitaakam* in Vr. (cf. v.l., where *va* has been wrongly read for *pa*) and in Ki. we have to read *hitapakam*.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic *k,t,p* shift to *g,d,b* respectively instead of dropping off, and *kh, th, pha* become *gh, dh, bh* respectively instead of changing into *h* (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: *khaagāli=kṣayakāle* (Hc.4,377); *ṇāagu=nāyakaḥ* (Hc. 4,427); *vicchohagaru=vikṣobhakaram* (Hc.4,396,1); *sughe=sukhe* (Hc.4,396,2); *āgado=āgataḥ* (Hc.4,355.372); *karadi, ciṭṭhadi=karoti, tiṣṭhati* (Hc.4,360); *kīḷadi=kṛīḍati* (Hc.4,442,2); *kṛdantaho=kṛtāntasya* (Hc.4,370,4); *ghaḍadi, praāvadi, ṭhido=ghaṭate, prajāpatih, sthitaḥ* (Hc.4,404); *madi=mati* (Hc.4,372); *viṇimmavidu, kidu, radiē, viḥidu=vinirmāpitam, kṛtam, ratyāḥ, vihitam* (Hc.4,446); *gañjidu, maḷidu, harāvīdu, bhāmīdu, hīmīdu=*gañjitam(=piḍitam; Hc.4,409; cf. Ārya-saptaśati 384.685; Gitagovinda 1,19), marditam, hāritam, bhrāmītam, hīm-*

sitam (Kk. 260,43ff.); *sabadhu*=*śapatham*, *kadhidu*=*kathitam*, *sabhalaññu*=*saphalakam* (Hc. 4,396,3). By far in most cases A. follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A. of Piṅgala always does it except in the case of *madagala*=*madakala* (§ 202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to *h*, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as *kkha*, *ggha*, *cccha*, *jjha*, *tttha*, *ddha*, *tttha*, *ddha*, *ppha*, *bbha* (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: *ārakkhādhikate*¹ *āraksādhikrtān* (5,5); *vadhanike*=*vardhanakān* (6,9); *dakhiṇa*=*daṁṣiṇa* (6,28); *puppha*=*puṣpa* (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: *aggitthoma* [so to be read]=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1); *savattha*=*sarvatra* (5,3); *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5,4); *ēṭtha*=*itthā* (5,7); *vattthavāṇa*=*vāstavyānām* (6,8); *raṭṭhe*=*rāṣṭre* (6,27); *araṭṭha*=*arāṣṭra* (6,32); *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); *cchobham*=*koṣobham* (6,32); *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34); *addhikā*=*ardhakāḥ* (6,39); *anuvaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); *vigghe*=*vighnān* (7,46); *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51). In *abhatthemī*=*abhyarthayāmi* we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Dravidian script from which the Nāgarī manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): *aggha*=or *aogha*=*aggha*=*arghya*; *abhbhatthāṇā* or *aobhaothaṇā*=*abhatthāṇā*=Skt. *abhyarthanā*; *vakhkhaththala* or *vaokhaothala*=*vakṣasthala*. *cha* and *dha* are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodaya, Pūnā śāke 1773 in some aspirates, such as *kha*, e.g. in *rakkhasi*=*rākṣasi* (fol. 13^a); *gha*, e.g. in *ughghādiadi*=*udghātyate* (fol. 12^b); *ṭha*, e.g. in *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (fol. 19^b), *pha*, in *viṭṭhuraṁṭa*=*viṣphurat* (fol. 16^b), *bha*, e.g. in *ṇibbhatsida* (sic!) for *ṇibbhacchida*=*nirbhartsita* (6^a). The edition writes in Sanskrit too *ujjhita* (fol. 13^a). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. PAṆḌIT has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaśīya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example *puchchidum*, *diṭṭhim*, *ṇijjhānti*, *siṇidhham* (Mālav.5), *ubhbhinṇa*, *paththidā* (p.6) etc. also². Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hālā and in isolated cases especially in *bha*, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Paṇhāv. *khokkubh-bhamāṇa* (169.210); *pabhbhaṭṭha* (216); *labhbhā* (363.466); *vibhbhamo* (227.468); *abhbhuṇṇa* (284); in Vivāgas. *tubhbhim* (17); *tubhbham* (20.21); *ukkhhatta* (214); *pāmoḥkkham* (215), *pāmoḥkkhāṇam*, *pāmoḥkkhehim*, *abhbhūgae* (216); in Jiv. *sattakkhutto* (621), *dakkhiṇilla* (842), *savvabhbhan-tarilla* (878f.), *ṇakkhāṇam* (883.886.887), *majjhimiṇyā* (905ff.), *avaḍḍha* (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§ 26).

1. So to be read; see LEUMANN, EI. 2.484.—2. Cf. PAṆḌIT, Mālav.² (Bombay 1889) p. vf.—3. WEBER, Hālā¹ p. 26f.

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming *h*, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. *ukkhā*=*ukhā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMg. *ujju*=*rjū* (§57); A. *keṭṭhu*=*kathā* (§107); JM. *jitta*=*jitā* (Erz. 13,6); AMg. *nijjitta*=*nirjita* (Sūyag. 704); M. *nakkha*, AMg. *nakkha* beside *ṇaha*, *naha*=*nakhā* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 109; H.R.; Uvās.); A. *nimma*=*niyamā* (§149); M. AMg. *ṇollaī*, *nullaī*=*nudāti* (§244); M. *phutṭai*=*sphutṭati* (Hc. 4,177.231; G.H.R.); A. *phutṭi*=*sphuteh* (Hc. 4,357,4), *phutṭisu*=*sphutṭi-syāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12); *phutṭai*=**sphutṭati* (Hc. 4,177,370) beside *phudāi*, *phidāi*; *soḷlaī*=*sūddyati* (§244); *hatta*=*hatā* in *ohatta*=*avahata* (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), *pasuhatta*, *parasuhatta*=*parśuhata*, *paraśuhata* (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. *duritta*=*duritā* (Piṅgala 2,17.35.43 [dūrītā], 186), *mālatti*=*mālatti* (Piṅgala 2,113), *vrattu*=*vratām* (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix *-ka* in M. *śisakka*=*śiṣaka* (R. 15,30); *leḍukka*, *leḍhukka*=*leṣṭuka* (§304); M. JM. S. A. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Mālatim. 288,6; Bālar. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Piṅgala 1,107.121.143^a.152^a [pā°; text *paika*]; 2,138)¹; Mg. *haḍakka*=**hṛdaka* (§150; Vr.11,6; Ki.5,89 [text *hṛdakko*; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *hladakko*]; Mrcch. 79,11; 114,14.16.18; 115,23), in verses also *haḷaka* (Mrcch. 9,25 [Śākāra] and *haḍaka* 30,21); Mg. *hagge*=**ahakaḥ* (§142.417); *aakka* beside *aaga*=*ajaka* (demon; Deśin. 1,6)²; A. *kālikkā*=*kālikā* (Piṅgala 2,43); Ś. °*caccikka*=°*carcika* (Mrcch. 73,15); A. *nāakka*=*nāyaka* (Piṅgala 1,34.57.116), *dīpakka*=*dīpaka* (Piṅgala 1,138), *rūakka*=*rūpaka* (Piṅgala 2,137), *sāraṅgikkā*=*sāraṅgikā* (Piṅgala 2,71 [sa°]. 187). Likewise in the suffix *-ta* in AMg. *viuvvitta*=*vikurvita* (Sūyag.792.806), beside the usual *viuvviya*. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of °*la* in the suffixes *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla*=*alā*, *-ilā*, *-ulā* (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. *paṭmāvatti*=*pādmāvati* and *meṇakkā*=*meṇakā* (Piṅgala 1,116;2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in *ēvvaṃ*=*evām*; *kiddā*=*krīḍā*; *jeṇva*=*evā*; *neḍḍa*=*niḍā*; *tuṇhikka*=*tūṣṇikā*; *teḷḷā*=*tailā*; *ḍugullā*=*dukulā* etc. (§90).³ On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff, on *nihitta*, *vāhitta* §286.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,922), who is followed by WEBER (Hāla² p. xvii) and JACOBI [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix *-ka* were not known to him. My derivation from *pādika* (GGA.1881,1321) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable—2. Cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *ajaka*, and *purilladva*=*asura* (Deśin. 6,55)=*daitya* (Triv. 1,4,121; cf. BB. 13,12).—3. FISCHEL, KZ. 35,140ff.; otherwise JACOBI, KZ. 35,575ff.

§195. If the conjunct consonants are separated by a separation vowel, they must be simplified or be treated according to § 186. 188. Sometimes, however, in this case one of them is doubled according to the rule holding good for conjunct consonants (§131): AMg. *sassiriya*, Ś. *sassiriā*=*saśrika*; Ś. *sassiriādā*, *sassiriattana*=*saśrikatā*, **saśrikatvana* (§98.135)¹; *puruvva*=*pūrva*; *murukka*=*mūrka*; AMg. *riuvveya*=*rgveda* (§139); Ś. *sakka-nomi*, *sakkunomi*=*śaknami*; *sakkaṇodi*, *sakkunodi*=*śaknoti* (§140.505); AMg. *sakkiriya*=*sakriya* (Ovav. §30.II,4b; so to be read with the MSS.); AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla*, JM. *sukkiliya*=*śuklita* (§136). In JM. *namō'kkāra*, M. A. *avarōppara*, M. AMg. JM. S. *parōppara*=*namaskāra*, *aparaspāra*, *paraspara*, as has been changed into *o*, besides *ska* into *kka*, and *spa* into *ppa* (§306. 311.347). In M. AMg. *poṃma*=*padma*, *poṃmā*=*padmā*, M. S. *poṃmarā*=

padmarāga, *a* has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139.166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.³ On *-jja* for *-ya* see §91.

1. Kāvya prakāśa 72,11 is correct, *jaasirī*, like *jaasirīe* (G. 243), since in line 10 *balāmodī* is to be read (§238.589). It is not, with WEBER, Hāla¹ A. 22; 2977, to be written as *jaassirī*.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 146f. On Pāli see FRANKE, GN. 1895.530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. *vāraṇakhandha*=*vāraṇaskandha* (G.1200) beside *mahisakkhandha*=*mahisaskandha* (H. 561); M. *hatthaphaṇsa*=*hastasparsa* (H. 330) beside *hatthapphaṇsa* (H. 462); Ś. *aṇugahida*=*anugrḥita* (Mṛcch. 25,3) beside *pariggahida*=*parigrḥita* (Mṛcch. 41,10); *ṇaigāma* beside *ṇaiggāma*=*nadigrāma* (Bh.; Hc.); *kusumapaara* beside *kusumappaara*=*kusumaprakara* (Bh.; Hc.); *devathui* beside *devatthui*=*devastuti* (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); *āṇālakambha* beside *āṇālakkambha*=*ālānastambha* (Bh.; Hc.); *harakkhandā* beside *haraskandau* (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the initial, and according to this analogy¹, not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: Ś. *akkhāida*=*akhādita* (Mṛcch. 55,15); *addamsaṇa*=*adarśana* (Hc. 2,97); M. *addittha*=*adṛṣṭa* (G.H.R.); M. *addāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya*=**ādāpaka*² (mirror; Deśin. 1,14; Pāyā. 119; H.; Thāp. 284; Paṇṇav. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10. 14.15.16; Erz.); M. *pabbuddha*=*prabuddha* (R.12,34); *abbuddhasirī*=*abuddhasrī* (Deśin. 1,42; Triv. 1,4,121); M. *akkhaṇḍia*=*akhaṇḍita* (H. 689); M. *alliaī*, JM. *alliyāū*, AMg. *walliyāi*, M. *samalliaī*, JM. *samalliyāi* (§474); M. JM. *allina* (G.H.R.; Āv. 14,23;24,17;26,28; Erz.), M. *apallina* (R.), *samallina* (H.) from *li* with *ā*, *upa*, *samā*³; *allivai*=*ālipāti*=*ālimpati* (Hc. 4,39); *avallāva*=*apalāpa* (Deśin. 1,38); A. *uddhabbhua*=*ūrdhvabhūja* (Hc. 4,444,3); *ōggāla* beside *oāla* for **ōgāla* (rivulet; Deśin.1,151)=**avagāla*, from *gal* with *ava*; AMg. *kāyaggirā*=*kāyagirā* (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. *tēllo'kka* (Bh. 1.35;3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.; Dhūrtas. 4,20; Anarghar. 317,16); Kārṇas.13,9.11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttarar. 64,8 [*tēlloa*]; Mallikām. 133,3), beside AMg. M. *telo'kka* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 2.178ff. [*lu°*]; Dasav. N 655,28; Uvās.; Kappas.)=trilokya, Mg. *pañcayana*=*pañcajanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6); *paḍikkūla* (Hc.2,97), beside the usual *paḍiūla*=*pratikkūla*; M. *pabbala*=*prabala* (R.); *pammukka* (Hc.2,97) beside the usual *pamukka*=*pramukta* (§566); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paravvasa* (H.R.; Paṇḥāv. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nāgān. 50,13 v.l.), Mg. *palavvasa* (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=*paravaśa*; AMg. *aṇuvvasa*=*anuvāśa* (Sūyag. 192); *pavvāi*=**pravāyati*=*pravāti* (Hc. 4,18), M. *pavvāa*=*pravāta* (H.R.); M. *āṇāmeṭṭapphala*=*ājñāmātraphala* (R. 3,6); *ahinavadiṇṇapphala*=*abhinavādattaphala* (R.2,37); *pāvapphala*=*pādapphala* (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12; 13,89; H. 576) *baddhapphala* beside *baddhaphala* (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); JM. *bahupphala* (Ki. 2,116; Kk. 271,20), beside *bahuhala* (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMg. *purisakkāra*=*puṛuṣakāra* (Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. Ovav.)⁴, as M. *sāhukkāra*=*sādhukāra* (R.); AMg. *tahakkāra*=*tathākāra* (Thāp. 566); JM. *bhattibbhara*=*bhaktibhara* (Kk. 269,14); M. *maṇikkhaia*=*maṇikkhacita* (Mṛcch. 41,2); M. *malaasiharakkhaṇḍa*=*malayaśikharakkhaṇḍa* (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. *vaṇṇagghaa*=*vaṇṇaghrta* (H. 520); A. *vijjajjhara*=*vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. *vippakkha*=*vīpakṣa* (Piṅgala 1,138^a); AMg. *sakaḍabbhi*, *sagaḍabbhi*=*svakṛtabhid* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1.4); M. *sajjia*=*sajjiva* (R. 1,45), *sattaṇha*=*satīṣṇa* (R. 1,46), *sappivāsa*=

sapipāsa (Hc. 2,97; R. 3,21), *sesapphaṇa* = *śesapphaṇa* (R. 6,19; cf. 6,63.69.72; 7,59; 9,14.34.45), *paṇdurappheṇa* (R. 8,9; cf. 8,49; 13,24.53.66); AMg. JŚ. *saccitta* = *sacitra* (Dasav. 622,39; Kattig. 403,379). In °*kkāra*, the words beginning with *kkha* and °*pphala*, the doubling is to be ascribed perhaps to an original *s*, in many other cases the duplication is purely metrical, and certainly also in M. *taṇullaā* (Karp. 27,12), beside the usual *taṇulaā* = *tanulatā*, AMg. *rāga-ddosa* (Uttar. 707; Dasav. N. 653,6), beside the usual *rāgadosa* (§129), JŚ. *kuddiṭṭhi* = *kudṛṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,318; 400,323), beside and influenced by *saddiṭṭhi* = *saddṛṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,317.320) and so on.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 35,147ff.—2 So more correctly than BB. 3,247, as JM. *addāga* proves. On the contraction cf. §165, on *dāvai* §554. Incorrect WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; on Hāla² 4.204.—3. So more correctly than BB. 13,10f.; cf. KZ. 35,149.—4. Incorrectly explain HOERNLE (Uvās.; Transl. p. 111, note 254) and LEUMANN (WZKM. 3,345) these words as analogous formation according to *balakkāra* = *balātkāra*. It could, with equal justification, be explained as having been formed according to *sakkāra* = *satkāra*.

§197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in *katto* = *kutaḥ* from **kattah* = *kad* + *tah*; *jatto* = *yad* + *tah*; *tatto* = *tad* + *tah*; *aṇṇatto* = *anyad* + *tah*, on the analogy of which are formed *atto* = *dtah*; *e'kkatto* = *ekataḥ*; *savatto* = *sarvataḥ* and probably also *itto* = *itdḥ*, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. *etto* = **etataḥ* is derived from *eta* = *etad* + *tah*, as *aṇṇo* from *anya* = *anyad* + *tah* according to §339 and with elision of *a* according to §148. On *to* see §142¹. The majority of the verbs of the fourth and sixth classes of Skt. has, according to the phonetic laws of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in *alliaī* (§196); *phuṭṭai*, *phiṭṭai* (§194); *kukkai*, *ko'kkai* = **krukyati*; *callai* = **calyati* = *calati*; *ummillai* = **unmilyati* = *unmilati*; Ś. *ruccadi* = **rucyate* = *rocate*; *laggai* = **lagyati* = *lagati*; Ś. *vaijadi* = **vrajyati* = *vrajati* (§487.488)². From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like *oalla* (shivering, departure; Deśin. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 13,8) = **apacalya*; cf. *oallanti*, *oallanta-* (R.); *ujjalla* (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 13,7), *ōjjalla* (Deśin. 1,154) "strong", *ujjallā* (violence; Deśin. 1,97) from **ujjvalya-*; *ko'ppa* (agitation; Deśin. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 6,104) from *kupya-*; *sivvi* (needle; Deśin. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,260), *sivviṇi* (Deśin. 8,29) from *sūya*-³.

1. Examples in §425ff. Cf. FISCHER, KZ. 35,149. Somewhat deviating S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35,578; wrong is also LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.* *tatto*, who considers the duplication as purely metrical.—2. FISCHER, BB. 13,8ff.—3. FISCHER, BB. 6,86.

§198. Transition of *tenuis* into *mediae* is the rule with *cerebrals*, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; *t* becomes *d* and *tha* becomes *dh* (Vr. 2,20.24; Hc. 1,195.199; Ki. 2,10.18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *kaḍaa* = *kaṭaka* (G.H.R.)¹; *kuḍumba* = *kuṭumba* (G.H.); *ghaḍia* = *ghaṭita*; *caḍula* = *caṭula*; *taḍa* = *taṭa*; *paḍala* = *paṭala*; *viḍava* = *viṭapa*.—*kaḍhina* = *kaṭhina* (G.H.); *kaḍhinattana* = **kaṭhinatvana* (R.); *kamaḍha* = *kamaṭha* (G.H.); *paḍhai* = *paṭhati* (H.); *piḍha* = *piṭha* (G.); *haḍha* = *haṭha* (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG. in *bhaḍa* = *bhaṭa* and *kodi* = *koṭi* (§189). According to Hc. 1.195 sometimes *t* remains, as in *aṭai* = *aṭati*, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. §184, note 1; §186, note 1.

§199. Instead of dropping off (§186), *p* mostly becomes *v*¹, not *b*, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr. 2,15;

Hc. 1,231; Kī 2,8; Mk. fol. 16. M. āva=āṭa (G.H.R.)², uala=upala (G.); kova=kopa; cāva=cāpa; nīva=nīpa (R.); dīva=dīpa; pāva=prātāpa; vivīva=vīpīva (G.); savāva=sāpāṭa (H.); sāva=sāpāṭa (G.R.). Exceptionally in PG. too in *anuvāṭṭhāveti*, *kassava*, *kāravejja*, *vi* (§189). On *va* for initial and secondary *pa* see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to *v*. According to Bh. on Vr.2,2 and Mk.fol.14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.³ Usually *p* becomes *v* before *a*, *ā*, but on the other hand, drops off before *u*, *ū*; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write *b* for *v*.

1. COWELL, Vararuci² p. xiv; FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p.398; Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p.317; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,512 note ***.—2. Cf. §184, note 1 and §186, note 1.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 2,231.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, *ph* always becomes *bh*. Bh. gives as examples : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*=*śapharī*; *sabhala*=*saphala*. Mk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gaṇa *śiphādi*, in which he reckons : *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *sebhā*=*śepha*; *sebhāliā*=*śephālikā*; he cites also *sabharī*=*śapharī* as used by somebody.¹ Kī. 2,16 teaches *bh* for *śiphā* and *śaphara*. Hc. 1,236 allows *bh* and *h*; he teaches *bh* for *rebha*=*repha* and *sibhā*=*śiphā*; *h* for *muttāhala*=*muktāphala*; *bh* and *h* beside one another for *sabhala*, *sahala*=*saphala*; *sebhāliā*, *sehāliā*=*śephālikā*; *sabharī*, *saharī*=*śapharī*; *gubhai*, *guhāi*=*guphāi*. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout *h*, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also *ph*. Thus M. JM. Ś. *muttāhala*=*muktāphala* (G.; Karp. 73,9; 72,3; 73,2; Erz.); M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5); M. *sahara*, *saharī* (G.); M. Ś. *sehāliā* (H.; Mṛcch. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]; Priyad. 11,1; 12,3; 13,16); Ś. *cittaphalaa*=*citrāphalaka* (e.g. Mṛcch. 57,3; 59,7; 69,19; Śak. 125,7; 133,8; 134,4; 142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4; 303,19; Mālatīm. 127,11); *bahuhala* (Kī. 2,116); Ś. *bahuphala* (Vikr. 45,13), *saphala* (Mālav. 44,1; 46,11), *saggaphala*=*svargaphala* (Prab. 42,5); Mg. *paṇasaphala* (Mṛcch. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on *pphala*, §196. In what relation *phumai* and *bhumai*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Dravidian MSS. write *bhaṇ* (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently *phaṇ* (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. FISCHER 622,10 v.l., 17,18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mallikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads *saparir yāsaur* (or *yāsaur*) *ityādyapi kaścit*.

§201. *b* in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237): M.AMg. JM. Ā. Ś. D. A. *kalevara*=*kalebara* (G.R.; Vivāhap. 1303 [°de°]. 1390 [°de°]; Rāyap. 142 [°de°]; Erz.; Mṛcch. 148,22,23; Piṅgala 1,86^a; Hc. 4,365,3), Mg. *kalevola* (Mṛcch. 168,20); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *kavala*=*kabala* (G.H.; Śak. 85,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 69,7; Hc. 4,289,387,1); M. JM. A. *kavandha*=*kabandha* (R.; Erz. [text °ba°]; Piṅgala 2,230); AMg. *kiliva*=*kliba* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *chāva*=*śāba* (§211); M. *thavaa*=*stabaka* (R.), AMg. *thavaiya*=*stabakila* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); M. *dāvai*=*Marāṭhī*, *dābneṭ* (Śak. 55,16)¹; M. JM. *sava*=*saba* (G.; Āv. 36,34); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara*=*sabara* (G. [text °ba°]; Vivāhap. 246 [text °vva°]; Paṇhāv. 41 [text °ba°]; Paṇnav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6.7 [text °ba°]), M.AMg. *savari* (G. [text °ba°]; Vivāhap. 792 [text °ba°]; Nāyādh. §117 [text °ba°]; Ovav. §55 [text °ba°]; M. *savala*=*sabala* (H.); AMg. JM. *siviyā*=*śibikā* (§165); JM. *sivira* (Erz. [text °bi°]), Mg. *śivila* (Lalitav. 565,6.8)=*śibira*². More rarely *b* drops out as in AMg. *alāu*, *alāuya*, *lāū*, *lāu*, *lāuya* beside Ś. *alāvū*=*alābū*, *alābu* (§141); *ṇiandhana*=*nibandhana* (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121)³;

viuha (Hc.1,177), beside JM. *vibuha* (Erz.)=*vibudha*.—*v* very often is retained, especially between *a*-sounds. As in the case of *p* (§199), in its case as well the euphony determines the question.

1. Accordingly the remark on Śak. 55,16, p. 184 has to be amended.—2. As the examples show, the Jaina manuscripts especially very often write *b* for *v*, which is not, as JACOBI (Erz. §20,2d., p.xxviii) assumes supported phonetically, but is simply an error of transcription. Likewise they sometimes write *b* instead of *v* in the initial syllable. (E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 29). In the Lalitav., as in the MSS., with the exception of those in the Dravidian script, only *v* is written, even in places, where *b* should stand. Cf. also §45, note 3.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 13,8.

§202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to mediae and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, *k* in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes *g*, especially in the case of the suffix *-ka* (Hc.1,177): AMg. JM. *asoga*=*aśoka* (e.g. Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read *asoga* in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. *asoga* (Āv. 8,2,32); AMg. JM. *āgāsa*=*ākāśa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 21,15); AMg. *egamega*=*ekaika* (§353); AMg. JM. *kulagara*=*kulakara* (Kappas.; Āv. 46,20,22); AMg. JM. *jamaga samaga*=*yama-kasamaka* (Uvās. §148,153; Kappas. §102; Ovav. §52; Āv. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. *loga*=*loka* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; 387,25), JŚ. *logālogam* (Pav. 382,23) beside *lojālojam* (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. *sāgapāgāe śākapākāya* (Sūyag. 247,249), *silogagāmi*=*ślokaśāmin* (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. *appaga*=*ātmaka* (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66,68); JŚ. *māmsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386,4); AMg. *phalaga*=*phalaka* (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.); JM. *tilagacōddasaga*=*tilakacaturdaśaka* (Āv. 17,1; 37,29; 38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of *g*, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of *ka* into *ga* occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mg. throughout *hage*, *hagge*=**ahakah* (§142.194.417); further *śāvaga*=*śrāvaka* (Mudrār. 175,1,3; 177,2; 178,2; 183,5; 185,1; 190,10; 193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13; 47,7 *śāvagā*, 58,15 *śāvagī*, for *śāvakā*, *śāvakā*, *śāvakī*, *śāvakī* of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. *śāvaga* (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf. §17. Further *ka* has become *ga* in M. A. *maragaa*, AMg. JM. *maragāya*, Ś. *maragada*=*marakata* (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 13,43; Mṛcch. 71,1 [read **gada*]; Karp. 53,2; 59,1; 61,7,8; 62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read **gada*]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly *maraaa* (Acyutaś. 43) and *marāada* (Kī. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 *ka* becomes *ga* in *mada-kala* also; a mention should be made here of A. *madagala* (Piṅgala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also *pāgasāsana*=*pākaśāsana* (G.380). On *ge'ndua* see §107. *-kha* has become *gh* in AMg. *āghāvei*=*ākhyāpayati*, *āghavanā*=*ākhyāpanā* (§88.551), and in *ṇighasa*=*nikaṣa* (§206). In *ahilaṅkhaī*, *ahilaṅghaī* (wishes; Hc. 4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether *kh* or *gh* is original. Dialectically *ca* has become *ja* in *piśājī*=*piśācī* (Hc. 1,177). Reversely *ca* appears for *ja* in M. Ś. *cakkhāī* (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)¹, M. *cakkhia* (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; H. 605), *acakkhia* (H. 917), *cakkhanta-* (H. 171), Ś. *cakkhia* (absol.; Nāgān. 49,5), *cakkhijjanta-* (correctly *cakkhianta-*; Caṇḍak. 16,16)² from *jakṣa-*; *maccaī* beside *majjai*=*mādyati* from *mad* (Hc. 4,225); A. *raccasi*=*rajyase* from *raj* (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JM. *vaccaī* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Kī. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), Ā. *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19; 101,7; 148,8; D. *vaccaī* (Mṛcch. 100,15 [so to be read]), *vacca*, *vaccadi* (Mṛcch. 105,4,9), beside Dh. *vajjadi*, Ś. *vajjamha*, Mg. *vayye'nti* (§488)³. To *vaccaī* belongs also AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* (§163.

590), which strictly corresponds to Skt. *pratītya*, by which the scholiasts mostly explain it,⁴ and A. *vicca* (road; Hc. 4,421).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,387; ZDMG, 28,391.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,258, where I refer to the New Indian dialects.—3. *vaccaī* is perhaps a denominative from *vṛātya*=**vṛātyati* and *vajjai*, from *vrajyā*=**vrajyati*. In that case *cca* would be phonetically quite regular.—4. Wrongly WEBER, Bhag. 1,381; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 21.

§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM. every *ta* may¹ either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i*, *t* may be introduced² is erroneous. As already suspected by WEBER³ all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects.⁴—*ta* becomes *da* and *tha* becomes *dha* in JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JŚ. *vandida*, *dhoda*=*vandita*, *dhauta* (Pav. 379,1); *sāmpajjadi*=*sāmpadyate*, *bhamadi*=*bhramati*, *peccadi*=*prekṣate* (Pav. 380,6; 380,12; 384,48); *bhūdo*, *jādi*=*bhūtaḥ*, *yāti* (Pav. 381,15); *ajadhāgahidatthā ede*=*ayathā-grhītārthā ete* (Pav. 389,1); *devadajadi*=*daivatayati* (Pav. 383,69); *tasaghāda*, *karadi*, *kārayadi*, *icchadi*, *jāyade*=*trasaghāta*, *karoti*, *kārayati*, *icchati*, *jāyate* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *adidhi*=*atithi* (Śak. 18,1,8; 20,5; 23,9; 71,12); Ś. *kadhehi*, *kadhesu*=*kathaya*, *kathedu*=*kathayatu*, Mg. *kadhedi*=*kathayati* (§490); Ś. *cūdaladiam*=*cūtalatikām* (Śak. 119,9); JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā*=*yathā*, JŚ. *tadha*; Ś. Mg. *tadhā*=*tathā* (§113); *pāridosia*, Mg. *pālidosia*=*pāritoṣika* (Śak. 117,1,5); JŚ. *havadi*, *hodi*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodi*=*bhavati* (§475.476); Ś. *sāadam* (Mṛcch. 3,6; 59,19; 80,7; 86,25; 94,22; Śak. 56,4; 80,3), Mg. *śāadam* (Mṛcch. 113,7; 129,18)=*svāgatam*; Dh. *jūdiala*=*dyūtakara* (§25), *jūda*=*dyūta* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), *palivevida*=*parivapita* (Mṛcch. 30,7), *vajjadi*, *dhāledi*, *bhañādi*, *jiñādi*=*vrajati*, *dhārayati*, *bhañati*, *jayati* (Mṛcch. 30,10; 34,9.12.22); Ś. Dh. *sāmpadam*=*sāmpṛatam* (Mṛcch. 6,22; 17,19; 18,23; Śak. 25,2; 30,4; 67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9; 32,8), Mg. *sāmpadam* (Mṛcch. 16,20; 32,2.4.5, 38,19; 99,11 etc.). On Dh. *māthuru*=*māthuraḥ* see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for Ś. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into *da*, *dha*; Hc. 4,260.267 and the grammarians following him desire *da*; they, however, wrongly allow *ha* as well beside *dha*.⁵ In JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. original *da* and *dha* very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into *ha* [Ki.5,71; Mk. fol. 66]. *kada tti*=*kṛteti* in PG. 7,51 is a printer's error in the transcription for *kaḍa tti*. On *pidham*, *pudham* beside *piham*, *puham*=*pṛthak* see §78. On Ā.D. see §26.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 20,1; note 2.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, 5; cf. STEINTHAL, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400; cf. IS. 16,234f.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. p. xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like *tavañijjamatiu kaṇagamatiu pulakamatiu riṭṭhamatiu vairāmatiu* (Jiv. 563), *t* is absurd. Likewise it is unthinkable that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used *bhavati* and *bhavai*, *bhagavatā* and *bhagavāyā*, *mātarām* and *pijaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t*. When in the future *ehi* is used, it presupposes *ehii* and not *ehiti*, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§529). Not quite correctly, therefore, LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,340. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMg. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §349.—5. On Ś. see PISCHEL, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Ki. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta* becomes *da*. They have collected these in the gaṇa *ṛivādi*. Bh. reckons in it : *udu*=*ṛtu*; *raada*=*rajata*; *āada*=*āgata*; *ṇivudi*=*niroṛti*; *āudi*=*āvṛti*; *sānvudi*=*samvṛti*; *suidi*=*sukṛti*; *āidi*=*ākṛti*;

hada=*hata*=*sañjada*=*sañyata*; *viuda*=*viorta*; *sañjāda*=*sañyāta*; *sampadi*=*samprati*; *paḍivaddi*=*pratipatti*. In Kī. and Mk. the gaṇa is ākṛtigāṇa. Kī. reckons under it *ṛtu*, *rajata*, *āgata*, *nirvṛta*, *surata*, *marakata*, *sukṛta*, *sañyata*, *viṛti*, *pravṛti*, *āvṛti*, *ākṛti*, *vidhṛti*, *samhṛti*, *nivṛtti*, *niṣpatti*, *sāmpatti*, *pratipatti*, *śruta*, *khyāti*, *tāta*, *sāmpratam*. Mk. adduces :—*ṛtu*, *rajata*, *tāta*, *sañyata*, *kirāta* (as *cilāda*), *samhṛti*, *susaṃgata*, *kratu*, *samprati*, *sāmpratam*; *kṛti* and *vṛti*, when provided with a prefix, as *ākṛti*, *vikṛti*, *prakṛti*, *upakṛti*, *apavṛti*, *āvṛti*, *parivṛti*, *nirvṛti*, *samvṛti*, *viṛti*; *āvṛta*, *parivṛta*, *samvṛta*, *viṛta*, *prabhṛti* [MS. *padudī*]; *vṛata*. Mk. permits the transition, as optional, in the following sūtra in *surata*, *hata*, *āgata*, etc. (*ityādi*). Hc. 1,209 indulges in a polemic against this view. The phonetic change suits Ś. Mg., but not M.; though it occurs once in M. it is a case of dialectical confusion.³ In R. *udu* occurs without a variant (1,18;3,29;6,11;9,85), never *uu*. False reading is *udu* for *uu* in AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,2,6; Thān. 527). Furthur R. has *maḷadā*, beside *paḍiā* (3,31); *vivaṇṇadā*, *rāmādo* in the same strophe with *araī*, *seummi* (8,87); similarly *mandodari* in the compound *mandodarisuadūmiavāṇaraparīosa*^o, that is with a retained *d* and three elided *ts*. The same occurs otherwise too, especially in the gāthās of the dramas, as *māladī* instead of *mālai*=*mālatī* (Lalitav.563,2); *odamsanti*=*avataṃśayanti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 4,10); *ladāo*=*latāh* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 53,7; without v.l.; cf. v.l. 85,3 ed. PISCHEL and 84,15 of the Kashmir recension, ed. BURKHARD); *uvaṇṇādavvo*=*upanetavyaḥ* (Mālav. 23,3; without v.l.); *uvaṇṇide*=*upanīte* (H. 827); *hodu* beside *hoi* (H. 878); *kādum*=*kartum* (Hc. 924); *haṇḍā*=*bhaṇḍā* (H. 963) etc. All the examples from H. occur in the Telugu recension. When Hc. declares such forms to be false in M., there is no reason for seeing in them, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT², “puristic prohibitions”. Rather, we have here cases of errors against the dialect, as conversely in the MSS. forms of M. are given times without number in Ś. The information in Vr. Kī. Mk. in no way relate to M. Especially striking are *paḍivaddī* (Bh.), for which perhaps we have, with AC, to read *paḍivattī*, in spite of the remarkable *d* for *ḍ*, and *nivaddī* (sic), *nippadī* (sic), *sāmpaddī*, *paḍipaddī* (Kī.), which perhaps rest only on a misunderstanding. On AMg. *adu*, *adu vā*, see §155, note 5.

1. PISCHEL, Vikr. p. 614f.—2. Rāvaṇavaho, p. xvii; cf. also R.13,97. p.309, note 4.

§205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become *h*. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected *r* or *s* or of a connected *r* the reason, as has generally been assumed.¹ In *tenuēs*, *nasals*, and *la*, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt.² The original sound groups *ska*, *sta*, *sṣa*, *sna*, *sma*, give in the initial syllable, according to §306—313, *kha*, *tha*, *pha*, *ṇha*, *mha*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 197f. 251; JACOBI, Erz. §21,2 p. xxviii Cf. PISCHEL, BB. 3,253.—

2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §230.231.

§206. In the initial syllable Skr. *ka* appears as *kha*, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *ha*, as in the medial syllable. JM. *khaṃdharā*=*kaṃdharā* (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1,17), but M. Ś. *kaṃdharā* (G.; Mallikām. 192,22;201,7;220,20); *khappara*=*karpara* (Hc.1,181); AMg. *khasiṣya*=*kasita* (Hc.1,181), *khāsiṣya*=*kāsita* (Hc.1,181; Nandis. 380); AMg. JM. *khinkhiṇī*=*kiṅkiṇī* (Panḥāv. 514; Rāyap. 109,129. 142; Jiv. 349 [text *khaṇḍ*]. 443; Nāyādh.948 [text *khaṇḍ*]; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); *sakhinkhiṇī* (Jiv. 468; Āv. 35,25), *khinkhiṇī* a=*kiṅkiṇīka* (Uvās.), *sakhinkhiṇīya* (Nāyādh. §93; p. 769.861 [text *kha*],

but M. Ś. *kiṅkiṇī* (Pāṇyā. 273; G.; Viddhaś. 56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4; 102,1; Venīś. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatīm. 201,6), Ś. *kiṅkiṇīā=kiṅkiṇikā* (Viddhaś. 117,3); AMg. *khila=kila* in *indakhila=indrakila* (Jiv. 493; Ovav. §1), beside JM. *indakila* (Dvār.); *khilaa=kilaka* (Hc. 1,181); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja=kubja* "hump-back" (Vr. 2,34; Hc. 1,181; Ki. 2,40; Mk. fol. 17; Pāṇyā. 155; H.; Antag. 22; Anuog. 250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādh. §117; p. 832.837; Paṇṇav. 428; Paṇhāv. 78.523; [text *kujja*]; Vivāgas. 226; Vivāhap. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 21,5,13; Erz.; Śak. 31,16; Mālav. 70,8; Pras. 44,1ff.), AMg. *ambakhujjaya=am-rakubjaka* (Vivāhap. 116), *khujjatta=kubjatva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), *khujjiya=kubjita* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning "achyranthes aspera" *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; Mk. fol. 17), AMg. *kojja* (Kappas. §37), *kujjaya* (Paṇṇav. 32); *khuddia* (co-habitation; Deśin. 2,75); *saṃkhuddai* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168) from *kurd, kūr*; cf. *khurd, khūrd* (Dhātupāṭha 2,21)¹; AMg. JM. *kheḍḍa*; A. *kheḍḍaa* (§90); *khedḍai* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168); *kheḷlanti* (they play; Hc. 4,382), JM. *kheḷlāveṇa* (Erz.), *kheḷla* (Erz.), AMg. *kheḷlāvaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,13); Ś. *kheḷadi* (Mudrār. 71,4; Viddhaś. 27,5), *kheḷidum* (Mudrār. 71,3; 81,2) *kheḷaṇa* (Viddhaś. 58,6; Mallikām. 135,5), A. *kheḷanta* (Piṅgala 1,123^a), *kheḷlia* (laughter; Deśin. 2,76) from the root *krid*²; AMg. *khutto*, M. *huttam=krtoah* (§451); *khuluha=kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāṇyā. 250; cf. §139); M. *nihasa=nikāṣa* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.), AMg., with transition in the media according to §202, *nighasa* (Vivāhap. 10; Rāyap. 54; Uvās.; 'Ovav.), M. *nihasaṇa=nikāṣaṇa* (G.H.R.)³; cf. *khaṣ* beside *kaṣ* (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. *vihasanti=vikasanti* (Hc. 4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix *-bha*, (WHITNEY¹ §1199) Pkt. has a suffix *-kha*, which occurs in A. *navakhī=navakī* (Hc. 4,420,5). Mk. fol. 37 teaches that without change of meaning *ha* may appear (*svārthe ca haś ca*); *puttaha=putraka*; *ekaha=ekaka*. To this again may be added *kaṣ svārthe: puttahaa*. This *-kha*, *-ha* occurs in AMg. *khahajara*, *khahacara=*khakacara=kacara* (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyag. 825; Anuog. 265.408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86.117ff. 317.319.323; Nāyādh. 1179; Paṇṇav. 47.54 55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thāṇ. 121f.; Vivāhap. 472.479.522f.526.1285.1535; Vivāgās. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078f.; Ovav. §118), *khahacari* (female bird; Thāṇ. 121f.)⁴; Mg. *vacāhaganthī sugudāha-sunthī=vacākāgranthih sugudakaśunthī* (Mṛcch. 116,25; cf. §70); M. *chāhā*, *chāhī=*chāyākā* (§255); AMg. *phalaha=phalaka* (Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.), and with doubled suffix *phalahaga* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as *phalahaka*; beside AMg. *phalaga* (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and *phalaya* (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMg. Ś. *phaḷiha=sphaṭika* (Vr. 2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 253; Rāyap. 33; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 68,18; 69,1; Vikr. 39,2; 66,13; Mālav. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaś. 25,9; 28,5; 74,7), JM. *phāḷihamayā* (Erz.), beside AMg. *phāḷiya* (Nāyādh. §102; Ovav. [§38]; Kappas. §40), *phāḷiyāmayā* (Paṇṇav. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. *phaḍia* (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read *ḥia* §238); *phaḷihagiri=sphaṭikagiri=Kailāsa* (Pāṇyā. 97); AMg. *bhamuhā=Pāli bhamuka=*bhravukā* for **bhruvukā* (§124)⁵; JM. *sirihā=srikā* (Erz. 86,19); M. AMg. JM. D. *sunaha=Pāli sunakha=Skt. śunaka* (H.; Paṇhāv. 20; Nāyādh. 345; Paṇṇav. 136; Āv. 34,20.24; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), beside M. *sunaa* (Hc. 1,52; H.; Sarasvatik. 8,13), AMg. JM. *sunaga* (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text *sunamade*]; Nāyādh. 450; Paṇṇav. 49; Uttar. 985; Āv. 35,6.10), *sunaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4.6; Paṇhāv. 201; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Āv. 35,9,36,28ff.; Dvār. 497,18), *kolasunaya* (Sūyag. 591; Paṇṇav. 367), femin. *sunijā* (Paṇṇav. 368). To *sunaha* has again *ka* been added

in Mg. *sunahaka* (Mṛcch. 113,20) and A. *sunahall* (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that *sunaha* was=*sunakha*=*su*+*nakha*⁶; Dh. *tuhān*, A. *tuhū*=*tvakām* (§421) with *u* according to §152 and *ū* according to §352; A. *sahū*=*sākam* (Hc. 4,356.419) with *a* according to §81 and *ū* according to §352. Cf. a'so AMg. *phāṇiha* (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with *phāṇga* (sic; Uttar. 672). M. *cihura* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.; Pracandap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutaś. 35); Mg. *cihula* (Mṛcch. 171,2 [so to be read with v.l.]), wrongly M. *ciura* (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in Ś. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=*cikura*, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. *ciura* (Nāyādh. §61), but is=**cikšura*, a form derived with reduplication from *✓kšur* (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. **cikkhura* or **cikhura*, *cihura*. *cihura* bears the same relation to *cikura* as *✓*skur* to *✓*kur*. We have a reduplication of *ci* in AMg. *cikkhalla* (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśin. 3,11; Paṇhāv. 47 [°la]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of *cikkhalla* is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian *cikila cikkana* to which my attention has been drawn by E. KUHN; AMg. M. *cikkhilla* (H.R.; Paṇnav. 89ff. [91 °kkha°]); Vivāhap. 658f. [commentary °kkha°] Paṇhāv. 164.212 [commentary °kkha°]; AMg. *cikhilla* (Ovav. §32; text °kha°; see v.l.)=**cikšālya* from *kṣāl* "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified"⁷. M. *nihā* (multitude, crowd; Deśin. 4,49; Pāiyāl. 19; G.H.R.) is not=*nikāya*⁸, but=*nighāta*⁹ *nihelana* (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Ki. 2,120. Deśin. 4,51;5,37; Pāiyāl. 49 [ni°]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=*niketana*¹⁰, but=*nibhelana* (Kappas. §41) and belongs to *✓bhil bhedane* (Dhātupāṭha 32,66), which occurs in AMg. *bhelāittā* (Thān. 421)¹¹; cf. *bil*, *bila*.—*vihala* is not=*vikala*, but=*vihvala* (§332).—M. *sihara* (Pāiyāl. 259; R.) is not=*śikara* (Hc. 1,184)¹², but comes from M. *sibhara* (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Ki. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from *śikara*, which, however, belongs to Vedic *śibham*¹³.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 3,254f. *kheḷadi*, *kheḷlai* have gone also into Skt. as *✓kheḷ*. Deviating from BB. 6,92, I could now assume dropping off of *s* in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate *nihasa* as=*nigharṣa* and *nihasaṇa* as=*nigharṣana*, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become *nihanṣa*, *nihanṣana*.—4. Abhayadeva on Thān. 121 remarks *khahān ti*, *prākṛtatvena kham ākāśan iti*.—5. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. does not rightly consider *ha* as preventer of the hiatus.—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as TRECKNER assumes in the case of Pāli (Pāli Miscellany p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMg. *phalahaga*, *thūbhiyāgā* (§208) and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of *cikkhalla* as a sample, as one may etymologize: *cicca karoti khallaṁ ca bhavati cikkhallaṁ*. A. *cikkhili* (feminine; [sic]; Prabandhac. 56,6) is an adjective. Both the words, *cihura* (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,186) and *cikkhalla* (ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 56) have been taken also into Skt.—8. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. p. 12 and s.v.—9. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.—10. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl., p. 12 and s.v.—11. PISCHEL, BB. 3,252;6,91; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91.

§207. *ta* has become *dha* through *tha* in AMg. *cimidha*=*ciṭṭa* (§248); *vaḍha*=*vaṭa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105¹); *saadha*=*śakata* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMg. *sagada* (Āyār. 2,3,2,16;2,11,17; Sūyag. 350), Ś. *saadīā*=*śakatikā* (Mṛcch. 94,15ff), Mg. *śaala* (Mṛcch. 122,10; §238; *sadhā*=*saṭā* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. *saḍā* (R.). Cf. also A. *khallihadaṇṇi* (§110). *-ta* appears as *tha* in *thimpaṭi*=*trṇpati* (Vr. 8,22), *thippaṭi* (Hc. 4,138; Ki. 4,46), *theṇṇpaṭi* (Ki. 4,46)=*trṇpyate*=**strṇpati*, **strṇpyate*. Not identical with it is *thippaṭi* (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with *theva* (a drop; §130) belongs to *✓stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4). The suffix *-tha*, instead of Skt. *-ta* occurs in M. AMg. JM. *bharaha*=*bharata*

(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515.517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *dāhiṇaddha bhārahe*=*dakṣiṇārdhabhārate*¹ (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. §13.93); M. AMg. JM. A. *bhāraha*=*bhārata* (G.; Āyār. 2,25,2; Thān. 70.73; Vivāhap. 427.479; Uttar. 515.517.532.541; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,399); M. *bhārahi* (G.). The form *bharatha*, to which *bharaha* goes back, as *bhāraha* to **bhāratha*², is attested by Uṇādis. 3,115 and Ś. *bharadha* (Mk.; Bālar. 155,3;310,9 [falsely *bharada* 55,17;150,21]; A. arghar. 316,15 [text °*da*]; but ed. Calc. Śak. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly °*dha*; Pras. 91,12 [text °*da*], Mg. *bhālādha* (Mṛcch. 128,13 [STENZLER °*li*,° see v. l. in GopABOLE, 353,12]; 129,3 (text °*de*)³. Corresponding to the suffix *-tha* in Skt. *āvasatha*=AMg. *āva-saha* (e.g. Āyār. 1,7,2,1ff; Ovav.), Skt. *upava-satha*, *nivas-aṭha*, *prava-satha* etc., M. AMg. JM. have *vasahi*=**vasathi*=*vasati* (Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Pāṇyāl. 49; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136.178.215; Vivāhap. 152.1123.1193; Nāyādh. 581; Uttar. 449.918 [beside *āvasaha*]; Dasav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Av. 27,2; Kk.); AMg. *kuvasahi*=*kuvasati* (Paṇhāv.)⁴. *-ha*, Ś. Mg. *-dha* in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to *-tha*, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative (§471).—*kāhala* (cowardly; fearful; C. 3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin. 2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵ as=*kātara* cannot be separated from *kāhala* (tender; weak; Deśin. 2,58), and *kāhalī* (a tender young woman; Deśin. 2,26). *kāhala*, *kāhalī* are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it first from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. *tharatharei*, Ś. *tharatharedi* (throbs violently [from the heart]; trembles); §558), are, therefore,=*kā+thara*, *kā*, in Skt. *kāpuruṣa*, *kābhartr* etc. *kā'ara* becomes M. A. *kāara* (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. *kāyara* (Nāyādh.), Ś. *kādara* (Śak. 17,12;84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. *kādala* (Mṛcch. 120,9). *kātara* and **kāthara* probably go back to the basic form **kāstara*.—According to Hc. 1,214 *mātuliṅga* becomes *māhuliṅga*, on the other hand *mātuliṅga* becomes *māluṅga*, as AMg. Ś. have (Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Paṇṇav. 482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read *mādu*°]). *māhuliṅga* (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as *madhukarikā*, *madhukukkuṭikā*, *madhujambira*, *madhujambha*, *madhubijapūra*, *madhura'am-bira*, *madhurabijapūra*, *madhuravallī*, *madhuvallī*, *madhūla*, *ma'ūlaka*, all of which mean special kinds of citron. *māhuliṅga* is, therefore,=**mādhuliṅga*. In Paṇṇav. 531 AMg. *māuliṅga* is emended. AMg. *vihatthi* (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhap. 425; Nandis. 168; Aṇuog. 384.413) is not=*vitasti* (C. 3,12 p.49; Hc. 1,214⁶, but in the root *tas* *s* will have dropped off, *vihatthi*, therefore, will stand for **vihatthi*=**vistasti*°.

1. The edition in the Granthapradarśanī at p.93, for which reads *ṇodo/dodah/āṇo/dolā*?; see BB. 6.88ff.—2. WARREN, Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 106, note.—3. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT. GN. 1874, p.473.—4. PISCHEL, BB. 6,92f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT. GN. 1874, p. 473.—5. GN. 1874, p.473.—7. More probably it is an adaptation of one **vihatthi* (BB 6,93).

§208. *pa* appears as *ph* in AMg. Ś. *phaṇasa*=*paṇasa* (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇṇav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar. 209,78 [°*pa*°]; Viddhaś. 63,2), beside M. *paṇasa* (Karp. 115,2), Mg. *paṇasa* (Mṛcch. 115,20); M. AMg. JM. *pharusa*=*paraṣa* (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1.2,8,1,8; 18,3,5.13;2,1,6,3;2,4,1,1,6; Sūyag. 122 [text °*pa*°]. 172.485.517.527.729; Jiv. 273; Nāyādh. §135; p. 757; Paṇhāv. 393.394.396.516; Vivāhap. 254.481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *aipharusa*=*atiparusa* (Kk.); M. *pharusattana*=**paraṣatvana* (R.); AMg. *pharusiya*=*paraṣita* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2;1,6,4,1 [see v.l.]); M. AM. JM.

phaliha = *parigha* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāyā. 267; R.; Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,3,2,14; 2,4,2,11; 2,11,5; Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 416; Dasav. 628,22; Dvār. 500,30); M. *phulihā* = *parikhā* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāyā. 240; R.), AMg. *pharihā* (Nāyādh. 994.1001ff. 1006.1008.1012.1014.1023; Probably to be read as *phalihā*); *phālihadda* = *pāribhadra* (Hc. 1,232.254); AMg. *pharasu* = Pāli *pharasu* = Skt. *paraśu* (Vivāgas. 239); but M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. paraśu* (G.; Nāyādh. §135; p. 438 [text °ri°]. 1438; Pañhāv. 198 [text °ri°]; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 29,19), Mg. *palasu* (Mṛcch. 157,13), *Ṣ. parasurāma* (Mahāv. 55,12; 64,20; Bālar. 36,5.6); AMg. *phusiya* = Pāli *phusita* = *prṣata* (§101; AMg. JM. *phāsūya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,4.6; 2,1,2,1ff.; Pañhāv. 497; Uvās.; ZDMG. 34,291,44; Kk.) = Pāli *phāsuka* is phonetically = *prāsuka*, which however, is certainly a false Sanskritism of the Pk. word¹; *aphāsūya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1.3.6.11ff.); *bahuphāsūya* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24ff.). *phāsūya* might belong to *ṣprś* = **spārśuka*² (§62). *phādei*, which Hc. 1,198 equates as *pāṭayati* = *sphāṭayati*.—Mk. fol. 18 has, moreover, *phalihi* = *paridhi* and *phalama* = *palama*, which probably ought to be *phaṇasa* = *paṇasa*. The first word may even be corrupt. In *rampāi*, *rampḥai* (hews; Hc. 4,194) whether *pa* or *pha* is original cannot be said; cf. *rampā* "section" (H. 119.120 with v.l. *rumḥa*, *rumḥu*³).—In AMg., more rarely in JM., medial *pa* in some words has become *bh* through *ph* (§200). So AMg. *kacchabha* = *kacchapa* (Jiv. 71 290 478; Nāyādh. 510; Pañhāv. 18.119.170; Pañnav. 47; Vivāgas. 49. 186; Vivāhap. 248.483.1033 1285; Uttar. 1072), *kacchabhī* = *kacchapī* (lute, Pañhāv. 512; Nāyādh. 1275.1378; Rāyap. 88); AMg. *kabhalla* = *kapāla* (§91; Uvās. §94; Antag. 27; Anuttar. 10 [text °va°, commentary *bha*°], beside *kavalla* (Sūyag. 275; Vivāhap. 270 383), *kavalli* (Vivāgas. 141). *kavāla* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4); to these add *kaphāda* (hollow; Deśin. 2,7); AMg. *thūbha* = *stūpa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,1; Sūyag. 26; Pañhāv. 31,234,286; Anu g. 387; Jiv. 546f.; Pañnav. 369; Rāyap. 153f. 195f.; Vivāhap. 560.659.1249; Thān. 266), also JM. (Sagara 2,7; T. 5,11.13.16.6.13.15; 7,8; ZDMG. 34,291,47.49); AMg. *thūbhiyā* = *stūpikā* (Āyār. 2,10,17; Jiv. 492.493.506; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), and with doubled suffixes *thūbhiyāgā* = **stūpikākā* (S mav. 213; Pañnav. 116; Rāyap. 116; Nāyādh. §122); AMg. *gothūbha* = *gostūpa* (Thān. 2,2.268; Jiv. 715f. 718ff.; Samav. 106.108.113.116f. 127.143ff. 233 [on account of mere also *gothubha*]; Vivāhap. 198). The more modern form occurs in *thūha* [battlements of a palace; ant-hill; Deśin. 5,32]. Cf. Leṇa-dialect *thuba* (Arch. Survey of W. India 5,78,10).—AMg. *vibhāsā* = *vipāsā* (Thān. 5 44).

1. JACOBI, Kk. s.v. *phāsūya* analyses it into *pra* + *asu* + *ka*. Skt. *prāsuka*, so far as I can see, is used by the Jains only.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. s. v. Not rightly CHILDERS s.v. *phāsu*, who will equate it as = *spārha*.—3. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,378.

§209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For *ga* occurs *gha* in *ghāṇa* = *gāyana* (singer; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,108; Triv. 1,3, 105 = BB. 3,255); AMg. *siṅghādaga* = *śṛṅgātaka* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappās.). *ghisai* is not = *grusati*, but = **ghasāti* (§103.482).—*ja* appears as *jha* in *jhadila* beside *jadila* = *jaṭila* (Hc. 1,194); *jhattha* (annihilated; gone; Deśin. 3,61) from *Vjas*; cf., however, also *Vjhaṣ*. AMg. *jhūsittā* (absol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Nāyādh. 383.388; Uvās.; Ovav.), *jhūsija* [Thān. 56 [Commentary]. 187.274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Jiv. 289 [jhu°], Vivāhap. 169.173; 321; Uvās.; Ovav.), mostly explained with *kṣiṇa* or *kṣapita*¹, *jhūsana* (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169.173; Thān. 56.187. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.), *parijhūsija* (Thān. 202) belong to *Vjhū*; that is mentioned beside *jūṣ*, *yūṣ*. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)².—*da* becomes *dha* in *dhippai*

beside *dippai*=*dīpyate* (Hc. 1,223); *kaiha* (Hc. 1,225), dialectically *kakudha* (Triv. 1,3,105)=Pāli *kakudha*, a form parallel to *kakhubha*³.—*ba* appears as *bha* in AMg. *bhimbhisāra*=*bimbisāra* (Thān. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for *bhambha*²; cf. v.l.]); M. *bhisinī*=*bisinī* (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Ki. 2,44; Pāiyāl. 149; H.; Sāhityad. 79,1). Ś. has *bisinī* (Vṛṣabh. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in *bisa* and so M. *bisa* (Pāiyāl. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches *bhisā*=*bisa* but quotes H.8, where stands *bhisinisaṇḍam*. AMg., like Pāli, has *bhisā* (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyag. 813; Jiv. 290.353; Paṇṇav. 35.40; Rāyap. 55). For *bṛsī* Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach *bisī*, the Pāiyāl. 215 *bhisī*. *bṛsikā* has aspiration: *bhisīā* (Deśin. 6,105), AMg. *bhisigā* (Sūyag. (726), *bhisijā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyādh. 1279.1283; Ovav.). *bhukkāi* barks; Hc. 4,186), *bhukkiya* (barking; Pāiyāl. 182), *bhukkāṇa* (dog; Deśin. 6,110), beside *bukkāi*=*garjati* (Hc. 4,98), *ubbukkāi* (speaks; Hc. 4,2), *bukkāṇa* (a crow; Deśin. 6,94; Pāiyāl. 44). On *bhaassai*, *bhaappai*, *bhaapphai* etc. see §212.—*bhibbhala*, *bhimbhala* (Hc. 2,58 with translation), M. Ś. *bhēmbhala* (R. 6,37; Cait. 38,9 [text. *bhemhaṇo*]), Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* (Cait. (44,9), *bhēmbhalida* (Cait. 55,13 [text *bhēmbha*²]) cannot, with Hc., be derived from *vibbhala*, *vēbbhala*=*vihvala* (§332), since the aspiration of *v* would have given *ha* in the initial syllable as is shown by *vihala*. The words belong, with *bhambhala* (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśin. 6,110) to *Vbharbh himsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained according to §74.

1. On the meaning see LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūsiya*; HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 160.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. l.c. Overlooked by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *jhūs*, Incorrect is its association with AMg. *jhūsira* (LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343). Cf. §211.—3. *kaiha* can naturally be derived from *kakubha* too. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,257; v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40,660; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. §156, b. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874 p. 473.

§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in *ṇhāvia*=*nāpita* (Hc. 1,230; Pāiyāl. 61), really=**nāpita*¹, as AMg. *ṇhāvīyā*=*snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of *snā* (§313). Ś. Mg. have *ṇāvidu*=*nāpita* (Hasy. 28,19; Mṛcch. 113,10)².—M. *pamhusai*=**pramṣṣati*³=*pramṣṣyati* (Hc. 4,75.184; G.), M. *pamhasijjāsu*=*pramṣṣeyh* (H. 348), M. *pamhusia* (G.), Ś. *pamhasida* (Mahāv. 65,1; ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 161,8 °*ppamusida*), M. JM. *pamhuṭṭha* (Hc. 3,105=R. 6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. *pamhuṭṭhaū* (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. *pamhaṭṭha* (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 *pamhusai* is also=*pramuṣṣṇāti*, according to 4,258 *pamhuṭṭha* also is=*pramuṣṣita*; A. *bhumhaḍi*=*bhūmi* (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix *-aḍa*, femin. *-aḍi* (Hc. 4,429.431).—AMg. *lhasuṇa*=*laṣuṇa* (Āyār. 2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇṇav. 40; Jiyāk. 54), beside AMg. JM. *lasuṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyag. 337 [text *lasaṇa*]; Āv. 40,18); *lhikkai* beside *likkai* (hides oneself; Hc. 4,55), a denominative from M. *lhikka*=**ślikna* (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. *śliku* “dependant” and §566.

1. WEBER, KB. 1,505.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 7, note 3, Skt. *nāpita* to be derived from Pkt. *ṇāvia*. The dropping off of the initial *s* depends upon the accent=*nāpita*¹, like Vedic *paḍbhi*¹ from *spaṣ* (FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 1,239).—3. WEBER on Hāla¹ 358;² 348; ZDMG. 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Skt. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. *sha*, *ṣha*, *sha*, then all become uniformly *cha*. The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound-group *kṣa* or *skā* is in not at all certain. *chamī*=*samī* (Hc. 1,265); AMg. *chāva*=Pāli *chāpa*=*sāba* (Hc. 1,265; Ki. 2,46; Sūyag. 511)¹, *chāvaa*=*sābaka* (Vr. 2,41; Mk. fol. 18), but Mg. *sāvaka* (Mṛcch. 10,6); AMg. *chivāḍi*=*śivāḍi* (2,1,1,3,4);

M. AMg. *chēppa*, *chippa*=*sēpa* (Deśin. 3,36; Pāiyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)²; in addition to *chippālūa* (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but Ś. *suṇasseha*=*ṣuṇaḥṣepa* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *chippīra* (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāiyāl. 142) beside *sippīra* (straw; H. 330), *sippa* (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also *chippinḍī* (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and *chippāla* (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); *chūi* (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=*śuciḥ*; *cha*=*ṣaṭ*, *chatṭha*=*ṣaṣṭha*, and *cha*^o, *chal*^o in numerous compounds (§240.441)³; AMg. *chuhā*=*sudhā* (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 658f.), in addition to *chuhia* (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. *chirā*=*sirā* (Hc. 1,266; Thān. 55; Jiv. 271; Samav. 227; Vivāhap. 89.810), *chiratta* (Anuog. 12), beside *sirā* (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. *piuccā*, M. *māuccā*, Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā*=*pitṛṣvasā*, *māṭṛṣvasā*, *māṛṣvasṛka*, *māṭṛṣvasṛkā* see §148; on *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa*, presumably=*sapta-ṣarṇa* see §103. An initial sonant sibilant is presupposed by AMg. *jhusira* (full of holes; hole; Aṣṭar. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Paṇḥāv. 137; Nāyādh. 752; Dasav. 620,30; Uvās.), *ajhusira* (Jiyak. 55), *antojjhusira* (Nāyādh. 397)=**zuṣirā*=*suṣira* or **z'uṣira*=*śuṣira*⁴. Perhaps *jhalā* (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāiyāl. 232) also belongs to *śal* (to prop up)=**z'alā*, and *jharua* (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), *jhāruā* (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from *ṽśaru himśāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,76), *śaru* (an arrow).⁵

1. POTT, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten III (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. JOHANSSON (IF.3,213), with whom WACKERNAGEL (Altind. Gr. §230b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek *σχοῖππος*.—3. Hypotheses on the original form of *ṣaṣ* in HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 27,106; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29,576.—4. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343. Whether *suṣira* or *śuṣira* is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 150 teaches *suṣi* and *śuṣi*. ZACHARIAE writes Śāśvata 185, against the best MSS. *suṣira*, but Hemacandra, Anekārthasaṅgraha 3,607 *śuṣira*, as is given by the derivative forms from *śuṣ* (Uṇādiganaśūtra 416). Connection with AMg. *jhūs* (§207) is out of consideration. Its derivation from *śuṣ* is quite uncertain. Wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās, Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has *suṣira*.—5. The word can be connected to *kṣāraka* also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than "turning-round of the breath." M. *iharā* from **itharatā*, **iharaā*=*itarathā* (§354); *uvaha*, M. *avaha* from **ubatha* for **ubhata*, deduced from M. *avahovāsam*, *avahoāsam*=AMg. *ubhaopāsam*=**ubhatahpārśvam* (§123); *kedhava* from **kaiṭhaba* for *kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2,21.29; Hc. 1,196.240; Ki. 2,11.27; Mk. fol. 16.17); *gaḍhāi* from **gaṭhati*=*ghatate* (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual *ghaḍāi*; M. AMg. JM. A. *ghēppai* from **ghṛpyati*=*grhyate* (§548), inf. M. *ghēttum*=**ghṛptum*=*grahitum* (§574), absol. *ghēttuānam*, *ghēttuāna* (§584), M. AMg. JM. *ghēttūna*=**ghṛptvānam*=*grhūtva* (§586), particip. nec. *ghēttavva*=**ghṛptavya*=*grahitavya* (§570), fut. JM. *ghēccchāmo* (§534) belong to a root **ghṛp*, that is a root parallel to *grbh* (§107)¹; *dhāmkūṇa*, *dhēmkūṇa*, AMg. *dhimkūṇa* (bug) for **ḍamkkhūṇa* belong to Marāṭhī *ḍamkkhēn* (to bite, to sting), *ḍamkh* (bite, sting of a poisonous animal)=*damś* (§107.267); M. *dhajjai* (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. *dhajjadi* (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text *ai*]), *dhajjadu* (Venṣ. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. *dhayyadi* (Mrcch. 9,25) for **ḍajjhadi*, M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (§222)=*dahyate*, Ś. *viḍhajjia*=*vidahya* (Mahāv. 96,11), *dhajjanta-* (Mālatīm. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukminīp. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. *ḍhajjai* on H. 373; M. *dihi* from **dṛthi*=*dhṛti* (Hc.2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);

M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā*=**dhuktā*=*duhitā* (§ 65;392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. *bahinī* for **baghinī*=*bhaginī* (Hc. 2,126; Pāiyāl. 252; Kattig. 401,338; Mālatīm. 31,5; Mg. Mr̥ch. 11,9;113,19;138,25;140,1.7; A. Hc. 4,351), mostly with *kaḥ svārthe*, Ś. *bahinīā*=*bhaginikā* (Mr̥ch. 94,4;328,5; Śak. 15,4;85,4.6; Mālatīm. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18;119,3; Ratn. 324,23;327,7.9.13;328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7;34,3;35,2 etc.), A. *bahinū* (Hc.4,422,14). From *bṛhaspati* are found AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai*, Ś. *bahappadi*, *bahappai*, *bihapphadi* (§53). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms: *bahassai*, *bihassai*, *buhassai* (C.2.5 p.43; Hc.2,69.137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahappai*, *bihappai*, *buhappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53.69.137); Mg. *buhaspadi* (Hc. 4,289), *bhaṣpadi* (Nāmīsādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial: *bhaassai* (C.2,5 p.43; Hc. 2.69.137; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiassai*, *bhuassai* (C. 2,5 p.43); *bhaappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prākṛtamañjarī in PISCHEL, De. Gr. Prācr. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiappai*, *bhuappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43); *bhaapphai* (Vr. 4.30; C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69.137; Ki. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiapphai*, *bhuapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43)².

1. PISCHEL, KB. 3,148f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512; WEBER, IS. 14,73, note 2; JACOBI, KZ.28,253f.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,447. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,493; WEBER on Hāla 286.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,138. The forms with initial *h* in lieu of *bh* in Triv., Sr. and in the Prākṛtamañjarī are orthographical errors of the Dravidian manuscripts. The edition of Triv. has *hh*.

§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. *saṅkalā*=*śṛṅkhalā* (Panhāv. 183; Jiv. 503; Rṣabhap.33; Latakam.18,4). AMg. *saṅkala*=*śṛṅkhalā* (according to; Hc. 1,189; Panhāv. 536), AMg. JM. *saṅk.liyā*=*śṛṅkhalikā* (Sūyag. 296; Āv. 14,17), JM. *saṅkaliya*=*śṛṅkhalita* (Āv. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages¹. But M. Ś. *saṅkhalā* (G.; Mr̥ch. 41,10); Ś. *ussaṅkhalā* (Mr̥ch. 151,17); M. Ś. *visaṅkhalā* (R.; Mālatīm. 291,2); Mg. *saṅkhalā* (Mr̥ch. 167,6); M. Ś. *siṅkhalā* (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatīm. 129,1; Priyad.4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2;308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text °sa°]; 85,3.8)².—AMg. *dhāṅka*=Pāli *dhāṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*¹, for **dhāṅkha* (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāiyāl. 44; Sūyag. 437,508; Uttar. 593), *dhīṅka*, (Panhāv. 24), which as well as *dheṅki* for **dhīṅkī* (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation **dhvāṅkṣā*. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *dhvāṅkṣa*), occurs in M. *dhāṅkha* (H.755)³.—AMg. *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (Panhāv. 78), *bīhaṇaga*=*bhīṣaṇaka* (Panhāv. 48.49.167.177), but M. Ś. *bhīṣaṇa* (G.R.; Vikr. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18;141,9), Ś. *adibhīṣaṇa* (Mallikām. 183,3). To *bṛiṣ* belong also *bīhaṭ*, *bīhei* (§501). Cf. §263. *paṅguraṇa* (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Marāṭhī *pāṅgharūṇ*, *pāṅgharṇem*, *pāṅghurṇem*⁴.—AMg. *saṇḍeja*=**saṇḍheya* (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for *saṇḍheja*, as in Skt. too *saṇḍa* and *saṇḍha* are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary *kka*, *cca*, *tta*, *ppa* for *kkha*, *ccha*, *ttha*, *ppha* see §301ff.

1. PISCHEL on Hc.1,189.—2. Cf. § 54.—3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to WEBER, there occurs *dhāṅkharaseso*=*dhvāṅkṣarasaiṣaḥ*, and the comma after *mukko* is to be erased.—4. PISCHEL, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. WEBER¹ has assumed that in Pkt. "secondary aspiration, respective *h* direct" occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him *bhāraha*, *khīla* in *dharaṇikhīla*, *phalaha* have found their correct explanation in §206.207. On the other hand, WACKERNAGEL² has attributed to Pkt. a "disinclination to the succession of two aspirates." His only example is *majjhaṇṇa*, which he wrongly

equates as=*madhyastha*, while it is=*madhyamāḍina* (§148). In any case, the example would prove nothing, as *majjhaṇḥa* is quite common (§330). The reference to E. KUHN, Beiträage p. 41 proves nothing. For Pāli *majjhata*=*madhyastha*, Pkt. says, in all the dialects, from which we can get examples. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *Ś. majjhattha* (H.R.; Āyār. 1,7,8,5; Sūyag. 97; Nāyādh. 1274; T. 5,16; Rśabh. 49; Kk. 275,45; Pav. 389,3; Mrcch. 68,21; Bālar. 238,8; Kārṇas. 31,10; Mallikām. 250,2.3), for Pāli *majjhataṭṭā*, *Ś. majjhatthadā* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 39,9; Adbhutad. 4,10). That even in Pāli the reason for the loss of aspiration is not the disinclination, presupposed by WACKERNAGEL, is shown by Pāli *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*=*mṛṣṭa*, *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṣṭa*, *atta*=*asta*, *bhaddamutta*=*bhadramusta* etc. (E. KUHN, Beiträage p. 41.53), Pkt. *samatta* beside *samatha*=*samasta* (§307). From cases, like M. *takkhaṇukkhahaarihattukkhittabhēmbhalā* (R. 6,37), *khandhukheva* (G. 1049), AMg. *majjhabhāgaṭṭha* (Nāyādh. §92), JM. *hatthikkhandha* (Āv. 25,39), JŚ. *mohakkhohavihūṇo* (Pav. 380,7), Ś. *phaliṭhatthambha* (Mālav. 63, 1), words, like *khaṃbha*, *khuhā*, *hajaḥhara*, *hamaḥkhaḥ* *hujjhaḥ*, *bhippha*, *bhibbha*, and the numberless examples, like *ghaṭṭha*, *bhaṭṭha*, *hattha*³, *hiṭtha*, *ḍajjihii*, *duhihi*, *bujjihii* etc. it results that Pkt. does not have the disinclination attributed to it, and cannot have it according to its phonetic law. On the other hand, some of the dialects, particularly AMg., are proud of the succession of two aspirates, as in *khinkhiṇī*, *khahacāra*, *thūbha*, *kaṇṇabha* (§206.208). That the examples adduced by JACOBI⁵ cannot be brought forward in defence of a disinclination of two successive aspirates is shown by §312ff.

1. Bhag. 1,411.—2. KZ. 33,575f.; Altind. Gr. § 105, note.—3. With WACKERNAGEL, I include here, among the aspirates, *ha* also, for the sake of brevity.—4. Erz.xxxii, note 3; xxxiii, note 2.

§215. Dialectically gutturals interchange with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well *ta* for *ca*, *da* for *ja*. AMg. *teicchā*=**cekitsā*=*cikitsā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49), *tigicchā* (Thān. 313; Paṇhāv. 356; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 106), *tigicchaya*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (Thān. 313; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 620), *tigicchāi*, *tigicchiya* (§ 555), *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā* (Thān. 191; Āyār. 2,1,3,5; Sūyag. 189.401.445.514.533; Uttar. 468ff.), *vitigimchā*, *vitigimchāi*, *vitigimchiya* (§ 74.555), *vitigicchāmi* (Thān. 245.), *nivvitigicchā* (Sūyag. 771; Uttar. 811; Vivāhap. 183; Ovav. §124).—AMg. *digicchanta*, *digimchā*=*jighatsat*, *jighatsā*, AMg. JM. *ḍugamchā*, *ḍugumchā*, AMg. *ḍugumchāṇa*, *ḍugamchāṇijja*, *ḍogamchi*, *ḍogumchi*, *paḍiḍgamchi*, *ḍugumchāi*, *ḍugumchamāṇa*, *ḍugamchamāṇa*, *aduḍgicchiya* (§ 74.555), beside the usual *jugucchā* (Bh. 3,40), *juucchāi*, *jugucchāi* etc. (§555).—AMg. *dosinā*=*jyotsnā* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3.250; Thān. 95; Paṇhāv. 533; Sūriyap. in Verzeichniss. 5,2,574.577), *dosinābhā* (Nāyādh. 1523); *dosinī*=*jyautsnī* (Deśin. 5,50), Ś. *vaṇadosinī*=*vaṇajyautsnī* (Śak. 12,13); *dosāṇia* († right; clear; Deśin. 5 51).—In secondary *ja*, originating from *ya* according to §252, the change could have occurred in *ḍogga* (pair; Deśin. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3,241), when it is to be equated as=*yugma*. It can, however, be referred also to AMg. JM. *duga*, *dvika* (§451)¹.

1. AMg. *pāḍiṇaṃ* = *prācinam* (Āyār. 2, 1, 9, 1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for *pāṇam*, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2, 3, 2, 2, 8. The ed. Calc. has *pāṇam*. Cf WEBER, Bhag. 1, 413; IS. 14, 255f.; E. MÜLLER; Beiträge p. 25; FISCHER; BB. 3, 241, 250; 6, 100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatals (§215), palatals have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So *cacchai* from **tyakṣati*

beside *tacchā*=*takṣati* (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhaī*, Ś. A. *ciṭṭhadi*, Mg. *ciṣṭhadi*=*tiṣṭhati* from *sthā* (§483).—*cuccha* beside *tuccha* (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound *chuccha*.—A. *viṣṭajjhara*=*vidyādhara* (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. *ciyatta*=*tyakta*, *ciccā*, *cēccā*=*tyaktvā* see §280.

§217. According to Prthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22 (p.240) ed. STENZLER=26,8 (p. 500), ed. GODABOLE, in the dialect of Śākāra, there was pronounced a weak *ya* before *ca*, which did not make position : *yciṣṭha*=*tiṣṭha*. According to Mk. fol. 75.85 this *ya* appeared in Mg. and in Vṛacaḍa A. also before *ja*: M. *ycilaṃ*=*ciram*; *yjā*=*jāyā*; *ycalaā*=*caraka*; A. *ycalaī*=*calati*, *yjalaī*=*jvalati* (§24.28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and Kī. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. COWELL, Vr. p. 179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p. 393.396 §146.1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in *ṭagara*=*tagara* (Hc. 1,205); *tūvara*=*tūbara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭimbaru*=*tumburu* (Deśin. 4,3), *ṭimbaru* 'a=*tumburuka* (Pāiyāl. 258) to which should belong also *ṭimburinī* (Śukasaptati 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially *ṭa* appears for *ta* in CP. *paṭimā*=*pratimā* (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say *paḍimā*. The words, in which *ḍa* appears for *ta*, have been collected in the gaṇa *pratyādi* by Hc. 1,206; Kī. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākṛtigāṇa. Kī. mentions only *pratibaddha*, *prābhṛta*, *vetasa*, *patākā* and *garta*; Mk. collects seven words in a verse : *prati*, *vetasa*, *patākā*, *haritakī*, *vyāpṛta*, *mṛtaka*, *prākṛta* for which *prābhṛta* is to be read. Transition from *ta* to *ḍa* in *prati* is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. *paḍimā*=*pratimā* (C.3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 217; G.H.R.; Thāṇ. 266; Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff.; 2,6,1,4ff.; 2,7,2,8ff.; 2,8,2ff.; 2,8,2ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,11. 16,17); AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍipunṇa*=*pratipūrṇa* (Nāyādh. 449.500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387,13); M. Ś. Mg. *paḍivaṇṇa*=*prativacana* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. Ś. *paḍivakkha*=*pratipakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 35; G.H.R.; Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9,12,5); M. AMg. Ś. *paḍibaddha*=*pratibaddha* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,3; 68,20,25; Uvās.); JŚ. *appaḍibaddha* (Pav. 387,25). Ś. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12), AMg. *paḍibandhaṇa* (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. *paḍihāi*, Ś. *paḍihādi*, *paḍihādi*=*pratibhāti* (§487), and so very many others. Cf. §163.220. In P.C.P., according to Hc. 4,307; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa. Kāvyaḷaṃkāra 2,12, the transition does not find place : *patibimba* (Hc. 4,326); an exception is *paṭimā* (Hc. 4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. *paḍai*=*patati* (Vr. 8,51; Hc. 4,219; G.H.R.; Niraṭāy. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagara 3,10; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. *paḍadi* (Mṛcch. 31,10; 158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. *paḍaū*=*patatu* (H.; Āyār. 2,4,1,12), JM. *paḍāmo*=*patāmaḥ* (Āv. 8,50), Mg. *paḍemi* (Mṛcch. 127,12), M. A. *paḍia*=*patita* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,337). JM. *paḍiya* (Erz.), Ś. Mg. *paḍida* (Mṛcch. 54,3; 81,9; 95,13; 120,7; Mudrār. 104,8; Ratn. 314,27; Mṛcch. 10,1; 133,10; 169,5; 170,16), Ś. *nivaḍida*=*nipatita* (Śak. 35, 10; 77,11), AMg. *pavaḍējja*=*prapatet*, *pavaḍemāṇa*=*prapatamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,7; 2,2,3,2,23; 2,3,2,15), and so throughout in the root *pat* and derivatives from it, like M. JM. Mg. *paḍaṇa*=*patana* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,23), but CP. *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. *paḍā*=*patākā* (Grr.; G.R.; Mṛcch. 68,17), AMg. JM. *paḍāgā* (Thāṇ. 284; Jiv. 483; Nāyādh. §122; p. 1318; Panhāv. 160; Rāyap. 59.68.70; Vivāhap. 276.833; Niraṭāy.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. *paḍājā* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. *sapaḍāga*

(Rāyap. 128), but P. *patākā* (Hc. 4,307). *-pahudi=prabhrti* (Hc. 1,206), but Ś. Mg. *pahudi* (Mr̥ch. 23,15,23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15,8,9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,8; Prab. 9,5;28,17; Mg. Mr̥ch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venis. 35,5), Ś. *pahudia=prabhrtika* (Mr̥ch. 71,1).—AMg. JM. *pāhuda=prābhṛta* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 236; Āyār. 2,2,2,10ff.; Vivāgas. 128,132; Nāyādh. 439,539,540,774ff.1375f.1431, Rāyap. 226, Anuog. 558; Erz.), *pāhudiṣā=prābhṛtikā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Anuog. 558).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. D. *vāvada=vyāpṛta* (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mr̥ch. 4,24;29,21;104,8), JM. also *vāula* (Kk.), AMg. *vāuya* (Ovav.), Ś. *vāvuda* (Mālav.72,7), *vāvudadā=vyāpṛtatā* (Mr̥ch. 325,19).—M. *veḍisa*, but P. *vetasa*, Ś. *vedasa=vetasa* (§101).—*haradaī=haritakī* (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in *r*. So: AMg. *kaḍa=kr̥ta*, *akaḍa=akṛta*, *dukkḍa=duskr̥ta*, *sukaḍa=sukṛta*, *vigaḍa, viyaḍa=vikṛta*, *paḍaḍa=prakṛta*, *purekaḍa=puraskṛta*, *āhākaḍa=yathākṛta*, beside M.A. *kaa*, AMg. JM. *kayā*, PG.P. *kata*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *kada*, Ś. Mg. A. *kida*, A. *akia* (§49; cf. §306).—AMg. *patthaḍa=prastṛta* (Thān. 197), *vitthaḍa=vistṛta* (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), *saṁthaḍa=samstṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1), *asaṁthaḍa* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), *ahāsaṁthaḍa=yathāsaṁstṛta* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMg. *maḍa=mr̥ta* (Vivāhap. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMg. JM. *maḍayā=mr̥taka* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMg. JM. *majya* Vivāhap. 16,1041,1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. *mu'a* (Āv. 28,8), (G.), M. *maa* (G.), *mua* (H. R.), JŚ. *mada* (Pav. 387,18), Ś. *muda* (Mr̥ch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—*vuḍa=vṛta* in AMg. *abhinivuḍa=abhinivṛta* (Sūyag. 110,117 [°ni°]. 371), *nivuḍa=nivṛta* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Sūyag. 550), *pāuḍa=prāvṛta* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 134,170), *parinivuḍa=parinivṛta* (Kappas.) beside °*ja* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *parivuḍa=parivṛta* (Ovav.), *saṁparivuḍa=samparivṛta* (Vivāhap. 186,830; Nāyādh. §4,130; p. 431,574,724,784, 1068,1074,1273,1290,1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *saṁvuḍa=samvṛta* (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Sūyag. 81,117,144; Vivāhap. 942; Kappas.), *asaṁvuḍa* (Sūyag. 108,115), *susaṁvuḍa* (Sūyag. 141), beside *nivvua*, JM. *nivvuyya*, Ś. *nivvuda* (§51), M. *pāua* (H.), Dh. Ś. *pāvuda* (Mr̥ch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. *avāvuda=apāvṛta* (Mr̥ch. 16,3,5,9), Ś. D. *parivuḍa=parivṛta* (Mr̥ch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. *saṁvuḍa* (Mr̥ch.15,7), AMg. *saṁvuyya* (Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *haḍa=hr̥ta* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *avahaḍa=apahr̥ta* (Hc. 1,206), *abhihaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1,2;2,1,11;2,2,1,2), *āhaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,4;2,1,9,2; Sūyag. 382), *asamāhaḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), *nīhaḍa=nirhr̥ta* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11;2,1,9,7;2,10,2,4), beside M. *hiā=hr̥ta* (H.R.), Ś. *avahaḍa=apahr̥ta* (Mr̥ch. 52,13,21;53,2,21;55,16;74,12;78,2;89,9;147,17;154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in *kaḍa=kr̥ta*, *maḍa=mr̥ta*, *gaḍa=gata*. So are found Mg. *kaḍa* (Mr̥ch. 17,8;32,5;127,23,24;132,10,11,12;149,24;154,20;164,10); *maḍa* (Mr̥ch.119,15), *maḍaa* (Caṇḍak. 63,11), *gaḍa* (Mr̥ch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside *kada*, *kida* (§49), *gada* (Mr̥ch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Caṇḍak. 70,14; Venis. 34,9 etc.). *kaḍa* occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. EI, 2,485) beside *adhikate=adhikṛtān* (5,5). *maḍa* is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On *kaḷa*, *maḷa* see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are: *dukkḍi=duskr̥tin* (Sūyag. 295); *uvakkhaḍei=*upaskṛtayati*, *uvakkhaḍāvei* (§559); *pureḷkhaḍa=puraskṛta* (Paṇṇav. 796ff.); *niyādi=nikṛtin* (Dasav. 635,7), *niyādilla=nikṛtimat* (Uttar.990), *niyādillayā=nikṛtimattā* (Thān. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.); *saṁkhaḍi=samskṛti* (Āyār.

1,8,1,18), *paḡaḍi*=*prakṛti* (Thān. 216; Vivāhap. 74), JŚ. *paḡaḍi* (Kattig. 399,308), beside *paḡai* (Ovav.; Kappas.), M. *paai* (H.R.), Ś. *paidi* (Śak. 35,8;66,8;117,11;153,14; Vikr.73,12;75,4); *vaḍimsa*, *vaḍimsaga*, *vaḍimsaya*=*avataṃsa*, *avataṃsaka* (§ 103); *vejāvāḍiya* beside *vejāvacca*=*vaijāpṛtya* (LEUMANN, Ovav. s.v. *vejāvacca*). Doubtful is the meaning of Mg. *viḍatta*, *ppaḍavadi* (Mṛcch.165,11). Lalitadikṣita's explanation by *vitapta*, *pratopati* in GODABOLE p. 448 is forced. Presumably we should read: *viḍhatte cede kiṃ na pḡalavadi*=*vidagḍhaścetah kiṃ na pralapati*. On *viḍhatta* cf. M. *ḍhajjāi*, Ś. *ḍhajjadi*, *viḍhajjia*, Mg. *ḍhayyadi* (§212), on *pḡalavadi*, the v.l. *ppatabadi* in GODABOLE.

§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paññā*=*pratiññā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mālav. 66,18;69,5), beside AMg. *apaḍinna*=*apratijñā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19,22; 1,8,2,5.11.16;1,8,3,9.12.14;1,8,4,6.7.14); AMg. JM. *paññhāna*=*pratiññhāna* (Thān. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhap. 418,447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town JM. Ś. *paññhāna* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *paḡaḍi*]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Leṇa-dialect *paññhāna* beside *patiññhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); AMg. *paññhā*=*pratiññhā* (Hc. 1,206); AMg. JM. *paññhiya*=*pratiññhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paññhiya* (G.R.), AMg. *paññhiya* (Ovav.); AMg. *paññhāvaya*=**pratiññhāpaka* (Ovav.), JM. *paññhāviya*=*pratiññhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paññhāvia* (R.), Ś. *paññhāvehi*=*pratiññhāpaya* (Ratn. 295,26); JM. *paññinam*=*pratinidinam* (Erz.; Kk.), *paññiyaham*=*pratindivasam* (Kk.), *paññamayaṃ*=*pratisamayam* (Hc. 1,206), *paññavarisam*=*prativarṣam* (7,1); also in independently standing *prati*, JM. *pai* (Kk.), Ś. *padi* (Cait.88,12;90,4.5); *paiva*=*pratiṇa* (Hc.1,206; Pāyāl.154), beside Mg. *viḡḡaḍiva*=*viḡḡaḍiṇa* (Mṛcch. 29,23), Dh. *viḡḡaḍiva* (Mṛcch. 30,11.12; cf. GODABOLE p. 86,1.2); M. JM. *sampai*=*samprati* (Hc. 1,206; Pāyāl. 67; G.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), JM. *sampayaṃ*=*sampratam* (Pāyāl. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside Ś. Dh. *sampadam* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *sampadam* (e.g. Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5;38,19;99,11;119,11; 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. *tha*, through *ṭha*, becomes *ḍha* initially in M. *ḍhakkaī*, *ḍhakkei* (covers; disguises; closes; Hc. 4,21; H.), JM. *ḍhakkemi* (T. 7,9), *ḍhakkeūna* (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *ḍhakekehi* (Mṛcch. 36,3); Mg. *ḍhakkida*, *ḍhakkedha* (Mṛcch. 79,17;164,14), also with infixed nasal *ḍhamkissam* (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; BROCKHAUS *ṭaṅkissam*, ed. Bomb. P. *ḍhamkissam*, (ed. M. *thagaissam*=Pāli *thaketi*¹, *ḍhaṅkanī* (cover; Deśin. 4,14); *ḍhakeka* (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. *kaḍhaī*=*kvathati* (Vr. 8,39; Hc. 4,119,220; Ki. 4,46), *kaḍhamāna* (G.), *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* (H. 401; so to be read), *kaḍhia* (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kaḍhiāmāna* (Anarghar. 270,1; text °*ijja*°), *kaḍhida* (Karp. 82,7), AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (Jiv. 823.860f.); AMg. *gaḍhiya*=*grathita* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2.5,4 [text °*ddh*°]; 1,4,4,2;1,6,5,5;1,8,1,9;2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601.699.751; Thān. 156; Vivāhap. 450.1128; Nāyādh. 433.606; Vivāgas.87 [text °*ddh*°].92), *agaḍhiya* (Āyār.2,1,5,5; Paṇhāv.359.370); *niṣidha* beside *niṣiha*=*niṣiṭha* (Hc. 1,216). In Ś. occurs *niṣidha* (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as well as *niṣiha* (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for *niṣidha*. AMg. *nijjūḍha*=*niryūṭha* (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhap. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12.19.21.22.24), *añijjūḍha* (Vivāhap. 134), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*=*yūṭha* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), Ś. *jūḍha* (Caṇḍak. 17,12), M. *jūhiā*=*yūṭhikā* (G.), AMg.

jūhiyā (Kappas.), *Ś. jūdhiā* (Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 16,2; 17,2; 21,14 [text everywhere °hi°]), AMg. *nijjūhaga* = **niryūthaka, nijjūhiya* = **niryūthita* (Dasav. 644, 16, 17), JM. *nijjūhiyyai* (Āv. 42, 15); *paḍhama, padhuma, pudhama, pudhuma* beside P. *pudhuma* = *prathama* (§104); *pudhavi* beside *puhavi*, *puhai* = *prthvi* (§51)²; AMg. *pudho* = *prthak*, beside *puhutta, puhatta* = *prthaktva* (§78); AMg. *medhi* = *methi* (Hc. 1, 215; Nāyādh. 630; Uvās.); *saḍhila, pasadḍhila, siḍhila, pasiḍhila* = *sithila, praṣithila* (§115).

1. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 2f. The word presupposes one Skt. **sthak*, Cf. § 309. Not quite correct FISCHER, BB. 15, 125.—Artificial and false BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 164f.

§222. Initially *da* has become *ḍa* in M. AMg. JM. in the roots *daś* and *dah* and their derivatives (Hc. 1, 217, 218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2, 35 mentions *daśana* only, Ki. 2, 42 besides also *dahana*, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1, 217 permits it optionally in *daśana, daṣṭa, dagdha, dāha*, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. *dasai*, but AMg. *dasamāṇa* (cf. v. 1.), *dasantu* (Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 4); M. *ḍaṭṭha* (H.) and M. JM. *ḍaṭṭha* (R.; Kk.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍakka* (§566); AMg. *saṁḍāsa* = *saṁdamśa* (Uttar. 593); *uddāsa* (bug; Deśin. 1, 96); *uddāsa* (pain; Deśin. 1, 99); but AMg. JŚ. *daṁsa* = *damśa* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 28; Ovav.; Kattig. 401, 353); Dh. *ḍaṭṭha* (Mrcch. 39, 8); M. *dasana* (G.), and so always in Ś. according to Vr. 12, 31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: *dasanādasani* (Laṭakam. 7, 6), *daṁsadi* (Śak. 160, 1), *ḍaṭṭha, daṁsida* (Mālav. 53, 17; 54, 6). So also *dāḍhā* = *daṁṣṭrā* (§76).—*dah* forms *dahaṭ* (H.), JM. *dahe* (Erz. 38, 18), AMg. *ḍahaha* (Sūyag. 596), *dahejjā* (Dasav. 634, 5), *ḍahijjā* (Sūyag. 783); M. *ḍahiṇṇa* (H.R.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhai* (Hc. 4, 246; G. H. R.); Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5, 4, 2; 1, 3, 3, 2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282, 284); M. *ḍajjhasi, ḍajjhasu* (H.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhanti* (G.; Paṇhāv. 381; Dvār. 498, 26), M. *ḍajjihisi* (H.); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32, 35); JM. *ḍajjhae* (Dvār. 498, 22); AMg. *ḍajjhantu* (Paṇhāv. 127; M. AMg. *ḍajjhanta* (G.R.; Karp. 87, 9; Jiv. 591; Paṇhāv. 63; Paṇnav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), JM. *ḍajjhini* (Dvār. 499, 23); AMg. JM. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270, 286; Paṇhāv. 59, 217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498, 25), *ṇi* (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498, 28; 499, 7); AMg. *viḍajjhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 6, 4, 1); AMg. *aḍajjha* (Thāṇ. 146); M. *ḍaddha* (H.R.), but only R. 3, 48 in *ḍaddhaa* without a v.l., everywhere else with v.l. *ḍaddha*, as also AMg. JM. have (C. 3, 16; Sūyag. 288, 783; Paṇhāv. 176; Paṇnav. 848; Vivāhap. 13, 16, 617; Āv. 9, 16, 20; 19, 13, 15; Dvār. 499, 21, 22, 500, 16; 501, 34), M. without v.l. only R. 7, 52. Cf. Ki. 2, 17. In M. the cerebralization is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15, 58 with v.l. should be read *ḍahium*¹, in spite of JM. *dahium* [Erz. 24, 25]. In compounds the dental seems to prevail: *viḍaddha* (Ki. 2, 17); M. *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (G.H.; Anarghar. 20, 3); JM. *niddahai* (Erz. 3, 17), AMg. *niddahejjā* (Uttar. 363), JM. *niddaddha* (Dvār. 504, 9, 10); AMg. *saṁādahamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 14); otherwise, except in *ḍaddha*, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as *ḍahijjai* (Hc. 4, 246), AMg. *ḍajjhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 13, 16, 617), probably under the influence of the adjacent *ḍaddha*, as JM. *dahai* (Erz. 3, 18), through the preceding parallel *niddahai* (Erz. 3, 17). In Ś. the dental remains, except in the cases of transimposition of breath (§212), throughout: *dahidum* (Śak. 72, 12); *ḍaddha* = *dagdha* (Anarghar. 150, 4; text *daddha*; cf. also ed. Calc. 89, 2); *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (Mālatim. 76, 6; 250, 3; Hāsy. 25, 8; 22, 31, 17). In derivatives the cerebralization is found e.g. in M. AMg. *ḍāha* (Pāiyāl. 46; H.; Āyār. 2, 10, 17), M. JM. *ḍahaṇa* (Pāiyāl. 6; G.; Erz.) beside JM. *dahaṇa* (Erz.; Kk.). So also *ḍaddhāḍi* (way of the forest fire; Deśin. 4, 8) from *dagdha* + *vāḍi* (way) with contraction according

to §167. For *da* appears *ḍa*, further in the anlaut in JM. *daṇḍa*=*daṇḍa* (Vr. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Āv. 47,26ff.), beside the common *daṇḍa* of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.l. *ḍa*°]. 8; 1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; JM. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mṛcch. 41,6; 155,5; Śak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,78,7; Prab. 4,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 154,10; 155,5); *dabbha*=*darbha* (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. *dabbha* (G.; Śak. 85,2; Uvās.); *dambha*, beside *dambha*=*dambha* (Hc. 1,217), to which *dambhia*=*dāmbhika* (gamester; Deśin. 4,8) also belongs; AMg. JM. *dahara*=*dahara* (young; Deśin. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100,113,472,515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28,32,35; 636,14; 637,7; Āv. 42,16); *dolā*=*dolā* (Grr.; Deśin. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. *dolā* (Vr. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5; 54,10; 55,4; 57,2,5,7; Mālav. 32,12; 34,12; 39,7,15; 40,5; Karp. 54,5; 58,1; Viddhaś. 117,1), M. *dolāia*=*dolāyita* (under H. 966), beside Ś. *dolāamāṇa* (Mṛcch. 68,14); in addition also *dola* (eye; Deśin. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), *dolia* (antelope; Deśin. 412)²; AMg. JM. *dohala*=*dohada* (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohala* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgas. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13; 34,13; 36,2; 40,6; 48,14; Karp. 20,2,6; 64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. *dohala*=*doholaka* (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaś. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMg. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in *ādahai*=*ādadhāti* (Ovav. § 44), *ādahanti*=*ādadhāti* (Sūyag. 286)³. Cf. §223.500. *dara* becomes *ḍara* in the meaning "fear", (Hc. 1,217), as *darati* in the meaning "fears", "trembles", *ḍarai* (Hc. 4,198)⁴; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning "something", "a little", "half": M. JM. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśin. 5,33; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14; 56,7; 66,11; Erz. Mālatim. 118,5; Uttarak. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaś. 117,4; 126,3). *dara* "fear" with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with *kandara*. In the anlaut *ḍa* appears for *da* in *kaḍaṇa* beside *kaaṇa* (Hc. 1,217); M. *khudā*, Ś. *khudā*=**kṣudita*=*kṣuṇṇa*, M. *ukkhudā*=**utkṣudita* (§ 568); AMg. *tudīya*=**tudita* (§ 258); Mg. *haḍakka*=**hṛdaka* (§ 194). *saḍai* belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to *sad*, according to Vr. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to *śad*. Probably it is to be rightly connected with *śaṭ*, in favour of which are AMg. *paḍisāḍenti*, *paḍisāḍittā* (Āyār. 2,15,18), JM. *paḍisaḍaṇa* (Kk. 268,22)⁵.

1. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 327. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho p. 322, note 5, who completely overlooks the dialectical distinction.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 6,89.—3. JACOBI (SBE. 45,45,283), with the commentary, falsely derives the form from *dah* "to burn".—4. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,217; 4,198.—5. So probably more correctly than Hc. 4,219.

§223. In the anlaut *dha* has become *ḍha* in M. *ḍhaṅkha*, AMg. *ḍhaṅka*, *ḍhinka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, *ḍhēṅkī*=*dhvāṅkṣī* (§ 213); in the anlaut in AMg. *ṇisaḍha*, *ṇisaḍha*=*ṇisaḍha* (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thān. 72,75,176; Samav. 19,161,162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nirayāv. 79ff.; Paṇhāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but *ṇisaḥa* (Sūyag. 313); *osaḍha* (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,1; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha* (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhap. 516; Uttar. 602, 918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. *osaḍha* in *laddhosadha* (Śak. 56,16)=*ausadha*¹. To it belongs also AMg. JM. *āḍhai*=**ādhāti*=*āda-dhāti* (§ 500)¹, causative *āḍhavaī*, *viḍhavaī*, passive causative *āḍhappaī*, *āḍhaviāī*, *viḍhappaī*, *viḍhaviāī* (§ 286); participles M. AMg. JM. *āḍhatta*, M. *saṁāḍhatta*, M. JM. Ś. *viḍhattaī*, A. *viḍhatta* (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of *āḍhatta*, from *ārabha*², is linguistically impos-

sible. To *dhā*, not to *ḍṛ*, belongs also *āḍhia* (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Deśin. 1,74), JM. *āḍhiya* (Āv. 43,25) = **āḍhita* = *āhita*. For cerebralization one may compare *saḍḍhā* = *śraddhā*, *saḍḍha* = *śraddha*, *saḍḍhi* = *śraddhin* (§ 333) and AMg. *āḍahai*, *āḍahanti* (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, *āḍhai* to *ārādhati*, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 306, to *ardhayati* or to *ārdayati*.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. *āḍhatta*; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512, note **; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *rabh*; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOBI, KZ. 28,253.

§224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMg. JM. JŚ. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, *na* is always changed into *ṇa* (Vr.2,42; Hc.1,228; Ki. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. *ṇa* = *na*; *ṇaṇa* = *naṇa* (G.H.R.)¹; *ṇalinī* = *nalini*; *ṇāsaṇa* = *nāsana* (R.); *ṇihaṇa* = *nidhana* (G.R.); *ṇihāṇa* = *nidhāna*; *ṇihuaṇa* = *nidhuvana* (H.); *ṇūṇam* (H.), *ṇūṇa* (G.R.) = *nūnam*. Likewise Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā.D.A. In AMg. JM. JŚ. single *n* in the beginning of words and doubled *n* within words may be retained. Ki. 2,107 generally permits dental *n* in the anlaut: *ṇai* or *ṇai* = *nadi*. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMg. and JM. generally, and in KI. throughout, *ṇa* is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain *n*². In the particle *ṇam* = *nūṇam*, always *ṇ* is written, which is explained by the fact that *n* originally stood in the inlaut and that *ṇam* is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaūḍavaho, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMg. even a medial simple *na* is sometime retained as in *āranāla*, *anila*, *anala* in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically *na* is written falsely in Ś. *nomālie* = *navamālike* (Lalitav. 560,9.17 beside *nomālie*) and Mg. *nijjhala* = *nirjhara* 566,9 whilst *nirantara* (561,2) and *nia* (567,1) are printing mistakes³. In PG., with the exception of *madena* (6,40), *na* in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: *pallavāṇa* (5,2), *vatthavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇām* (6,8) *bamhaṇāṇam* = *brāhmaṇāṇām* (6,8.27.30.38), *kātūṇam* = **kṛtvāṇam* (6,10.29), *nātūṇam* = **jñātvāṇam* (6,39), *likhiteṇa* (7,51), otherwise the simple *na* in the inlaut is partly retained, as *senāpati* (5,3), *vadhanike* = **vardhanikān* (6,9), *aneka* (6,10), *ṇpadāyino* = *ṇpradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *sātāhani* (6,27), *vinesi* (26,31), partly it becomes *ṇa*, as in *maṇusaṇa* = *manusyāṇām* (5,7), *dāṇi* = *idāṇin* (5,7), *appaṇo* = *ātmanah* (6,8), *sāsaṇassa* = *sāsanasya* (6,10), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *anu*^o = *anu*^o (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental *na* always remains: *neyike* = *ṇaiyikān* (5,7), *kumāraṇṇḍi* (6,17), *ṇaṇḍijasa* = *nandijasya* (6,21), *nāgaṇṇḍisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *saṇvīṇayika* (6,32), *ṇigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41), *ṇarādhamo* (7,47), *anne* = *anyān* (5,6; 7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from *jña*: *āṇataṇam* = *ājñaptam* (7,49), where *jña* is taken as in the inlaut, beside *nātūṇam* = **jñātvāṇam* (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts⁴. So also in VG.: *pallavāṇam* (101,2); *nārāyaṇissa* (101,8), *vaddhaṇiyam* (101,8), *kātūṇa* (101,9), *nātūṇa* (101,10; cf. EI. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. *na* remains throughout: P. *dhana*, *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *vatanaka* = *madanaka*, *cintayamāṇi* = *cintayamāṇā*, *gantūna* = **gantvāna*, *natthūna* = **naṣṭvāna* etc., also *sināna* = *snāna*, *sināta* = *snāta*, *sunusā* = *snuṣā*: CP. *matana* = *madana*, *tanu*, *nakara* = *nagara* etc. (Vr. 4,7.13; Hc. 4,304.307.310.312.313.314.325.328; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṇh-kāra 2,12.

1. Cf. §186, note 1.—2. LEUMANN, *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* p. 6, note 4. On the flexibility of the manuscripts see WEBER, *Bhag.* 1,402f.; E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 29f.; JACOBI, *ZDMG.* 34,181, according to whom even in the oldest manuscripts *ṇa* appears not rarely; STEINTHAL, *Specimen* p. 3.—3. KONOW, *GN.* 1894,480.—4. Not quite correctly BÜHLER, *EI.* 1,3.

§225. Very rarely and that only dialectically the cerebrals of Skt. become dentals. In P. *ṭu* can become *tu* (Hc. 4,311); *kutumbaka* beside *kuṭumbaka*. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* : P. *gunaganayutta*=*guṇagaṇayukta*; *gunena*=*guṇena*; *talunī*=*taruṇī*; *visāna*=*viṣāṇa*; *gahana*=*grahana* (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, *Kāvya-lamkāra* 2,12); CP. : *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *panaya*=*praṇaya*, *nakhatappanesuṃ*=*nakhadarpaṇeṣu*, *pātulkkhepena*=*pādotkṣepeṇa* (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Sindhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭa-lamkāra 2,12 *ṇa* should become *na* also in Mg.: *taluna*=*taruṇa*. S. has confused Mg. with P. In AMg. JM. JŚ., the manuscripts write *nna* for *ṇna* of the other dialects, except that of P. CP., just as for the dental *nna* (§ 224). *nisanna*=*niṣaṇṇa*; *paḍipunna*=*pratipūrṇa*; *vanna*=*varṇa*; also in the case of the secondary *ṇṇa*, as *anna*=M. Ś. *aṇṇa*=Skt. *anya* etc.

§226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebrals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* could become *la* (Vr. 2,22.23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Ki. 2,12.13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of *la*, however, *ṭa* should always be written, as in similar cases in Pāli¹. The North Indian manuscripts know *ṭa* as little as the *anunāsika* (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for P. transition of *ṭa* into *ṭa* is required². Trivikrama's *grantha*-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout *ṭa*, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the *sūtras*, it is true, they write *ṭa*, and in the examples, with a some exceptions, that are scribe's errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript³, only *ṭa*. The edition in the *Granthapradarśanī* has only *ṭa*. It is so in the *sūtra* 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama : *ṭor baḍiśādaḥ ṭaḥ*. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands *kīṭaḥ*=*kṛīḍati*; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. *kīṭaḥ*, B. *kīṭaḥ*; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgarī MSS. have *kīṭaṇaṃ*=*kṛīḍanakaṃ*, 155,12 *kīṭiṣṣaṃ* or wrongly *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*=*kṛīḍiṣyāmi*. Of the South Indian manuscripts the *Grantha*-manuscript L⁴ reads *kīṭaṇijjāṃ*=*kṛīḍanīyam*, but *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*, the Telugu-manuscript F *kīṭaṇijjāṃ* and *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*, P. *kīṭaṇaṃ*, but *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*, the Malayālam-manuscript V *kīṭaṇīyam*, but *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 *kīṭaṇaṃ* and p. 305 *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*; Vikr. 41,7;52,9 has for *kīḍiṣṣaṃ* *kīṭaṇāṇa*, in the South-Indian recension 643,1;650,17 *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*, *kīṭaṇāṇa*, 31,17 for *kīṭaṇavvadaperante*=*kṛīḍāparvataparyante*, 636,17 *kīṭaṇavvade*=*kṛīḍāparvate*; Mālav. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has *kīṭiṣṣaṃ*; in Mālatīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads *kīṭaṇāḍo* for *kīṭaṇāḍo* etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have *ṭa*, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use *ṇa*, so that they, e.g. write *ṭaraṭa*, *marāṭa*, *saraṭa*, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription I,A⁵, writes *phāṭiga*=*sphāṭika*, while PG. has *pīṭā*=*pīḍā* (6,40), for which *pīṭā* was expected⁶. In agreement with Pāli *ṭa* is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for *ṭa*, *ḍa*. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When *ḍa* and *ṭa* are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 258 (p. 322 ed. BÖHTLINGK), *Sarasvatik.* p. 98, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Alamkāratilaka* p. 14, *Sāhityadar-*

paṇa 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Raghuv. 9,46 permits *bhujalatām* to alliterate with *jaḍatām* (*ḍalayarabhedah* says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North *ḷa* had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt.⁷ in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

1. E. KUHN p. 36f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule.—3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,30 A. *valahāmuhaṁ*, B. *vaḷāmuhaṁ*; A. *galulo*, B. *garuḷo*=*garuḍah*; A. *talāṁ*, B. *taḷāṁ*=*taḍākam*; in 1,3,24 A. *valisaṁ*, B. *baḷisaṁ*=*baḍisaṁ* etc.—4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,190f.—5. EI. 2,324.—6. On the inscriptional occurrences of *ḷa* see BÜHLER, EI. 2,368; FLEET, CII. 3,4,269.—7. PISCHEL, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§227. Except in Dh. and Mg. *ṣa* and *ṣa* have become *sa* in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilant only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Kī. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. *sivakhaṁdavamō*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *visae*=*viṣaye* (5,3), *pesaṇa*=*preṣaṇa* (5,6), *yaso*=*yaśaḥ* (6,9), *sāsaṇassa*=*śāsaṇasya* (6,10), *sata*=*śata* (6,11), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6,16), *sāka*=*śāka* (6,34), *visaya*=*viṣaya* (6,35) and others; M. *asesa*=*aśeṣa* (G.H.), *āsviṣa*=*āśviṣa* (R.), *kesa*=*keśa* (G.H.R.), *ghosa*=*ghoṣa* (G.H.), *pasu*=*paśu* (G.), *masi*=*maśi* (H.R.), *mahisa*=*māhiṣa* (G.H.R.), *rosa*=*roṣa* (G.H.R.), *sisira*=*śiśira* (G.H.R.), *sisu*=*śiśu* (G.); Ś. *kidavisesaā*. *sohadi*=*kṛtavīṣeṣakā*... *sohate* (Mṛcch. 2,21), *parisilidāsesadesamitaravvavahāro*=*pariśilitāśeṣadeśāntaravyavahārāḥ* (Lalitav. 560,19), *sasisseharavallahā*=*śaśiśekhharavallabhā* (Lalitav. 561,9), *sussūsidapuruvo* *sussūsidavvo*=*śūśrūṣitapūrvāḥ* *śūśrūṣitavyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 39,23). Likewise AMg. JM. JŚ. P. CP. Ā.D.A.

§228. In Dh. *ṣa* has become *sa*, but *ṣa* has been retained: *esa*, *esu*, *eso*=*eśaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,10;31,8;34,17;35,15;36,23); *puliso*=*puruṣaḥ* (34,12); *mūśido*=*mūṣitaḥ* (38,18;39,1); *samaviṣamaṁ*, *sakalusaṁ* (so to be read!)=*samaviṣamaṁ*, *sakaluṣakam* (v. l. *aikasaṇam*=*atikṛṣṇam*; 30,8.9); however, *ādamśāmi* (so to be read!)=*ādarśayāmi* (34,25); *jaśam* [so to be read]=*yaśaḥ* (30,9); *daśasuvaṇṇa*=*daśasuvarṇa* (29,15;30,1;31,4 etc.); *śalaṇam* (to be read so!)=*śaraṇam* (30,4); *śuṇṇu*=*śūnyaḥ* (30,11); *śela*=*śaila* (30,17). See § 25.

§229. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa, and as it appears, in Kaikeyapaśācika too, *ṣa* and *sa*, when not conjoined, become *ṣa* in the inlaut and in the anlaut; *ṣa* itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kī. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: *īdiśāśśa* *akayyaśśa*=*īdrśasyākāryasya* (Śak. 113,5); *avaśalovaśaṇṇā*=*avasaroṣasarpāṇi* (Śak. 115,10); *keśeṣu*=*keśeṣu* (Mṛcch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); *duśśāśaṇṇāśśa*=*duḥśāśanasya* (Mṛcch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12); *pulīśa*=*puruṣa* (§ 124); *bhūśaṇṇāśadda*=*bhūśaṇṇāśabda* (Mṛcch. 14,23); *māhiśamahāśula*=*māhiśamahāśura* (Caṇḍak 68,16); *mānuśamaṁśa*=*mānuśamāṁsa* (Venis. 33,3); *māśalāśi*=*māśarāśi* (Mṛcch. 14,10); *lāśi*=*rājarāśi* (Venis. 34,1); *lośaggi*=*rośāgni* (Mṛcch. 123,2); *lośāmaliśa*=*palaovaśa*=*rośāmarṣaṇaravaśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); *valīśaśada*=*varṣaśata* (Venis. 33,4); *viśakapṇā*=*viśakanyakā* (Mudrār. 193,3;194,6); *viśeśa*=*viśeṣa* (Mṛcch. 38,13); *viśśāvaśśa*=**viśvāvasusya*=*viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9); *śalīśa*=*śalīla* (Mṛcch. 136,11;158,13); *śalīla*=*śarīra* (Mṛcch. 124,21;127,5;140,10;154,10; Venis. 34,1); *śahāśśa*=*sahasra* (§ 448); *śamaśśaśadu*=*samāśvasiṭu* (Mṛcch. 130,17); *śamāśśāśadi*=*samāśvāśyate* (Venis. 34,13);

śiṣaśi = *śirasi* (Mṛcch. 116,15); *śiṣiśomeśalāeva* = *śrīśomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); *śivilaṇiveśa* = *śibiraniveśa* (Lalitav. 565,6); *śoṇidavaśāśamuddaduś-śaṃcala* = *śoṇiṣavaśāsamudraduśsaṃcara* (Venīś 34,5); *śośāveduṃ* = *śoṣayitum* (Mṛcch. 140,9).

2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§230. *ka* becomes *ca* in *kirāta*: M. *cilāa* (Vr. 2,33 [Bh. here and under 2,30 *cilāda*]; Hc. 1,183.254; Ki. 2,35.41; Mk. fol. 17 [*cilāda*]; R.), AMg. *cilāya* (Paṇhāv. 42; Paṇnav. 58), femin. *cilāi* (Ovav.), *cilāiyā* (Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); cf. *cilātiputra* (commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38). In the meaning "Śiva" *ka* remains according to Hc. Mk. So M. *kirāa* (G. 35.) In Ś., according to Mk., *ka* remains in tribal names: *kirāda* (Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8), *kirāya* occurs in Pāiyāl. 273.—*ka* is represented by *va* in *ovāsa* = *avakāśa* (Pāiyāl. 261; G.H.R.), beside *oāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.H.R.), M. Ś. *avaāsa* (Hc. 1,172; G.; Mṛcch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8, Prab. 46,2), JM. *avagāsa* (Erz.), AMg. *avagāsiya* = **avakāśika* (Uvās.); *ovāsa* = *avakāśate* (Vr. 8,35; Hc. 4,179); M. *antovāsa* = *antaravakāśa* (G. 848; § 383)¹. Further in AMg. *jūva* = *yūka* (Jiv. 356), beside *jūā*, *ūā*, AMg. *jūyā* (§ 335); M. AMg. JM. JS. A. *thova* = *stoka* (Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thān. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311.959; Dasav. 621,13; Jiyak. 92; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [text *thū*]; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. JM. *thovaya* = *stokaka* (Nāyādh.; Erz.), AMg. *thovayaram* (Jiyak. 92), JM. *thovāthovam* (Āv. 43,7), beside M. Ś. Mg. *thoa* (Hc. 2,45.115; G.H.R.; Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 157,6), *thōkka* (§ 90)²; AMg. *divaddha* = *dvikārdha* (§ 450). *va* will have, according to § 199, originated from *pa*, therefore, it may be a case of interchange between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On *pavatttha*, supposed to be = *prakoṣṭha* see § 129; on *candimā*, supposed to be = *candrikā* § 103; on AMg. JM. JS. Mg. A. *ga* for *ka*, § 192.202; on *kha*, *ha* for *ka*, see § 206.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain *v*, here, as in other cases, with FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar *k*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. *ga* appears as *va* in *ovāhai* beside *ogāhai* = *avagāhate* (Hc. 4,205)¹; AMg. *jūvala* = *yugala* (Vivāhap. 962), *jūvalaya* = *yugalaka* (Vivāhap. 82), *jūvaliya* = *yugalita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); cf. § 286 *juppai*; AMg. *talāva* = *taḍāga* (Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *talāga* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; Paṇhāv. 31.246.437.520; Paṇnav. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44.45; Erz.), AMg. *talāya* (Ovav.), *taḍāga* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3); M. *talāa* (Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.l.); Ś. *taḍāga* (Mṛcch. 37 23; 151,15); M. *dūhava* = *durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115.192; Karp. 86,2), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel *sūhava* = *subhaga* (Hc. 1,113.192), according to Mk. fol. 39 also *duhavi*, *suhavi* = *durbhagā*, *subhagā*. Reversely *ga* occurs for *va* in AMg. JM. *agaḍa* = *avaṭa* (2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz.), beside *ayāḍa* (Deśin. 1,18; Pāiyāl. 130) and common *avada*; AMg. *niṇhaga* = **nāihnava*² (heretic; Ovav. § 122), beside AMg. *niṇhavejja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niṇhave* (Dasav. 631,31), *anṇihavemāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83); cf. § 473; AMg. *aṇhaga* = *āsraṇa* (Paṇhāv. 324), beside *aṇhaya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Paṇhāv. 7; Ovav.)³, *paṇhaya* = *prasrava* (Vivāhap. 794), AMg. *mahānubhāga* = *mahānubhāva* (Bhag.; Ovav.)⁴. Cf. also AMg. *pariyāga*, *niyāga* (§ 254).—M. *punnāma* = *pūmnāga* (Hc. 1,190; R.), beside AMg. *punnāga* (Āyār. 2,10,21; Nāyādh. 699. [°*nnā*]), Ś. *punnāda* (Mallikām. 116,9), and *bhāmīni* = *bhāginī* (Hc. 1,190), beside M. Ś. *mandabhāinī* (H.; Mṛcch. 22,25; 120,6; 170,3 25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose

the process of development *puṇṇāga*, **puṇṇāva*, *puṇṇāma* (§ 261)⁵. Skt. *puṇṇāman* is a borrowing from Pkt. —*chāla* supposed to be=*chāga*, and *chālī*=*chāgī* (Hc. 1,191) have, according to § 165, arisen from *chāgala*, *chāgalī*. For Mg. *cheliā* (Laṭakam. 12,14) we have to read *chālīā*. Ś. has *chāgala* (Mṛcch. 17,15). On *gha* for *ga* see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. So the word is not to be equated as=*nihna* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.). *i* stands for *ai* according to § 84.—Not correctly, LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.).—4. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *anubhāga*. WEBER, Bhag. 2,290 thinks of Skt. *anubhāga*. To me the equation of AMg. *pūsamānaga* =Skt. *pūṣyamānava*, given by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., is not clear. The word *vaddhamānaga*, in Ovav. § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as *pūṣyamāna* + *ka*. In no case, with LEUMANN, we can assume dropping off of *v*.—5. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 15; Rāvaṇavaho, Index p. 172^a, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains *va* as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§232. AMg. *āṇṭana* is not, with Hc. 1,177, to be equated as=*ākuṇ-*
cana, but as=**ākuṇṭana* from *Vkuṭa kauṭilye* (Dhātupāṭha 28,73), that is
identical with *Vkuṭi vaikalaye* (Dhātupāṭha 9,37). Hence it is derived from
the present stem *ākuṇṭa-*, which occurs in AMg. *āṇṭiya*, *āṇṭeṭṭjā* (Vivā-
hap. 1151,1152)¹. To the same root belong Skt. *kuṭila*, Pkt. *kuḍilla*
kuḍillaa (crooked; Deśin. 2,40; Pāṇ. 155), *koḍilla* (bad; Deśin. 2,40) and
kuṇṭi (bundle; Deśin. 2,34). — *khasia*, according to Hc. 1,193 = *khacita*, is
rather =*kasita*, in conformity with Hc. 1,181; cf. § 206. — AMg. *pisalla* (Paṇhāv.
79 v.1.), *sapisallaga* (Paṇhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as=*piśāca*, will be=
piśācālaya, according to § 150.165.194. *piśāca* becomes regularly M. Ś.
piśā (H.; Prab. 46,2; Mudrār. 186,4 [°ca]; 191,5 [°ca]), AMg. JM.
piśāya (Thāp. 90.138.229; Paṇhāv. 172.230.312; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.).

1. *āṇṭāvēmi* (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary *āṇṭāvēmi*), *āṇṭeṭṭe*, *āṇṭeṭṭi* (sic;
Nāyādh. 605) is a false reading for *āṇṭāvēmi*, *āṇṭeṭṭe*, *āṇṭeṭṭi*, as e. g. *āṇṭāi* (Thāp. 152;
Sūyag. 403), *āṇṭāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), *āṇṭāttas* (Kappas. S. § 49), *viṇṭāmi* (Vivāhap. 614),
viṇṭāna (Sūyag. 476) are found. The forms belong to *Vvrt*.

§233. *cha* remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes
ccha after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains
cha, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. *chala* (G.H.); *chavi*
(G.R.); *chāā*=*chāyā* (G.H.R.); *chea*=*cheda* (G.H.R.); *icchaī*=*icchatī* (H.R.);
ucchaṅga=*utsaṅga* (G.H.R.); *gacchaī*=*gacchatī* (H.); *pucchaī*=*prcchatī* (R.);
mucchā=*murchā* (R.); *piṇcha*=*piccha*, *puṇcha*=*puccha* (§ 74); *puñchaī*=*proñ-*
chati (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. — AMg.
milakkhu beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*, AMg. *miccha*=*mleccha*
(§ 84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form **mlaska*¹. In
Mg. original as well as secondary *ccha* becomes *śca* (Hc. 4,295; Nāmi-
sādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaṭaṅkāra 2,12); *iścīadi*=**icchyate*=*iśyate* (Śak.
118,6); *gaśca*=*gaccha* (Hc.; Lalitav. 566,18; Śak. 115,4), *gaścamha*=*gacchāma*
(Śak. 118,7); *puścamde*=*prcchan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *maśca* from the usual
Pkt. *maccha*=*maśya* (Mṛcch. 11,11.12 [so to be read]; Śak. 114,2,9),
maścali (fish; Śak. 118,2)=Gujarāṭi *māchalī*, Hindī *machalī*, Sindhī *machadī*²;
āvapnavasāla=*āpannavatsala*, *piścila*=*picchila* (Hc.; Namis.); *uścaladi*=
ucchalati, *tiliści pēskadi*=M. *tiricchi pēcchāi*=*tiryak preksate*, *puścadi*=*prcchatī*
(Hc. 4,295); *yivantavaśca*=*jivadvatsā* (Hc. 4,302). The texts mostly have *ccha*:
nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So
some MSS. have *gaścasi*, *gaśchasi*, *gaśca* for *gacchasi*, *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 20,14);
Pṛthvidhara in STENZLER p. 241 has *maścāśikā* for *macchāśikā* (Mṛcch. 10,23);
for *gaccha* (Mṛcch. 132,16) there occur *gaśca*, *gaśśa*; for *ācchāmi* (Mṛcch.
132,17), *āścāmi*, *āśvāmi*; for *āgacchadi* (Mṛcch. 133,8), *āgaścadi*.

āgaśchadi etc.³ In the anlaut *cha* remains: *chāla* (Hc. 4,295), *chāā=chāyā* (Mudrār. 267,2). The *cha* of *chedaa* in *ganṭhichedaa=granthichedaka* (Śak. 115,4,12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. °*chedaā* in R, however, makes here the reading **cedaa* more probable. See also §327.

1. E. KUHN, KZ. 25,327.—2. FISCHER on Śakuntalā p. 199, note 1.—3. FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1319.

§234. In place of Skt. *ja* an old *ga* has been retained dialectically in the root *añj* and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes: AMg. *abbhañgei* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8;2,15,20), *abbhañgējja=abhyañjyāt*, commentary=*abhyañgyāt* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *abbhañgēttā=*abhyañjivā* (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), *abbhañgāvei=abhyañjayati* (Vivāgas. 235; text °*bbhi*°); JM. *abbhañgijjaha=abhyañjadhve* (Erz. 59,30), *abbhañgium* (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JM. *abbhañgiya* (Ovav. [°*bbhi*°]; Kappas.; Nāyādh. [°*bbhi*°]; Erz.); AMg. JM. *abbhañgaṇa=abhyañjana* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *abbhañgida=abhyakta* (Mṛcch. 69,7); AMg. *nirañgaṇa* (Ovav.) against M. *nirañjana* (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. *abhyāṅga=AMg. abbhañga* (Ovav.). Sūyag. 248 has edited *muhabbhiñjāe*. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only *ja*.—AMg. *omugganimuggiya*, explained by the commentator with *majjanonmajjana*, is=**avamagnanimagnita*, as *ummaggā, ummuggā=*unmagnā* (§ 104).

§ 235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that *j* in the root *srj* becomes *r*. His examples *nisirai*, *vosirai*, *vosirāmi=vyavasrjati, vyavasrjāmi* occur very frequently in AMg. JM. So AMg. *nisirāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), *nisirai* (Pannav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120f.212.254.1217.1271 Nāyādh.), *nisirāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); *nisirinti* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,5,2,3;2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [°*ri*°]), *nisirāhi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), *nisira* (Dasav. 632,28), *nisirinta-* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirittā* (absolute: Vivāhap. 1251), *nisirijjamāna* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāvēnti* (Sūyag. 680), substantive *nisirapa* (Dasav. N. 658,33); AMg. *vosirāmi* (Āyār. p. 132,2;133,6,134,3;136,5; Nāyādh. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dasav. 614,19;616,20; Ovav.); JM. *vosirai* (Erz. 50,37); AMg. *vosirējjā* (Āyār. 2,10,1ff), *vosire* (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737.923; Dasav. 619,14); JM. *vosirasu* (Erz. 42,33); AMg. *vosirittā* (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JM. *vosiriya* (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. *viosire* (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to *srj*¹ is impossible. Rather the AMg. JM. participle, *samosariya=samavasṛta* (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75.189; Nirayāv. §3; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent *samosaḍha=samavasṛṣṭa* (§ 67), further AMg. *samosarējjā, samosariukāma* (Ovav.), *samosaraṇa* (Bhag.; Ovav.), shows that in AMg. JM. the roots *srj* and *sr* have coincided. *sr* forms *sarai=sarati*, in the meaning “to go”, “to run”, but *sirai=*sarāti* in the meaning “to cause to go”, “to cause to run”, “to let go” and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. *nisirijjamāna* beside *nisiṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirai* (Vivāhap. 254) beside *nisiṭṭha* (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 65; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vosir* and *viosagga*; JACOBI² Erz. s.v. *vosirai*.

§236. In Mg. *ja* becomes *ya* (Vr. 11,4; Hc. 4,292; Kī. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12); *yānidavvaṃ=jñātavyam, yāniś-samha=jñāsyāmah, yā[ne]=jāne, yāniyyadi=jñāyate, yānidam=jñātam, yampidenā=jalpitena* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.13;566,1.8.12); *yāṇadi=jānāti* (Hc.; Namis.); *yaṇavada=janapada* (Hc.; Namis.); *yalahala=jaladhara* (Hc. 4,296); *yāyade=jāyate, yāā=jāyā* (Hc.). The MSS. of the dramas, with quite rare exceptions, write in Mg. too only *ja*, since in the North-Indian dialects *ya* and *ja* have in many cases coalesced together.¹ That is

simply a contribution of the scribe², and for *ja*, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute *ya* throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for *jāla* (Śak. 114,2) *yāla*, with the MS. R; for *jamadaggi* (Mṛcch. 12,12), *yamadaggi*; for *jīadi* (Mṛcch. 12,20), *yīadi*; for *jāñāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yāñāsi*; for *jōisa* (Mudrār. 177,4), *yōiśa=iyotiśa*; for *jīna* (Prab. 46,12), *yīna*; for *janehim jammantala°* (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *yañehim yammantala°=jñānairjanmāntara°* etc. In the interior of the word simple *ja* drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to *ya* for *ja*, *yha* will have to be written in cases like *yhaṇṇayyaṇanta-* for *jhaṇṇajjhaṇanta-* (Mṛcch. 11,6), *yhatti* for *jhatti= jhaṭṭi* (Mṛcch. 29,21; 114,21; 168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in *niyyhala* for *nijjhala=nirjhara* (Lalitav. 566,9), *uyhia* for *ujjhia=ujjhivā* (Mudrār. 178,6); *jjh* also in Hc. 4,302). Cf. § 217.280. In PG. VG., where *ja* otherwise remains (§ 189), it has become *ya* in PG.; *bhāradāyo*, *bhāradāya°*, *bhāradāyasa=bhāradavājah*, *bhāradavāja°*, *bhāradavājasya* (5,2; 6,16.19); VG. *bhāradāyassa* (101,2; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). Cf. § 253.—*uvvivaī*, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Kī 5,46=*udvijate* is rather=**udvipate=udvepate*, as *uvvea* is not=*udvega* (Hc. 4,227), but=**udvepa*, from *Vvip*, *vepate*. On AMg. *murava=muraja* see §254.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. § 23; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 17.—2. So correctly already LASSEN, Inst. § 154,3. Cf. above § 23.

§237. Independent *ñā* occurs in CP. in the declension of the word *rājan*, when the sound-group *jñ* is separated by a separation-vowel according to § 133 and becomes *ciñ* according to § 191 (cf. note 1): *rāciñā*, *rāciño=rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304; § 399). In Bh. 10,12 *rācinā*, *rācino*, *rācini* are read with dental *n*. Further *ñ* stands in A. *vuñāi=*vraññāti=vrajati*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppinu* (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. *vaññadi* (§ 488).

§238. As a rule *t* becomes *ḍ* in the inlaut between two vowels (§ 198). *ta* becomes *ḷa* in lieu of *da*, in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *phāliha=sphaṭika*, AMg. *phāliya=sphāṭika* (§ 206). In M. *phaḍiha* (R. s.v.; the better recension C has °li°), certainly, and in Ś. *phaḍia* (§206) probably are false.—*phālei* (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to *Vpaṭ* with Hc. 1,198, but to *Vphal*, *sphal*.—*capēṭa* forms also M. AMg. *caviḍā*, *caviḷā* (Hc. 1,146.198) besides *caveḍā* (Hc. 1,146; H.; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically *ta* becomes *ḷa* also, for which the North Indian MSS. write *la* (§ 226). So M. AMg. *kakkoḷa=karkoṭa* (G.; Paṇhāv. 527); AMg. *kaḷitta=kaṭitra* (Ovav. §10); AMg. *khēḷa* (saliya)=*khēṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,1,7; Thāp. 483; Paṇhāv. 343.505; Antag. 23; Vivāhap. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.), *khēḷei=khetayati* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *piḷāga=piṭaka* (Sūyag. 208); Mg. *yūḷaka=jūtaka* (Mṛcch. 136,15); Mg. *śaḷa=śakaṭa* (Mṛcch. 122,10), beside Ś. *saḍiā=śakaṭikā*, AMg. *sagaḍa*, dialectical *saḍḍha* (§ 207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Pīṅala: *nīḷa=nikaṭa* (1,127^a.129^a; 2,84); *paḷa=prakaṭa* (1,72; 2,97.272); *paḷia=prakaṭita* (2,264); *phuḷa=sphuṭa* (2,48); *phuḷe=sphuṭati*, in the sense of *sphuṭanti* (2,230); *makkāḷa=markaṭa* (1,91.99); *vahuḷiā=vadhūṭikā* (2,84). Beside *balamoḷia=balamoṭita* (1,140^a), for *moḷiā=moṭitaḥ* (2,112) we have to read *moḍiā*, or for *choḍiā*, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. GOLDSCHMIDT for *loḍiā*) we have to read perhaps *choḷiā=choṭitaḥ*. In M. stands *balāmoli°* (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has °ḍi°), and so we have to read, since *Vmuṭ* has *ḍa* constantly. So M. *balamoḍi°* (H.); M. JM. Ś. *balāmoḍi* (Deśin. 6,92; Pāiyāl. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 (cf. § 589); Kk. 260,35; Mallikām. 122,8); Ś. *balāmoḍia* past passive participle; Mālatīm. 76,4; 128,8; 253,7; absol.

Mālatīm. 235,3; Rukmiṇīp. 15,13;21,6)¹, *pacchāmoḍia* (absol.; Śak.144,11); M. *āmoḍaṇa* (G.); Mg. *moḍaiśśam*, *moḍaiśśāmi* (Mrcch. 113,1;128,14), *modemi*, *moḍia* (Mrcch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also *āmōda*, *moḍa* (braid of hair; Deśin. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. *mōṭṭima* (Anarghar. 152,9; Rucipati : *mōṭṭimam balātkāre deśi*), probably also *mōṭṭāi*=*ramate* (Hc. 4,168).—For *kādasi* (cemetery; Deśin. 2,6)=**kaṭaśi* from *kaṭa* (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa 3,13,10)=Pkt. *kaḍa* (vanished; dead; Deśin. 2,51)+*śi* (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have *karasī*, hence a change of *ṭa* to *ra* through *ḍa*. The same transition of *ṭa* into *ra* takes place in AMg. *purabhejaṇi* (city; Uttar. 618)=Pāli *putabhedana*². On *ḍha* for *ṭa* see § 207.

I. In *balā* we should not, with FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 210; BÜHLER, Pāṭya. s.v. *balāmoḍi*, look for the ablative *balāt*. Rather the prefix *ā* has to be assumed, as *āmōda*, *āmōḍana* indicate.—Very false JACOBI, SBE. 45,102, note 2. *puṭa* is wrongly Sanskritized into *putra* (cf. Vr. 12,5) in *pāṭaliputra*. Cf. §292.

§239. In the inlaut *ṭh* becomes *ḍh* between vowels (§ 193). Dialectically very rarely it becomes *h*: AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuṭhāra* (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17.18), JM. *kuhāḍaya* (T. 7,1); *pihāḍa*=*piṭhara* (Hc. 1,201), AMg. *pihāḍaga* (Jiv. 251), *pihāḍaya* (Uvās. §184), beside *piḍhara* (Hc. 1,201; Pāṭya. 172), AMg. *piḍharaga* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5). On the interchange between *ḍa* and *ra* see 241.258.

§240. As a rule *ḍ* becomes *l*, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write *l* (§ 226; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe *ḷa* for *ḍa* as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits *ḍa* in *dāḍima*, *baḍiśa*, *nibiḍa*; Hc. requires *ḷa* for *vaḍavāmuḥa*, *garuḍa*, *taḍāga*, *kriḍati*, allows optionally *ḷa* and *ḍa* for *baḍiśa*, *dāḍima*, *guḍa*, *nāḍi*, *naḍa*, *āpiḍa*, and teaches *ḍa* as necessary for *nibiḍa*, *gaḍa*, *piḍita*, *nīḍa*, *uḍu* and *taḍita*. With him agrees Triv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (*baḍiśāḍau*) and 1,3,30. Ki. has, like Triv., the gaṇa *baḍiśāḍi*, but he limits it to *baḍiśa*, *nibiḍa* and *jaḍa*, which must have *ḍa* according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example: AMg. *āmeḷiya*=*āmredita* (Anuog. 37); AMg. *gaveḷaga*=*gaveḍaka* (Ovav.); AMg. JM. *guḷa*=*guḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), Mg. *guḷodana* (Mrcch. 163,20), also *guḍa* (Hc. 1,202), Mg. *guḍāha*=*guḍaka* (Mrcch. 116,25); M. Mg. *nīḷa*=*nigāḍa* (G.H.R.; Mrcch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMg. *nigāḷa* (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. *nīḷa*=*nigāḍita* (G.R.), JM. *nīḷiḷiya* (Pāṭya. 197); M. *nīḷāvia* (H.); Ś. *nīḷavadi* (Mālav. 51,21); AMg. *elaḷa*=*edaka* (Uttar.226; Paṇṇav. 366f.; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *garuḷa*=*garuḍa* (Hc. 1,202; Pāṭya. 25; G.; Thāp. 71.85; Sūyag. 317.771; Āyār. 2,15,12,13; Paṇhāv. 235.311; Vivāhap. 183.964 [ḍa]; Paṇṇav. 97; Jiv. 485.488; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them M. has *garuḍa* (R.), JM. *garuḍavūha* beside *garuḷa-saṭtha* (Erz.); Ś. *garuḍa* (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12;99,1), Mg. *galuḍa* (text °ru°; Nāgān. 68,4.13); in M. stands *galuḍa* (Ācyaśa. 2.29.34; AMg. *chaḷaṃsa*=*śaḍaśra* (Thāp. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya* (Sūyag. 590), *chaḷāyayaṇa*=*śaḍāyatana* (Sūyag. 456), *chaḷasi*=*śaḍaśiti* (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211.441; AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha*=*soḍaśa* (§ 443); *vaḍavā* (Pāṭya. 226); M. *vaḍavāmuḥa* (R.), A. *vaḍavāṇala* (Hc. 4,365,2.419,6), beside M. *vaḷavāmuḥa*, *vaḷāmuḥa* (R.), *vaḷāṇala* (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. *vaḷāyāmuḥa* (Erz.); Ś. *dāḍima* (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhaś. 15,2), M. *dāḍimī* (G.), beside AMg. *dāḷima* (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Paṇṇav. 483.531; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *āmeḷa*, M. *āmeḷiaa*, AMg. *āmeḷaga*, *āmeḷaya*=**āpiḍya* (§122), beside *āveḍa* (Hc.1,202), Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatīm.207,4); AMg. *taḷāga*, *taḷāva*

beside *taḍāga* = *taḍāka* (§ 231); M. *kīlei* (G.), AMg. *kīlanti* (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), *kīlāe* (Uttar. 570), *kīliya* (Āyār. p. 135,17); Samav. 23), JM. *kīlai*, *kīlanta*-, *kīlanti*, *kīliūna* (Erz.), Ś. *kīlasi* (Mr̥cch. 54,3;95,11), *kīla* (Mr̥cch. 95,23), *kīlamha* (Ratn. 293,25); Ś. Dh. Mg. *kīlēmha* (Mr̥cch. 94,15;30,18;131,18); Ś. *kīlissam* (Vikr. 41,7;47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of °dī°; Mālav. 60,11), *kīlissasi* (Mr̥cch. 94,19;95,12); Mg. *kīlissam* (Mr̥cch. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. Ā. *kīlidum* (Mr̥cch. 100,21;140,7;148,13); Ś. *kīlida* (Mr̥cch. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); Ś. *kīlamāna* (Vikr. 52,9); A. *kīlai* (Vikr. 64,5), *kīladi* (Hc. 4,442,2), *kīlanti* (Vikr. 63,5) from *krīd*; M. Ś. *kīlā* = *krīdā*; Ś. *kīlānaa*, AMg. *kīlāna*, *kīlāvaṇa*, beside AMg. JM. *kīdā*, *kīddā* (§90), as well as Ś. *khēladi*, A. *khēlanta*, AMg. *khēllāvaṇa*, JM. *khēllāveṇa*, *khēlla*, A. *khēllanti*, beside AMg. JM. *khēḍḍa*, A. *khēḍḍaa*; *khēḍḍai* (§ 90. 206); AMg. *tālei* = *tādayati* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālayanti* (Uttar. 360.365), *tālējā* (Uvās. § 200), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *tālemāna* (Vivāgas. 102), *tālījōmāna* (Panhāv. 196), *tāliya* (Nāyādh. 1236), *tālāna* (Panhāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śākāra. *tālia* (absol.; Mr̥cch. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. *tāḍāna* (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7;65,9; Mr̥cch. 122,20); M. *tāḍumaṇā* (Karp. 70,7), *tāḍia* (R.); JM. *tāḍiya*, *tāḍijjamaṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *tāḍedi* (Mr̥cch. 79,22), *tāḍia* (absol.; Mr̥cch. 155,4), *tāḍida* (Mr̥cch. 69,23), *tāḍaidum*, *tāḍaiṣsam* (Mālav. 44,16;65,20), *tāḍiadi* (Mālatim. 267,6), *tāḍianta*-, *tāḍiamāna* (Mudrār. 211,5;212,2;203,1); Mg. *tāḍhedha* (Mr̥cch. 166,24;169,22), *tāḍaiṣsam* (Mr̥cch. 80,5); Mg. Ā. *tāḍida* (Mr̥cch. 29,19;105,2;148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMg. have *udu* (Pāiyāl. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. *gaūḍa* (G.), AMg. A. *goḍa* (Panhāv. 41; Piṅgala 2,112.138; cf. §61a); M. *nivida* (G.; on H.996; Karp. 49,11), *nivīḍia* (G.); JM. *nivīḍa* (Erz.); M. *nīḍa*, *nēḍḍa* (§ 90); M. JM. *tadi* (Pāiyāl. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22;71,23), AMg. *tāḍiyā* (Vivāhap. 943), but A. *taḷi* (Vikr. 55,2); M. *piḍia* (G.R.), AMg. JM. *piḍiya* (Pāiyāl. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.), Ś. *piḍida* (Mr̥cch. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. *nippīḍia* (R.), *sampīḍia* (G.), *piḍijjanta*-(H.R.), *piḍana* (H.), M. JM. Ś. *piḍā* (Pāiyāl. 161; G.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), Ś. *piḍiadi* (Mr̥cch. 72,15), *piḍedi* (Vikr. 16,17). In AMg. however, *la* prevails: *pīliya* (Uttar. 590); *pīliyaga* (Ovav.); *pīlei* (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945.950); *avīlāe*, *pavīlāe*, *nippīlāe* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); *uppīlavējja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); *paripīlējja* (Sūyag. 208); *ovīlemāna* (Vivāgas. 102; text u°); *avīliyāna*, *paripīliyāna* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *pīlā* (Panhāv. 394. 402.426; Uttar. 675); *sampīlā* (Uttar. 926.934.940.945.950); *pīlāna* (Panhāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands *piḍoi* beside *avīliijja*. In Piṅgala 1,145a we have to read *pīlia* with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with *mīlia*. AMg. *edei* = *edayati* (Vivāhap. 248), *edanti* (Vivāhap. 236), *edēnti* (Ovav.), *edittā* (Vivāhap. 236.248) have always *ḍa*. Beside *viḍḍā* = *vrīḍā* (§ 90), AMg. has an adjective *viḍḍa* (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads *veḍa*, that will be correct and is connected to AMg. *veḷanaya* (Aṇuog.333), that according to Deśin. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectical *veḷunā* (Deśin. 7,65). *e* is to be explained according to §122. M. has *viḍia* beside *vīlia* = *vrīḍita*, AMg. *savīliya* (§81). *viḍḍunā*, *veḍunā* (Deśin. 7,65) are also adduced.

§241. *ḍa* has become *ra* in M. Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya* = *vāḍūrya* (§ 80). Bh. 4,33 has *veluria*, by which *veluria* is meant, as by *velulia* (Deśin. 7,77), *veḷulia*. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also *vedujja*. Further in AMg. JM. *birāla* = *biḍāla*¹ (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Nāyādh. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. *birālaa* (Piṅgala 1,67; ed. Bombay. °ḍā°), femin *birālī* (Nandis. 92; Paṇṇav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMg. *birāliya* (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant *chīrabirālī* = *kṣīrabiḍālī* (Vivāhap. 1532),

birāliya (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For *viḍāla* (Jiv.356) is to be read *birāla*. Ś. has *biḍāla* (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. *vi*°; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between *biḍāla*, *biḍāla*, *biḷāla* and *vilāla*, feminine *biḍālī* (Hāsy. 25,7), *biḍālīā* (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. *viāriā*, *biḷālīā*, *vuḍālīā*); Pāli *biḷāla* and *biḷāra*.

1. Excluding Nandis, 92 and Sūyag. 824, the texts everywhere have *vi*°. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is *bi*°, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. *ḍha* remains unchanged in all the dialects : AMg. JM. *āḍhaṇa*=*āḍhaka* (Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *āsāḍha*=*āsāḍha* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. JM. Ś. *gāḍha*=*gāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *daḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161,544; Mṛcch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 116,8), JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha* (Kattig. 400,329.330.336;403,370; Mṛcch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Piṅgala 1,86^a)=*dṛḍha*; M. JM. *bāḍha*=*bāḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.). On A. *khallihadañ* cf. § 110.207. —Secondary *ḍha*, originating from *ṣha* (§ 66.67.304) becomes *ṭha* (written *ṭha*) in *koḷhua* (jackal; Deśin. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from **koḍhua*=*kroṣṭuka*¹, to which belongs also *kuḷha* for **koṭha* (jackal; Deśin. 2,34) = **kroṣṭa* for *kroṣṭṛ*; *koḷhāhala* (fruit of momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,39) = **kroṣṭāphala*; cf. *kroṣṭuphala*. Likewise *gōṭhā*=*gūḍhā* (momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,95), *gōṭhāphala*=*gūḍhaphala* (Pāiyāl. 255)².

1. LEUMANN, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about *gūḍhaphala* with BÖHTLINGK s.v. It is assumed that *ṭha* makes a position.

§243. *ṇ* in *veṇu* may become *ḷ* : AMg. *veḷu* (Hc. 1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197,248; Paṇṇav. 33; Rāyap. 33.89.184), beside *veṇu* (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197,248; Vivāhap. 1526; Paṇṇav. 40), *veṇudeva* (Sūyag. 317); likewise *veḷugā*, *veḷuṇa*=*veṇuka* (amomum; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhap. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇṇav. 43). Since Pāli has *veḷu*, *ḷ* is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably *veṇu* and *veḷu* go back to the basic form **velnu*, which belongs to the root *vel*, *vell* that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of *veḷu* “thief” and “pestle” (Deśin. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. *thūṇa* “thief” § 129. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* (§ 225). Kī. 5,107.108 teaches that *la* enters : *phalati*=*bhaṇati*, *thvalati* [sic] = *dhvanati*, *phalitaṃ*=*bhaṇitaṃ*, *thvalitaṃ* [sic] = *dhvanitaṃ*, *phalaṃ*=*phalaṃ*=Pkt. *vaṇaṃ*=*vanam*; *phalaḥ* [sic] = *bhaṇata* (5,113); *phalāmo*=*bhaṇāmaḥ* (5,114). In the examples *kakaṇa*=*gagaṇa* (5,102), *jajaṇa*, *cacaṇa*=*yajana* (5,103), *calaṇa*=*caraṇa*, *usaṇa*=*uṣṇa*, *paṣaṇa*=*praśna*, *sināṇa* [sic] = *snāna* (5,109) the edition writes *ṇa*, and since *ṇa*, *na*, and *la* very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians *na* is to be read for *la*. According to Kī. 5,110 *na* and *ṇa* could become also *ṇa* in P.: *kaṇaka*=*kanaka*; *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa*.

§244. Sometimes *ta* and *da* become *la*, and through the intermediate grades *ṭa*, *ḍa* (§ 218.219) they become *ḷa* (§ 226.238.240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by *la*, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether *la* or *ḷa* is to be written : Ś. *alasī*=*atasī* (Hc.1,211), Mallikām. 87,15; but AMg. *āṇasī* (Vivāhap. 41.1526; Paṇṇav. 34.526; Uttar. 592; Ovav.); AMg. *āsila*=*asita* (Sūyag. 203); *palila* (Hc. 1,212) beside M. *palia*=*palita* (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M. *vijjulā*=Pāli *vidyutā*=*vidyut* (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.), *vijjuli*=**vidyutī* (Vr.4,26; Mk. fol. 37), M.Ś. A. *vijjuliā*=**vidyutikā*¹ (H.584 v.l.; Vikr.27,13; Piṅgala 1,142^a). *vijjuā*, that Vr.4,9; Hc.1,15; Kī. 2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only *vijjulā* and *vijju* (G.H.R.); Ś. has *vijjudā*

(Mṛcch. 91,19; Venis. 60,17); M. *sālavāhaṇa*, *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhaṇa* (Hc.1,8. 211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside *sālivāhaṇa* also *sāyavāhaṇa* (Kk.); Mg. *śūla*=*sūta* (Mṛcch. 97,3). — AMg. *salilā* (stream; Sūyag. 317.460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479) is not, with JACOBI², to be equated as=Pāli *sarītā*=Skt. *sarīt*, which always retains *r*, but is a feminine of the adjective *salila* (Āyār. 2,16,10=Sūyag. 468) of which Skt. *salila* (water) is neuter.—*la* is to be read in Mg. *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11,1;40,4), *maḷa* (Mṛcch. 118,14.15.24; 132,21) beside *kaḍa*, *maḍa*=*krta*, *mrta* (§ 219), JM. *vāḷa*=*vyāpṛta* (Kk.; §218), A. *paḷai* for *paḍai* (§ 218)=*patati* (Piṅgala 1,78.116.120^a.123.125. 125^a.133.135;2,60.135.202.231.261). — *da* has become *la* in M.AMg. *kalamba*=*kadamba* (Vr. 2,12; Hc.1,222; Ki.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl.255; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 60; Thān. 321), beside *kaamba* (Hc. 1,222), AMg. *kajambaga* (Nāyādh. 354.1045), *kajamboja*, (Kappas.; text falsely °bu°; v.l. *kalambaja*, *kalamba*, *kajamba*); AMg. *kālamba* (Thān. 505), M. *kāmba* (G.R.)=*kādamba*.—M. *goḷa*=*godā* (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśin. 2,104; Pāiyāl. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.³ The MSS. of Triv. write *la*, which is attested by the v.l. *godā* in H.—M. AMg. *ṇollaī*, *nullaī*=*nuddti* with doubling according to § 194 (Vr. 8,7; Hc. 4,143; Ki. 4,46 (text *noṇṇa*); Mk. fol. 53); M. *ṇollei* (H.R.), *ṇöllēnti* (G.), *ṇollia* (R.), *paṇollia* (G.R.); AMg. *ṇollāvehinti*, *ṇollāviya* (Vivāhap. 1280), *paṇollā* (absol.; Sūyag. 360), *vipaṇollāe* (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), *paṇullemāna* (Nandis. 146; commentary °ṇo°).—JM. *palivei*=*pradīpayati* (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13), *palivesi*, *palivehi* (Āv. 9,19;32,21); JM. *palivai* (Hc. 4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); M. *palivesi*, *palivium*, *palippamāna* (H.), *palivei* (R. 5,67)⁴; M. AMg. *palitta* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,221; Ki. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117; M. *palivia* (H.), JM. *paliviya* (Pāiyāl. 16; Āv. 9,15;32,22.26); AMg. *āliviya* (Vivāgas. 225); *ālivana*=*ādīpana* (Deśin. 1,71); JM. *palivanaga* (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. *dippanti*, *dippamāna* (G.), A. *divia*=*dīpita* (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ś. *uddīvanī* (Mṛcch. 2,22), *paḍivesi* (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p. 55,19 has °lī°).—AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (Paṇhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168.173.249.608; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *duvālasaṅga* (Hc. 1,254; Samav. 3; Thān. 569; Sūyag. 616; Nandis. 388.394), *duvālasaviha* (Vivāhap. 159.524; Paṇnav. 30.374; Jiv. 44), *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699).—AMg. JM. *doḥaḷa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *doḥaḷa*=*dohada*, M. Ś. *doḥaḷaa* (§222), according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with *ḷa*, as is shown also by Mg. *haḷaka* (Mṛcch.9,25), *haḷaa* (Mṛcch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. *haḍakka* (§ 194). Cf. § 436.—M. *maḷai*=*mradata* (Vr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), *malesi* (H.), *maḷei* (R.), *maḷia* (G.H.R.), *parimaḷasi* (H.), *parimaḷia* (H.R.), *vimaḷai* (G.), *vimaḷia* (G.R.), *omaḷia* (R.), *maḷana* (G.), *parimaḷana* (H.), with *ḷa* as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī⁵.—AMg. *elisa*=*īdrśa*, *aṇelisa*=*anīdrśa*, *elikkha*, *elikkhaya*=*īdrkṣa*, *īdrkṣaka* (§121).—*soḷlai* (cooks; Hc.4,90)=*sūddyati*, with doubling according §194, AMg. *soḷla* (cooked; roasted; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), *soḷlaya* (Uvās.)=*sūd+na*, *sūd+na+ka* (§566)⁶ and from the present stem (§ 565) *soḷliya*=*sūḍita* (Ovav.).—*veḷūṇā* beside *bedūṇā*, *viddūṇā* (§ 240); AMg. *vibhelaya*=*vibhedaka* (§121).

1. So correctly BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks WEBER on H. 584 with regard to *vidyullatā*.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even JACOBI's explanation of *kulala* is wrong; see §80.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,237f.—4. The text has *paḍivei*, in the same stanza with *palitta*, for which 1,5;5,87 *paḍitta*, 15,73 perhaps *paṭitta* stands. Forms with *ḍa* are not attested elsewhere.—5. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,126.—6. Wrongly equated by HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. as=*śūlya*, *śūlyaka*, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovav. §74 *īṅgālasōḷliya*.

§245; *ta* becomes *ra* through *ḍa* (§ 218) in *sattari*=*saptati* (Hc.1,210);

AMg. JM. *sattariṃ*, *sattari*, JM. also *sayari* (70); AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* (69), *ēkkasattariṃ* (71), *bāvattariṃ* (72), JM. also *bisattari*; AMg. *tevattariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ*, JM. *caūhattari* (74) etc., A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76). See §446. More frequently *da* has become *ra*, Mg. *la* through *da*: AMg. *urāla*=*udāra* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9;2,15,14,15 [text *o*]¹; Sūyag. 95.392.408.639; Thān. 177; Nāyādh. §4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhap. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942. 1039.1228f; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Nīraṣāv.; Kappas. s. v. *orāla*); *orāliya*=*audārika* (Paṇṇav. 397 [*u*]¹. 461ff.; Uttar.881; Vivāhap. 111.146. 528ff.620; Thān. 54.55; Ovav.). — *karālī*=*kadalī* in the meaning “elephant flag”, but *kaalī* in the meaning “*musa sapientum*” (Hc. 1,220). False is Ś. *kaṇaakeriā* (Bālar. 131,14)=*kanakakadalikā* against M. Ś. *kaalī* (Karp. 46,14;102,6), Ś. *kadalīā* (Prab. 66,2), AMg. JM. *kajālī* (Pāiyāl. 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v l.). — *gaggara*=*gadgada* (Vr.2,13; Hc. 1,219; Kī. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — *daśa* becomes *rasa*, *raha* in the numerals 11-13,15,17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Kī. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So: AMg. *ēkkārāsa*, A. *ēārāha*, *ēggārāha*, *gārāha*, but also A. *ēkkadaha*, CP. *ekātāsa* (11); AMg. JM. *bārāsa*, A. *bārāha*, beside AMg. JM. *duvālāsa* (§ 244) (12); AMg. *terāsa*, A. *terāha* (13); AMg. JM. *paṇṇārāsa*, A. *paṇṇārāha* (15); AMg. JM. *sattārāsa* (17); AMg. JM. PG. *aṭṭhārāsa*, A. *aṭṭhārāha* (18). See §443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further *da* becomes *ra* in the adjectival and pronominal compound words formed with *-drś*, *-drśa*, *-drkṣa*, like M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erisa*, AMg. JM. *erisaṃ*, A. *erisa* beside AMg. *elisa*, *añelisa*, P. *etisa*, Ś. *īdisa*, Mg. *īdisa*=*īdrśa* (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kerisa*, JM. *kerisaṃ*, Mg. *kelisa* beside Ś. *kīdisa*=*kīdrśa* (§ 121); JM. *annārīsa*=*anyādrśa* (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), Ś. *aṇṇārīsa* (Vikr. 52,19; Mālatim. 89,7;138,10;217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛharinirveda 4,1), but P. *aññātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *aṇṇāisa* (Hc. 4,413); M. JM. Ś. *amhārīsa*=*asmādrśa* (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,16.17.21;18,3; Mudrār. 36,4;241,8;259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaś. 25,8), feminine Ś. *amhārīsī* (Viddhaś. 71,9;116,5), but P. *amhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārīsa*=*yuṣmādrśa* (Hc.1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaś.51,12;121,9; Karp.93,9), but P. *yumhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); *ēārīsa*=*etādrśa* (Hc.1,142), Ś. *edārīsa* (Viddhaś. 102,2; so to be read); feminine *edārīsī* (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. *jārīsa*=*yādrśa* (Hc. 1,142; Kī.1,29; Uttar.794; Erz.), AMg. *jārīsaṃ* (Nāyādh.1284), but P. *yātisa* (Hc. 4,317), Ś. *jādīsa* (Viddhaś. 29,3;32,1.2), feminine *jādīsī* (Śak.51,11.12; Prab. 16,10), A. *jaīsa* (Hc.4,403.404); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *tārīsa*=*tādrśa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Kī. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyag. 365.429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27,2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read *tārīsī*], AMg. *atārīsa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *tārīsaga* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. *tālīsa* (Mṛcch. 37,11), but Ś. also *tādīsa* (Śak. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7;53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine *tādīsī* (Śak. 51,12; Viddhaś. 32,1.2), Mg. *tādīsī* (Mṛcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. *tātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *taīsa* (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. *sarī*=*sadrk* (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgaḷa 1,42); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D.A. *sarīsa*=*sadrśa* (Bh.1,31; Hc.1,142; Mk.fol. 11; G.H. R.; Uvās.; Nīraṣāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 399,316; Mṛcch. 17,18;24,16;55,4;95,11;134,18;152,21; Śak. 132,1;134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mṛcch.102,23;105,4; A. Piṅ. gaḷa 1,10), AMg. *sarīsaṃ*, feminine *sarīsīyā* (Nāyādh.), Mg. *śālīsa* (Mṛcch. 154,20;164,20;176,5), A. *sarīsīma*=**sadrśīman*=*sadrśīya* (Hc.4,395,1); M. Ś. *sarīccha*=*sadrkṣa* (Hc. 1,44.142; H.; Viddhaś.23,4), also M. JM. JŚ. *sārīccha* (§ 78), and Ś. *sārīkkha* (Karp. 108,2), *sārīccha*=**sadrkṣya* (Hc. 2,17; G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. *sārīkkha* (Hc. 2,17;4,404); Ś. *sārīkkhadā*

(Karp. 109,7.10). Cf. also *bhavārisa* (Hc. 1,142) against A. *avarāisa* = **aparādṛsa* (Hc. 4,413).

1. *orāla* is likewise false, as *urāliya*. Both the words are substituted by one another in the anlaut in the MSS. and the printed editions.

§246. Sometimes *va* has taken the place of *ta* and *da* just seemingly. *āvajja* is not = *ātodya* (Hc. 1,156), but = **āvādyā* (§ 130). AMg. *ujjovemāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 100.102.112; Uvās.; Ovav.), *ujjoviya* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *ujjovēnta-* (Nāyādh.) are not = *uddiyotayamāna*, *uddiyotita* *uddiyotayant* with the infixed *v*¹, but belong to *Vdyu*, that occurs in Skt. *dyu* (day), *didyu* (thunderbolt; lightening), perhaps also in A. *joedi* (sees; Hc. 4,422,6 and Wort-verzeichniss zu Hc) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects². M. *ruvāi*, M. JM. *rovāi* do not belong to *rud*, but to *ru* (§ 473). *kavattia* is not = *kadarthita* (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but = *kava* in the sense of *kad*=*ku*+**ārtita*=*ārta* (§ 289.428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. *erāvaṇa* is not = *airāvata* (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Kī. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *airāvāṇa* (Hc. 1,148.208; §60). *gabbhiṇa* is not = *garbhita* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kī. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *garbhīn* with a transition to the *a*-declension (§ 406). *atimuktaka* forms, according to Hc. 1,26.178.208, *añmūṭṭaa* beside *āimūṭṭaa*; in AMg. it regularly becomes *āimuttaya* (Hc. 1,26; Ovav. §8), in Ś. *adimōṭṭaa* (Mrcc. 73,10), as *atimukta*, JM. *āimutta* (Pāiyā. 256), Ś. *adimutta* (Vikr. 21,9; Vṛṣabh. 15,17;47,15; Mallikārn. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 *āimūṭṭa* is to be read for *āimutta* of the MS., in Bh. 4,15 probably *āimūṭṭa* is to be read for *āimūṭṭa*, which is explained by *abhimukta*. Whence comes *añmūṭṭaa* is not clear. On *ta* erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on *da* for *ta*, §192.203. 204; on *ta*, *da* for *ta*, §218.219; on *ta* for *da*, §190.191; on *da* for *da*, §222.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *ujjey*.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,322.

§247. *tha* may become *dha* (§221), *dha* may become *dha* (§223), in CP. *tha* (§191). AMg. *samilā* (Uttar. 592.788) is explained by JACOB¹ with *samidh*. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The explanation of the commentators by *kilikā*, *yugakilikā* points to **samitā*; cf. *samit*, *samiti*.—*na* becomes mostly *ṇa* (§224). In *nimba* it may become *la*: *limba* (Hc. 1,230)=Marāṭhī *limba*, A. *limbaḍaa* (Hc. 4,387,2)=Gujarātī *limbaḍa*, beside M. *nimba* (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. *nimboliyā*=*nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152.1173; cf. §167).—On *nhāviā*=*nāpita* see §210.

1. SBE. 45, p. 94, note 4.

§248. For *pa*, which as a rule becomes *va* (§199), dialectically also *ba* (§192) and *bha* (§209), there may appear sometimes also *ma*: M. AMg. JM. *āmeṣa*=*āpīdyā*, *āmelīaa*, AMg. *āmelaga*, *amelaṇa* (§122); *ṇimeṣa*=**nīpīdyā* (§122); M. *ṇumajjāi*=*nīpadyate*, *ṇumajjāna*=*nīpanna* (§118); AMg. *āṇamaṇi*=*āṇāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363ff.369) beside *āṇavanī* (Paṇṇav. 364f.); AMg. *cimīdha*=*cipīṭa* (Nāyādh. 751; commentary *cimīṭṭha*) against. *civīdha* (Nāyādh. 745; text *civīṭṭha*, commentary *cimīṭṭha*, in the text, therefore, to be read *cimīdha*, as for example in 751; cf. §207); AMg. *kuṇima*=*kuṇapa* (Sūyag. 225. 282. 483. 811; Thān. 338; Paṇhāv. 179; Jiv. 255; Ovav.); AMg. *talima*=*talpa* (Deśin. 5,20; Pāiyā. 117.122; Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMg. *nīma*, *ṇīma*=*nīpa* (Hc. 1,234; Dasav. 623,5; Paṇṇav. 31; Ovav.; cf. Ovav. §6 note 12), beside AMg. *nīva*, A. *nīva* (Hc. 1,234; Ovav.; Piṅgala 1,60^a; 2,82); AMg. *bhīṇḍimāla*=*bhīṇḍipāla* (Jiv. 257.279; Paṇhāv. 61.158; Ovav.), beside *bhīṇḍivāla* (Vr. 3,46; Hc. 2,38[also FISCHER].89; Kī.2,65; Mk. fol.26; AMg. *maṇāma*=Pāli *manāpa* (Thān. 65.66.527; Samav. 94; Vivāhap. 162.480; Nāyādh.; Nīrayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.), feminine *maṇāmī* (Vivāhap. 196), *amaṇāma* (Sūyag. 630; Vivāgas. 40f.; Samav.227; Jiv.256; Vivāhap. 89.117.254); AMg. *vaṇimaga*,

°ja=*vanīpaka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2, 5, 1, 9ff.; 2, 6, 1, 7; 2, 10, 23; 2, 15, 11; Paṇhāv. 492; Tñāṇ. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dasav. 622, 31.35; 626, 29; Kappas.), *vanīmajayāē*=*vanīpakatayā* (Paṇhāv. 358; text *vanīmajāē*); AMg. *viḍima*=*viṭapa* (twig; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 12; Paṇhāv. 437; Jiv. 548f.; Dasav. 628, 28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dasav. N. 645, 4; Rhinoceros; Deśin. 7, 89; Ovav. §37. [37]; young roe; Deśin. 7, 89), but M. Ś. *viḍava* (Bh. 2, 20; Kī. 2, 10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67, 2; 137, 5; Vikr. 12, 17; 22, 12; 31, 1); *viḍavi*=*viṭapin* (Pāiyāl. 54); AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* beside *suviṇa*, JM. *sumiṇaga* beside *suviṇaga*; *simiṇa* beside M. *siviṇa*, Ś. AMg. *siviṇa*=Pāli *supina*=Skt. *svapna* (§ 177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of *ma* and *va* (§ 251.261).

§249. Ś. *pāraddhi* (hunting; Viddhaś. 23, 9), which is equated by Hc. 1, 235 and Nārāyaṇadikṣita on Viddhaś. 23, 9 as=*pāpardhi*, is=*prāraddhi*; its synonym *pāraddha* (Deśin. 6, 77), that means also "compensation for an act done in a former life", "oppressed" and "tortured", is=*prāraddha*.

§250. Like *pa* (§ 248), *ba* also sometimes becomes *ma*: *kamandha*=*kabandha* (Vr. 2, 19; Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16). Hc. 1, 239; Mk. fol. 16; Prākṛtamañjarī in PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 14 teach also *kayandha*, that will originate form AMg. JM. or JŚ. and, therefore, will be=*kayandha*. We find in the texts also M. JM. A. *kavandha* (§ 201), which according to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. too always has.—*samara*=*śabara* (Hc. 1, 258), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara*, M. AMg. *savarī* (§ 201). AMg. JM. *māhaṇa* with WEBER¹, E MÜLLER², JACOBI³, LEUMANN⁴, Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT⁵, ASCOLI⁶, HOERNLE⁷ to be equated as=*brāhmaṇa*, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. JM. *bambha*=*brahman*, *bambhajāri*=*brahmācārin*, *bambhaṇṇaya*=*brāhmaṇyaka*, *bambhaloṇa*=*brahmaloka* etc. (§ 267) the word must be pronounced as *bambhaṇa*, as is the case also, AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (Uttar. 748.753f.; Āv. 18, 15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *subambhaṇa* (Paṇhāv. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1, 7 *māhaṇassa*, but 1, 8 *bambhaṇa*; Kk. 276, 25 *bambhaṇarūva*, but II, 508, 19 *māhaṇarūva*. AMg. employs almost exclusively *māhaṇa*⁸ (e.g. Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 12.2, 1.3, 11, 9; 2, 2, 1, 2.2, 8, 9; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 7, 2, 15, 2, 4 11; Sūyag. 17.56.74. 105.106.113.118.373.419.495.553.620.642f.; Vivāhap. 115.119 343; Vivāgas. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *maḥāmāhaṇa* (Uvās.), femin. AMg. JM. *māhaṇī* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Nāyādh. 1151; Vivāhap. 788; Kappas.; Āv. 12, 1), *māhaṇatta*=*brāhmaṇatva* (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. *mākha* (sacrifice), *mākha* (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as=**mākhaṇa*="sacrificial priest."

1. Bhag. 1, 410, note 5.—2. Beiträge p. 29.—3. Kalpas. und Erz. s.v.—4. Aup. S. s.v.—5. Prākṛtica p. 15.—6. Kritische Studien p. 221 with note 8.—7. Uvās., Translation p. 120, note 273.—8. Cf. Uttar. 748 *je loe bambhaṇo vutto...taṇ vayanā būma māhaṇaṇ*.

§251. In A. *ma*, in the inlaut, may become *va* (Hc. 4, 397); *kāvala* beside *kamala* (Hc. 4, 397); *bhāvāra* beside *bhamāra* (Hc. 4, 397); *ṇisāvaṇṇa*=*nihsāmāṇa* (Hc. 4, 341, 1); *pāvāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (Hc. 4, 419, 3); beside *paṇāṇa* (Hc. 4, 399, 1); *bhāṇāi*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4, 401, 2); *vajjāvā*=*vajramaya* (Hc. 4, 395, 5); *sava*=*sama* (Hc. 4, 358, 2); *suvarahi* beside *sumari*=*smara* (Hc. 4, 387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either *v* has vanished behind the *anunāsika* or more frequently the *anunāsika* has disappeared before *v*, so that only *~* or *v* has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1, 178 the *anunāsika* takes the place of *m* in *anūṃtāa*=*atimuktaka* (§ 246); *kāua*=*kāmuka*; *cāuṇḍā*=*cāmuṇḍā*; *jāuṇā*=*yamunā*. According to Vr. 2, 3; Kī. 2, 5; Mk. fol. 14 *m* drops off in *yamunā*, and so has M. AMg. JM. *jāuṇā* (G.; v.l. on H. 671; Kāmsav. 55, 5; Pra-

bandhac. 27,2; Thāp. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 *jamuṇā*, as also Ś. (Vikr. 23,13;41 3). The correct ecriture in M. AMg. JM. will be *jāṇṇā* (§ 179). For *kāua* M. Ś. have *kāmua* (H.; Mṛcch. 25,21;71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. *kāmuja* (Erz.); for *cāuṇḍā* Ś. has *cāmuṇḍā* (Mālatīm. 30,5; Karp. 105,2;106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. *kuarī* for *kumārī*=*kumārī* (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H.² p. LXI on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in *thāu*=*sthāman* (Hc. 4,358,1; text *thāu*), in the sense of *sthāna*, as the scholiasts explain. Ki. 5,99 has *thāma sthāne*. Further in *bhōhā* from *bhamuhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *bhohā*, S. GOLDSCHMIDT *bhamuhā*; cf. § 124.166) and *haṇṇā*=*hanumān* (Piṅgala 1,63^a; text *haṇṇā*).—*va* has taken the place of *ma* in AMg. *aṇavadagga*, AMg. JM. *aṇavajagga*=Pāli *anamatagga*=*anamadagra*¹ (Sūyag. 456 [°no]. 787.789.867; Thāp. 41.129; Paṇhāv. 214.302; Nāyādh. 464.471; Vivāhap. 38.39.160.848. 1128.1290.1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from *ṽnam*, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes *va*: *ṇavā* (Hc. 4,226); M. *oṇavia*=**avanamita*=*avanata* (H. 637); JM. *navakāra*=*namaskāra* (Erz. 35,23.25.27.29); AMg. *vippaṇavanti*=*vipraṇamanti* (Sūyag. 472); A. *ṇavahī*=*namanti* (Hc. 4,367,4), *ṇavantāhā*=*namatām* (Hc. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, *nam* mostly retains its *m*. *ahivaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243), beside Mg. Ś. *ahimaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243; Venis. 34,12; 64,16); A. *ravaṇṇa*=*ramaṇya* (Hc. 4,422,11); AMg. *vāṇavantara*² beside the usual *vāṇamantara* (Nāyādh. 1124; Thāp. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too *ma* has sometimes become *va*: AMg. *vimāṇsā*=*mīmāṇsā* (Sūyag. 59; Thāp. 332f.; Nandis. 351.381.383.505), *vimaṇsa ya*=*mīmāṇsaka* (Paṇhāv. 109)³; *vaṇjara* (Hc. 2,132) beside *maṇjara* (§ 81.86); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*maṇmatha* (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Ki. 2,45; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11;47,16;57,6; Viddhaś. 24,12; Dhūrtas. 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mṛcch. 10,13; text *ba*^o; cf. GEDABOLE 28,4 with note), but in Ś. only *mammadha*⁴ (Śak. 53,2; Hāsy. 22,15;25,3.14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatīm. 81,2;125,2;266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12;36,18;84,3; Vṛṣabh. 29,19;38,11;42,11;49,9;51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23;28,5;30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Karṇas. 30,5; Anarghar. 270,8 etc.). On *va* from *ma* in consonant groups see § 277.312. Cf. also ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. *bhasala* (bee; H.; Karp. 10,7,8; 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244.254; Deśin. 6,101 from *bhramara*, nor with WEBER⁵ from *ṽbhramś*, but it belongs with *bhasman* (ashes), *bhasad* (the hinder part), *bhastrā* (bellows) to *ṽbhas* “to blow”, and therefore designates the bee as “the humming creature.”⁶ The word has also gone over into Skt. too.⁷

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap. 991, is an adjective of *saṃsāra*, probably means “whereof the beginning is not bent off”=“what does not change”=“endless.” The root *ṽnam* has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also PISCHEL, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by *ananta*, *aparyanta*, *aparyavasāna* and mostly consider *avadagga*, *avajagga* as Deśi words used in the sense of “end”, and, therefore, analyse the words as *aṇ*=*avadagga*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vāṇamantara*.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by *vimarsā*, *vimarsaka*.—4. The Indian editions always write *mammaha*. Falsely they sometimes have also *vammaha* in Ś. (Bālar. 24,11;242,4; Viddhaś. 23,9,99,8; Rukminip. 19,10;20,7;28,6;30,14; Mallikām. 122,18;124,3;58,19 etc.), as conversely *mammaha* in M. (Acyutaś. 58; false also H. 327.576 [cf. v.l.]). P. GOLDSCHMIDT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as *bammaha*.—5. On H. 444.—6. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. PISCHEL, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. *ya* becomes *ja* in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245; Ki. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D.

(Mr̥ch. 101,9; 102,21; 103,15; 105,7). Dh. A. *jaī*, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mr̥ch. 105,3) *jadi*=*yadi*, but Mg. *yaī*, *yadi*; M. AMg. JM. Ā. (Mr̥ch. 100,12). A. *jaha*, JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. D. (Mr̥ch. 105,21) *jadhā*=*yathā*, but Mg. *yadhā* (§ 113); M. AMg. JM. *jakkha*=*yakṣa* (G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyag. 674; Paṇṇav. 75; Thān. 90,229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,25ff.; Erz.; JŚ. *jadi*=*yati* (Pav. 383,69); M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*, Ś. *jūdhā*=*yūtha* (§ 221); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jārisa*, but P. *yātisa*=*yādr̥sa*, Ś. *jādīsī*=*yādr̥sī* (§ 245). So also in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A. (Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Kī. 2,36,37; Mk. fol. 16), as M. JM. A. *dijjāī*, JŚ. *dijjadi*=*diyate*, but P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi* (§ 545); AMg. JM. *hojjā*=*bhūyāt*, AMg. *dejjā*=*deyāt*, *ahitthējjā*=*adhiṣṭheyāt*, *pahejjā*=*prahēyāt* (§ 466); M. AMg. JM. *karañijja*=*karaṇiya*, but Ś. *karaṇia*; AMg. *vandanijja*, but Ś. *vandaṇia* (§ 571); AMg. *aṅgulijjaka*=*aṅguliya* (Nāyādh. [°lē°]); Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañcutijja*=*kañcukiya* (chamberlain; Vivāhap. 792,800,963,966; Rāyap. 289; Nāyādh. §128; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMg. *kosējjā*=*kauseya* (Ovav.); AMg. *gevējjā*=*grāiveya* (Uttar. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. [°vi°]); AMg. JM. *nāmadhējjā*=*nāmadheya* (Āyār. 2,15,11,15; Nāyādh. §92,116; p. 1228,1351 [°dhi°]; Paṇṇāv. 303,327; Ovav. § 16,105,165; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 10,2). As a rule *y* drops off in the inlaut according to §186. In Mg. P. CP. *y* remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292): Mg. *yuga*=*yuga* (Hc. 4,288); *yādi*=*yāti*, *yadhāśālūva*=*yathāśvarūpa*, *yāṇavatta*=*yānapattra* (Hc. 4,292); *yutta*=*yukta* (Hc. 4,302); *yaṣka*=*yakṣa* (Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12; *yadhā*=*yathā*, *yaṃ yaṃ*=*yad yad*, *yahastam* [read °dha°]=*yathārtham* (Lalitav. 566,5,8,9); in the inlaut: *alaṣkiyyamāṇa*=*alakṣyamāṇa*, *peṣkiyyamādi*, *peṣkiyyasi* [read °sī°]=*prekṣyante*, *pr kṣyase*; *yāniyyadi*=*jñāyate* (Lalitav. 565,7,13,15; 566,1). As in the case of *ja* (§236) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P.: *yutta*=*yukta*, *yātisa*, *yumhātisa*, *yad*=*yādr̥sa*, *yusmādr̥sa*, *yad* (Hc. 4,306, 317,323); in the inlaut: *giyyate*=*giyate*, *tiyyate*=*diyate*, *ramiyyate*=*ramyate*, *paḍhiyyate*=*paṭhyate*, *huvēyya*=*bhavet* (Hc. 4,315,320,323): CP. *niyocita*= (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On *dōgga*=*yugma* see §215, on *yeva*=*eva* § 336.

§253. As in the case of treatment of *na* (§ 224), so in that of *ya* too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in °*yāji* (5,1); °*ppayutte*=°*prayuktān* (5,6); °*yaśo*=°*yaśas* (6,9); °*yōllaka* (? 6,31); *yo*=°*yaḥ*; (7,46), on the contrary it becomes *ja* in *jo* (7,44) and °*saṃjutto*=°*saṃyuktaḥ* (7,47). VG. has *yuva*° (101,2). In the inlaut simple *ya* remains unchanged in PG. VG.: PG. °*vājapeya*° (5,1); *visae*=°*viṣaye* (5,3); *neyike*=°*naiyikān* (5,6); °*āyu*°=°*āyus*°, *viyayavejayike*=°*viyayavaijayikān* (6,9); °*ppadāyino*=°*pradāyinaḥ* (6,11); *ātteya*°=°*ātreya*° (6,13); °*saṃvinayikam* (6,32); *visaya*°=°*viṣaya*° (6,35); *āpittiyam*=°*āpittiyām* (6,37); *bhūyo*=°*bhūyah* (7,41); *vasudhādhipataye*=°*patin* (7,44); *ajātāe*=AMg. *ajjattāe* (Kappas. Th. 2; S.6,7)=°*adyatvāya* (7,45)¹; °*sahassāya*=°*sahasrāya* (7,48); VG. *viyaya* (101,1,3); *nārāyaṇassa*, *āyūm*, *vaddhanīyam* (101,8); *gāmeyikā* (101,10; cf. EI.1,2, note 2); *pariharayam* (101,11; cf. EI.1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated *ya* as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand *karēyya*, *kāraṇējjā*=*kuryāt*, *kārayet*; 7,1 *karēyyāma*=*kuryāma*, but 7,46 *vaṭṭeja*=*vartayet* and 7,48 *hoja*=°*bhūyāt*². As usual (§ 280). As usual *dya* becomes *jja* in *ajātāye*; likewise *rya* would correctly and regularly become *jja* in *golasamajasa*, *agisamajassa*, *dattajasa*, *dāmajasa*, *sālasamajasa*, *agisamaja*° (6,12,13,21,23,27,37), if BÜHLER were right in equating °*aja*° as=°*ārya*°. But *naṃdijasa* and *sāmiḥjasa* (6,21,26) cannot be equated phonetically with BÜHLER as=°*nandyāryasya* and

svāmyāryasya, but are=*nandijasya*, *svāmijasya*. Also for the rest, therefore, °*ja* has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of LEUMANN; false PISCHEL, GN. 1895, 211.—2. Cf. BÜHLER, EI, 1, 2f. —3. I.c. 1, 2.

254. In the place of *ya*, apparently *ga* has entered into AMg. *pariyāga*=*pariyāya* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 135.173.220.223.235. 249.796.845.968.969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside *pariyāya* (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate *pariyāga* as=*pariyāyaka* by contraction, according to § 165, with HOERNLE (Uvās. s. v.), in the case of a t.t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that *pariyāga* stands for **pariyāva* with *ga* for *va* according to § 231. In support of this view stands AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya*, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMg. *nijāga* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 1; Sūyag. 665 [ñi °])=**nyāva* will stand for *nyāya* (commentary=*mokṣamārga*, *saṁyama*, *mokṣa*).—Interchange of *ya* and *va*, as in Skt.¹ and in Pāli², occurs in *kaivam*=*katipayam* (Hc. 1, 250); AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya* (§ 81); AMg. *tāvattisā*=*trayastrimśat*, AMg. JM. *tāvattisagā*, °*yā*=*trayastrimśakāh* (§ 438); A. *āvā*=*āyāti* (Hc. 4, 367, 1.419, 3), *āvahi* (Hc. 4, 422, 1), *āva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *āu*]=*āyāti* (Piṅgala 2, 88)³; A. *gāva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *gāu*]=*gāyanti* (Piṅgala. 2, 88), *gāvanta* (Piṅgala 2, 230); further in the participial necessitatis in A. *evā*, *ēvvaū*, *ievvai*, like *soevā*=**svapeyya* (§ 497), *jaggeva*=**jāgreyya* (§ 556), *kariēvvaū*=**karyeyyakam* of the passive stem (§ 547), *sahevvai*=**saheyyakam* (§ 570). In AMg. *murava* for **muraya*=*muraja* (Paṇhāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas. [so to be read]), *muravi*=*muraji* (Ovav.), beside M. Ś. *muraa* (Pāiyāl. 266; H.; Mṛcch. 69, 23) *va* has entered for the secondary *ya*. *murava* might rest also upon the popular etymology=*mu*+*rava*. The *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya*, *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (§ 191) goes back to a secondary *ya* for *ya*, whilst *va* has become *pa*, as in *govinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava* (§ 191).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 42f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar p. 30f.—3. PISCHEL on Hc. 4, 367, 1; cf., however, also *vav* (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1, 1, vi

§ 255. Corresponding to Pāli *nahāru*, Greek νεύρον, Latin nervus AMg. JM. have *nhāru*=*snāya* (Thāṇ 55; Paṇhāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89.349. 810; Jiv. 66.271; Erz.), AMg. *nhāruṇi*=**snāyuni* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs *nhāu* twice (Samav. 227).—In *yaṣṭiya* becomes *la* (Vr. 2, 32; C. 3.17a p. 49; Hc. 1, 247, 2, 34; Ki. 2, 39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. *laṭṭhi*, *laṭṭhi* (H.; R.; Karp. 44, 3, 49, 12; 58, 5; 69, 8; 73, 10; 80, 10; Viddhaś. 64, 4; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 5; 2, 4, 2, 11; Sūyag. 726; Paṇhāv. 282; Nāyādh. § 135.136; p. 1420; Vivāhap. 831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. has *jaṭṭhi* only and so stands Vṛṣabh. 37, 2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129, 19, where the text has *taṇuyatṭhi*, and at 192, 22, where it has *hārayatṭhi*. Rājaśekhara, however, uses *laṭṭhi* (Karp. 110, 6; Viddhaś. 42, 7; 97, 11; 122, 3 [hāralatṭhi]; Bālar. 305, 10) and *laṭṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 108, 3) in Ś. too, corresponding to M. *laṭṭhiā* (C. 3, 17a p. 49), AMg. *laṭṭhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 2). False is *jaṭṭhi* in M. (Sāhityadarpaṇa 73.5). Pāli has *laṭṭhi* and *yaṭṭhi*.—*kaivāham*, according to Hc. 1, 250=*katipayam*, is=Pāli *katipāham*=Skt. *katipayāham* according to § 167.—M. *chāhā* (shade; shadow; Vr. 2, 18; H.), Ś. *sacchāha* (Hc. 1, 249; Mṛcch. 68, 24) and M. *chāhi* (shade, shadow; sky; Hc. 1, 249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3, 26; Pāiyāl. 236; H. R.) are not=*chāyā*, but=**chāyākhā*=**chāyākā*; they stand, hence, for **chākhā*, **chākhī* with contraction according to § 165 and with aspiration according to § 206. In the sense of “beauty” only *chāā* is used according to Hc. 1, 249, as generally *chāyā* occurs in M. Ś. Mg. only as *chāā* (G.H.R.; Karp. 69, 5; Mṛcch. 9, 9; Śak. 29, 4; 51, 6; Vikr. 51, 11; Karp. 41, 2; Mg. Mudrār. 267, 2), in AMg. JM. as *chāyā* (Pāiyāl. 113.236; Kappas.; Erz.).

§256. *ra* always becomes *la* in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kī. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12; Śiṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: *laḥaśavaśaṇa-miḥaśulaśilavialidamandālāyidaṃhiyuge vilayine*=*rabhasavaśanamrasuraśirovicalitamandārārājitaṃhriyugo vīrajinaḥ* (Hc. 4,288); *śāyambhaḥiśalaśivila*=*sākambharīśvaraśibira, viggahalaśaṇaśeśalaśilinaṃ*=*vigraharājānareśvaraśrīṇāṃ* (Lalitav. 565,6,11); *ṇagalantala*=*nagarāntara, dalidda cāludattāha aṇulattā*=*daridracārudattasyānuraktā, andhaālapūlida*=*andhakārapūrta, ovāḍidaśalila*=*apavārtaśarira* (Mṛcch. 13,8,25; 14,22; 127,25): *mahāladanabhāśula*=*mahāratnabhāśura, udalabbhantala*=*udarābhyantara* (Śak. 113,3; 114,10); *śamale piabhattālaṃ luhi-lappiṇaṃ*=*samare priyabhartāraṃ rudhīrapriyaṃ* (Venīś. 33,8); *bahunaḥalakaduk-khadāluṇapaliṇāme dukkale*=*bahunarakaduḥkhadāruṇapariṇāmo duṣkarah* (Caṇḍik. 42,6). — Dh. : *ale le*=*are re; luddhu*=*ruddhaḥ; palivevida*=*pariveṇita; kulu*=*kuru; dhāḍedi*=*dhārayati; pulisa*=*purusa* (§ 25).—According to C. 3,38; Kī. 5,109; Śiṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭāṅkāra 2,3 in P. too *ra* becomes *la*: *ale ale duṭṭhalakkhasā*=*are are duṣṭarākṣasāḥ* (C); *calaṇa*=*carāṇa* (Kī. 5,109); *chaṇkāla*=*jhaṇkāra* (Kī. 5,102); *hali*=*hari* (Kī. 5,111); *ludda*=*rudra*(S.). Undoubtedly in C. Kī. S., P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304.307.314.316.319.320.321.323.324 have throughout *ra*, as also Kī. 5,109 *usara*=*uṣṭra, kāria*=*kārya*. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. *la* may enter for *ra*: *golicalana*=*gauricarāṇa, ekātasatanuthalaṃ luddaṃ*=*ekādaśatanudharaṃ rudraṃ, hala*=*hara* (Hc. 4,326); *nala*=*nara, sala*=*saras* (Triv. 3,2,64). Likewise Sr. fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, *ra*, as *nagara, kiritāṭa, rāca-, caccara, nicchara, chacchara, ṭamaruka, tāmotara, mathura* etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Pāṇḍī dialect, which Mk. calls Pāṇḍīcāla (§ 27). Presumably the transition of *ra* into *la* in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāṇḍīcāla (§ 256) the change of *ra* into *la* is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take *la* under the ākṛtiḡaṇa *haridrāḍi*. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: *haladdā, haladdi* (Grr.), M. AMg. JM. *haliddā, M. haliddi, AMg. hāḷidda* (§ 115); M. JŚ. Ś. *dalidda*=*daridra* (Gr.; G. 859 [so to be read: v.l.]; H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mṛcch. 18,9; 29,1,3; 54,3; 55,25; 70,7), Ś. *daliddadā* (Mṛcch. 6,8; 17,18; 54,1), but M. also *dariddattāṇa* (Karp. 16,2), Ś. *dariddadā* (Mālav. 26,15), AMg. JM. *daridda* (Kappas.; Erz.), JM. *dariddi*=*daridrin, dariddiḡa* (Erz.); *jahitṭhila* (Grr.), *jahuṭṭhila* (Hc.), AMg. *juhitṭhila*, but S. A. *juhitṭhira*=*yudhiṭhira* (§ 118); M. JM. Ś. *muhala*=*mukhara* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8); AMg. JM. *kaluna*=*karuṇa* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 225.270. 273.282.286.288.289.291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagara 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb *kaluṇaṃ*), beside JM. Ś. A. *karuṇa* (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. JM. *karuṇā* (pity; G.; Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,2,3,15 [text here false *kaluṇa*]); Sagara 5,18; Kk.); M. *karuṇaa*=*karuṇaka* (pity; G.); M. *cilāa*, AMg. *cilāḡa*=*kirāta*, AMg. *cilāi*=*kirātī, cilāiḡa*=*kirātikā*, beside Ś. *kirāda*, JM. *kirāḡa*, and M. *kirāa* in the meaning “Śiva” (§ 230); M. AMg. JM. *phaliha*=*parigha, M. AMg. phaliḡa*=*parikhā* (§ 208); *phāliḡadda*=*pāribhadra* (§ 208); *valuṇa*=*varuṇa* (Hc. 1,254), but M. *varuṇa* (H.), Ś. *vāruṇi* (Bālar. 134,13); AMg. *antalikkha*=*antarikṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13; 2,5,1,20.21; 2,7,1,7; Sūyag. 294.708; Uttar. 456.651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. §93; Uvās.), but Ś. *antarikkha* (Pāṇḍī. 27; Mṛcch. 44,19;

Mālav. 25,14); AMg. *ruila*=*rucira* (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 [°lla]. 59; Pañhāv. 269,285; Paṇṇav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *lūha* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,5,3,5; 1,6,5,5; 1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165,185,578,665; Pañhāv. 348f.; Vivāhap. 279,838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56,106; Ovav.), *sulūha* (Sūyag. 497) and *lukkha* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 1,8,3,3; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vivāhap. 1470ff.; Paṇṇav. 8,11,12,13,380; Anuog. 268; Jiv. 28,224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=*rūkṣa*, *lukkha* (Uttar. 1028), *lukkhatta* (Thān. 188; Vivāhap. 1351), *lūhei*, *lūhittā* (Jiv. 610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), *lūhija* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), falsely *rukkha* (Sūyag. 239), that in AMg. too always is=*rūkṣa* (tree; § 320); but A. *rukkha* (Piṅgala 2,98), and so also JM. in the word-play with *rukkha* "tree" (Rṣabhap. 29), AMg. shows *la* also in *lādhā*=*rādhā* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and=*rādhāh* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6,8; Paṇṇav. 61; Vivāhap. 1254)=Ś. *rādhā* (Karp. 9,4)=Skt. *rādhā*; further in *pariyāla*=*parivāra*¹ (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 724,784,1273,1290,1327,1460 [°ra]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside *parivāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.); further in *sūmāla*, *sukumāla* beside M. *sonāra*, also *somāla*, *suomāra*, Ś. *suomāra*, *sukumāra*, JM. *sukumārayā* (§ 123); in the numeral AMg. JM. *cattālisam*, AMg. *cattālisā*, JM. *cāyālisam*, *cālisā*^o, A. *cālisa*=*catvārimśat* and in combinations with other numerals, as AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42), *caūyālisam*, *coyālisam* (44) and others (§ 445). Often in AMg. *pari* becomes *pali*, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in *paliuñcayanti*=*parikuñcayanti* (Sūyag. 489), *paliuñciya*=*parikuñcya* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *paliuñcaṇa*=*parikuñcana* (Sūyag. 381), *apaliuñcamāṇa*=*aparikuñcamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,4,1; 2,5,2,1); *paliyanta*=*paryanta* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4; Sūyag. 108,172); *palei*=*paryeti* (Sūyag. 495), *palinti*=*pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95,134); *paliyaṅka*=*paryāṅka* (Āyār. 2,13,19,20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); *palikkhina*=*parikṣiṇa* (Sūyag. 978); *palicchinna*=*paricchinna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), *palicchindiya*=*paricchidya* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 2,5,2,3,5), *palioṅchinna*=*paryavacchinna* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *palibhindiyaṇam*=*paribhidiya* (Sūyag. 243); *palicchāei*=*paricchādayati* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6); *palimadējjā*=*pūrimarayet* (Āyār. 2,13,2); *paliucchūdhā*=*paryutksubdha* (§ 66); *sampūlīmājamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3). Therefore, AMg. has *la* for *ra* more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§ 18). According to Hc. 1,254 there is said beside *jaḍhara*=*jaṭhara*, *vaḍhara*=*vaṭhara*, *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* also *jaḍhala*, *vaḍhala*, *niṭṭhula*. Upto this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. Ś. *jaḍhara* (Pāiyāl. 112; G.; Mrch. 72,19); M. *niṭṭhura* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *niṭṭhura* (Pāiyāl. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400,333 [ni°]). Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that *carāṇa* becomes *calaṇa* in the sense of "foot", and that otherwise it remains. *carāṇa*. Bh Mk. Pkl. have *calaṇa* without limitation. So *calaṇa* "foot" in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. (Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.R.²; Karp. 46,8; 56,1; 60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.³; Rṣabhap.⁴; Mrch. 41,4,12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6; 84,14; Mālav. 34,12; Karp. 22,1⁵; Hc. 4,399). AMg. has *carāṇa* in the meaning "way of life" (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning "foot of a metre" (Piṅgala 1,2,13,79,80 etc.), but also in the meaning "foot" (1,4^a,22,85^a, 116; 2,186). In stead of *sakkāla*=*satkāra* (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sakkāra* is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8; 27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2; 72,2). — On *ingāla* beside *angāra* see § 102, on *kāha'a* beside *kāra* see § 207, on *bhasala* see § 251.

1. The form conformably is *pariyāla*, rather=*paricāra*, the meaning, however conformably is=*parivāra*. — 2. R. 6,7; 8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as *calaṇa*, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as *calaṇa*. — 3. Kappas. § 36 stands *carāṇa* behind *calaṇa* of the preceding line. One corrects it to *calaṇa*. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as *calaṇā*. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in BOLLENSSEN has *carāṇa*, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second

place PAṆḌIT, with his MSS., reads *carāṇa* (127,1), however, FISCHER *caṇa* (658,18). It is to be corrected as *caṇa*.

258. AMg. *tuḍiṇa* (Āyār. 2,11,14; Paṇhāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyap. 20.21.60.80; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.) is not, with the commentators, JACOBI¹, E. MÜLLER², WARREN³ and LEUMANN⁴, to be equated as=*tūrya*, but is=**tudita=tunna* from *tudaī* (Hc. 4,116)=*tudatī* with cerebralization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. *tuḍ*, *toḍī*, *toḍikā* (name of a musical mode), *todya*, *ātodya* (cymbal). — *kiḍi*, *bheḍa*, presumably=*kiri*, *bhera* (Hc. 1,251) are=Skt. *kiṭi*, *bheḍa*⁵. AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* (saddle; Hc. 1,252) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=*pariyāṇa*, but as=**pratyā-dāna* according to § 163; cf. Skt. *ādāna* (decoration of a saddle). For *ra* has entered *ḍa* in AMg. JM *kuḥḍa=kuḥhāra* and *pḥaḍa=pḥāra* (§ 239). — AMg. *kaṇavīra=karavīra* (Hc. 1,253; Pāiyal. 146; Paṇnav. 526; Rāyap. 52 ff; Paṇhāv. 194), *kaṇavīraja* (Paṇnav. 527 ff) is to be explained p'rhaps from **kaḷavīra* or *kalavīra* according to § 260, if a synonym **kaṇavīra* does not occur. M. has *karavīra* (G.), Mg. *kalavīra* (Mṛcch. 157,5). According to § 166 167 *kaṇera* (Hc. 1,168) too goes back to *kaṇavīra*. Hc. equates it as=*karnikāra*, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give *kaṇnero*, according to which it has been so written in my edition too. But F and the Bombay edition read *kaṇero*, and in Marāṭhī, Gujarāṭī and Urdū *kaṇra* means "Oleander"; for Hindi BATE gives the meaning "Cassarea Ovata", which is in no way correct. Since *karnikāra* may, according to § 287, form *kaṇīra* with a simple *na*, Hc. has evidently interchanged the plants. JM. *kaṇeradatta* (E z) will, therefore, be=*karavīradatta karavīra, karavīraka, karavīra* are well known as proper names, but not *karnikāra*. It is phonetically impossible to refer *kaṇera* back to *karnikāra*⁶.

1. Kalpasūtra s. v. — 2. Beiträge p. 28. — 3. Nirayāv., s. v. — 4. Aup. S. s. v. —

5. FISCHER on Hc. 1,251. — 6. JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,578.

§ 259. For Skt. *kila* dialectal *kira* has been retained in M JM A. *kira* (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki. 4 83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Piṅgala 1,60; Hc. 4,349). Beside *i* JM. has *kila* (Āv. 8,45; Erz.) and so always Ś. (Mṛcch. 2,24; Śak 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr 52,4; 72,18; 80,20 etc.). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś *kira*, as Pras 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, the *e* is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. *ira*, beside *kira*, (Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Ki. 4,83; G; R.) is explained according to § 184, *hira* (Hc. 2,186) according to § 388. Otherwise *ra* for *la* is also only isolated and dialectical: Ś *pharaa=phalaka* (shield; Deśin 6,82; Karp 97,6); AMg. *saraḍuṇa=śalātuka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,6); *sāmarī=sālmali* beside AMg. *sāmali* (§ 88 109).

§ 260. In the anlaut *la* has become *na*, *na* in *nāhala=lāhala* (Vr. 2,40; Hc. 1,256), beside *lāhala* (Hc. 1,256); *naṅgala*, AMg. *naṅgala=lāṅgala* (Hc. 1,256; Ki. 2,47; Mk fol. 18; Pāiyal. 121 [*ni°*]; Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Paṇhāv. 234; Dasav. N. 646,10), beside *lāṅgala* (Hc. ; Mk.), *naṅgaliṇa=lāṅgalika* (Ovav.; Kappas) AMg. *naṅgala=lāṅgala* (Mk. fol. 18; Jiv. 883 886.887), *gonāṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *naṅgula=lāṅgula* (Hc. 1,256), *naṅguli=lāṅgulin* (Anuog. 349), *naṅgola* (Nāyādh. 502), *naṅgoli-* (Jiv. 345), *naṅgoliṇa* (Thāp. 259); Jiv. 392 ([*na°*]), beside M. *taṅgula* (Hc. 1,256); G; *nāhala=lohala* (Ki. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18), beside *lohala* (Mk.). It is noticed that the texts in AMg. mostly write, *na* in the anlaut. According to to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli *nalāta* beside *lalāta* Pkt. has *ṇalāḍa* (Hc. 2,123), M. AMg. with *i* according to § 103 *ṇilāḍa* (R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5 [*ni°*]; Nāyādh. 1310. 1312; Paṇhāv. 273 [*ni°*; commentary *niḍāla*]; Vivāgas. 90 [commentary *niḍāla*]. 121,144.157.169) more frequently with transposition of the last

syllable according to § 354, M. *ṇāḍāla* (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Ki. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M.AMg.JM.Ś. *ṇīḍāla* (AMg. JM. sometimes *ni*^o; Bh. 4 33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48,6. Nāyādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyap. 113; Jiv. 351.353; Paṇhāv. 162.285; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text^o *ḍo*]; Caṇḍak. 87,8; Mallikām. 195,5); A. *ṇīḍālā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *ṇīālā*). For Ś. the form is apparently incorrect. *lalāḍa* is made certain for Ś. by the similarly sounding *lalāḍe*, *lāḍesara* (Bālar. 74,21); It occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Venis 60,5 [text^o *ḍa*; v. l. *ṇīḍāla*, *ṇīḍā'la*, *ṇīḍīla*]. False in AMg. *līlāḍa* (Rāyap. 165). Mk. fol. 38 teaches also *ladāla*. *ṇīḍīla* is edited in Ś. in Pārvatīpariṇaya 24,12 [ed. GLASER 23,31 has *ṇīḍāla*; cf. v.l. to Venis. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as *niṭāla*, *niṭāla*, *niṭīla*¹. To *ṇāḍāla* belongs M. *ṇāḍāla* (found on the forehead; G. 29), to *ṇīḍāla* belongs the dialectical *ṇēḍālī* (a kind of head ornament; Deśin. 4,43). In the inlant *l* has become *m* in *jampai*=*jalpati* and derivatives (§ 296).— In P. CP. *la* becomes *ḷa*: in the inlant P. *kamaḷa*, *kuḷa*, *jaḷa*, *saḷa* *ṣīla*=*śīla* (Hc. 4,308); CP. *thūli*=*dhūli*; *pālaka*, *bālaka*=*bālaka*; *maṇṭala*=*maṇḍala*, *liḷa*=*līlā*; *saḷa*=*śaḷa* (Hc. 4,325—327). So probably *ucchallanti* (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226.

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573 *ṇīḍāla* cannot directly be identified with *lalāṭa* without more ado.

§ 261. In A. sometimes *va* becomes *vā*¹: *ēva*=*eva* in the sense of *evam* (Hc. 4,376,1.418.1); *evāi*=*eva*+*api*, in the sense of *evam eva* (Hc. 4,332, 2.423, 2.441,1); *ēvahiṃ* in the sense of *idānim*=Vedic *evaiḥ* (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); *keva* (Hc. 4,343,1.401,1); *kiḍa* (Hc. 4,401, 2.422,14) in the sense of *katham*=**keva* (cf. § 149.434), *keḍai* (Hc. 4,390.396,4)=*kathamapi*; *teva* (Hc. 4,343,1.397.401,4), *tiḍa* (Hc. 4,344. 367,4.376,2.395,1.397.422,2), in the sense of *tathā*=**teva*, *teḍai* (Hc. 4,439,4); *jeva* (Hc. 4,397.401,4; Ki. 5,6 [so to be read]), *jiva* (Hc. 4,330,3.336.344.347.354.367,4.376,2.397 etc.; Kk. 272,37 [text *jiva*] in the sense of *yathā*=**yeva*, **yiva* (§ 336); *jāva*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3); *tāva*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,395,3). From *vā* a full-fledged *ma* has developed in A. *jāma*=*yāvat* (Hc. 4,387,2.406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *tāma*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *jāmahī*, *tāmahī*=*yāvadbhiḥ*, *tāvadbhiḥ* in the sense of *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text^o *vā*]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which *va* is represented by *ma*: *ajjama*=*ārjava* (Triv. 1,3,105)²; *ohāmai* (excels; Hc. 4,25), *ohāmiya* (overcome; Pāiyal. 187), beside *ohāvai* (Hc. 4,160), *ohāia*=**ohāvia* (downcast; Deśin. 1,158)=**apabhāvati*, *apabhāvita*³; *gamesai* beside *gavesai*=*gaveṣati* (Hc. 4,189); *ṇimī* beside *ṇivī*=*nivī* (Hc. 1,259); *numai*, *ṇimai* from *vī* (§ 118); Ś. *damīla* (Mallikām. 296,14)=*draviḍa*, AMg. *damīlā* (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyap. 288), *damīḷi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.)=Pāli *damīli*=Skt. *draviḍi*, beside AMg. *daviḷa* (Paṇhāv. 41), Ś. *daviḍa* (Mr̥cch. 103,6; Viddhaś. 75,2)=*draviḍa*, M. *daviḍi*=*draviḍi* (Viddhaś. 24,12); AMg. JM. *vesamaṇa*=*vaiśravaṇa* (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary *va* in the passive *cimmai* beside *civvai* from *civ* and JM. *summai* beside *suvvai* from *svap* (§ 536); further in AMg. *bhumā*=**bhruvā*=*bhrūh*, M. *bhumā*, AMg. *bhumayā*, *bhumagā*, *bhamuhā*=**bhruvukā* (§ 124.206).— On the analogous change of *pa*, *ba* through *va* into *ma* see § 248.250, on *va* for *ma* see § 251.277, on *ga* for *va* see § 231, on *pa* for *va* see § 191.254 and on *va* for *ya* see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write *mva* for *vā*; more seldom *va*, what perhaps is corrected close to *vā*.— 2. FISCHER, BB. 76,94. — 3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 14 f., who wrongly assumes *avabhū*. Cf. 286.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become *ha* dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44.45; C. 3,14;

Ki. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in *daśan* and in the numerals connected with it *śa* becomes *ha* necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to *ha* is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. *dasa* (R. [v.l. often *daha*]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), *daha* (Karp. 12,7); *dasakaṁdhara* (G. R.); *dasakaṇṭha*, *dahakaṇṭha* (R.); *dahamuha*, *daharaha*, *dāsarahi*, *dahavaaṇa*, *dasāṇaṇa* (R.). *ha* occurs also in A. (Piṅgala 1,83 [so S. GOLDSCHMIDT]. 123.125.156; 2,196); yet *dasa* (Mahāv. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only *dasa* (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *śa* in *daśan* and *caturdaśan* may become either *sa* or *ha*; on the other hand *sa* must stand in the proper names, *ha* in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are *dasa* (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,5) and *daha* (Ratn. 292,12); *dasakaṁdhara* (Mahāv. 118,3); *dasaradha* (Uttarar. 27,4 [°ha]; Bālar. 152, 10 [°ha]; Anarghar. 150,12 [°ha]); *dāsarahi* (Anarghar 157,10 [°hi]); *dasamuha* (Mahāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), *dasāṇaṇa* (Bālar. 57,2; 123,17; 125,10; 139,13), *dasakaṇṭha* (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. D. have *daśa* only (Mṛcch. 11,1:32,18;38,17;121,25;122,19;133,20;134,13; Dh. Mṛcch. 29,15;30,1;31,4;32,3;34,9.12.17;35,7;39,13), Mg. *daśakaṁdhala* (Mṛcch. 12,13). False is Mg. *daha* (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have *ha*, the other dialects, *sa* (§ 443). *śa* has further become *ha* in M. Ś. *e'ddahamē'tta*=*idṛśamātra*, M. *te'ddaha*=*tādṛśa*, *jē'ddaha*=*yādṛśa* (§ 122); A. *eha*, *keha*, *jeha*, *teha* beside *aśa*, *kāśa*, *jāśa*, *taśa*=*idṛśa*, *kīdṛśa*, *yādṛśa*, *tādṛśa* (§ 121.166); A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (§ 64). According to Ki. 2,104 *palāśa* becomes *palāha*. A mention should be made of M.AMg. Ś. *palāsa* (G.H.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 127,21), Mg. *palāśa* (Mṛcch. 127,24).

§ 263. *śa* has become *ha* in M. *dhaṇuḥ*=**dhanuṣa*=*thanus* (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), *dhaṇuho*=*dhanuṣaḥ* (Bālar. 113,17). — M. *paccūha*=*pratyūsa*, in the meaning "morning sun" (Hc. 2,14; Deśin. 6,5; Pāiyāl. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *paccūsa* in the meaning "morning twilight" [Hc. 2,14; Pāiyāl. 46; G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 403.374 375; Śak. 29,7; Mallikām. 57,16; Viddhaś. 115,4]). — M. AMg. JM. *pāhāna*=*pāsāṇa* (C. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Ki. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G.H.; U ās.; Erz.), JM. *pāhāṇaga* (Erz.), beside *pāsāṇa* (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMg. *bīhāna*=*bhīṣaṇa*, *bīhāṇaga*=*bhīṣaṇaka*, M. JM. *bīhañ*, *bīhei* beside M.Ś. *bhīṣaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (§ 213.501). A *eho*, *eha*, *ehu*=*eśa*, *eśā*, **eśam*=*etad* (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Piṅgala 1,4 [in BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 527]. 66,81; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16). — A. *akkhiñ* from **akkhiṣi*=**akṣiṣmin*=*akṣiṇi* (§ 312.379). — *chaha*=**śaśa*=*śaś* with crossing over to the *a*-declension (Piṅgala 1,95.96.97). So is explained *ha* also in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sunhā*, M. *soñhā* from P. *sunuṣā* for **sunuḥā* (§ 148); *kāhāṇa* (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Ki. 2,71; Mk. fol. 25) from **kāsāṇa* (§ 87), *kārṣāṇa*, also with shortening of *ā* of the first syllable (§ 82), *kahāṇa* (Hc. 2,71), AMg. *kūdakahāṇa* (Uttar. 629); in future, as *kāhimi*, *hohimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāhañ*, *hohāmi*=**karsyāmi*, **bhosyāmi* (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like *kāhī* beside *kāsi* (§ 516). JACOBI¹, misled by the commentators, equates AMg. *viha* (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=*viśa*. The word recurs in Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,3,3,14; 2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=*aṭavi*, therefore, means "forest" and probably is=*vikha* "without heaven"="where one does not see the sky." Therefore, Āyār. 1,7,4,2 is to be translated as "for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone". *viśa* in M. AMg. JM. Ś. becomes only *visa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1.8.

15,16; 53,14; Mudrār. 40,6; Mālav. 56,8; 65,10); Mg. *viśa* (Mṛcch. 136,17; 164,1; Mud ār. 193,3; 194,6); JM. *nivvīsa*=*nirviśa* (Sagara 6,2).

1. SBE. 22, p. 68.

§ 264. *sa* has become *ha* in : *nīharāi* beside *nīsarāi*=*nīhsarati* (Hc. 4,79). In *divasa* *sa* becomes *ha* compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Ki. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prākṛta-mañjari in PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 14. M. has *dīasa*, *divasa* (G.R.) and *diāha* (G. H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.); AMg. only *divasa* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); JM. *divasa* (Erz.; Kk.), *diyasa* (Prākṛta-mañjari l. c.), *diyasaṣara* (Pāiyāl. 4), *diyaha* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.), *aṇudiyaham* (Kk.); JŚ. *divaha* (Kattig. 402,364); Ś. only *divasa*, *dīasa* (Mṛc. h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5; 53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrār. 184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), *aṇudiasam* (Śak. 51,5) against M. *aṇudīaham* (H.; Karp. 116,1 [°ha~]); Mg. *dīaśa* (Śak. 114,9), falsely *diāha* (Venis. 33,5); A. *diāha* (Hc. 4,388.418,4), *diāhāda* (Hc. 4,333.387,2). — *dūhala* (unhappy; Deśin. 5,43) beside *dūsala* (Deśin. 5,43; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 6,87)=*duhsara*. — M. JM. *sāha*=**sāsati*¹ (Hc. 4,2; H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JM. A °*hattari*, AMg °*hattarim*=°*saptati*, as JM. *caūhattari* (74), AMg. *pañcāhattari* (75), *sattāhattarim* (77), *aṭṭhāhattarim* (78), A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76); (§ 245.446). — In future, as *dāhimi*, *dāhāmi*, *dāham*=*dāsyāmi* (§ 520 ff.) and in aorist, as *thāhi* beside *thāsi* (§ 516); in the loc. sing. of the pronouns *ta-*, *ya-*, *ka-*: *tahim*, *yahim*, *kahim* beside *tasim*, *jassim*, *kassim* (§ 425.427.428) and in the loc. of nouns formed according thereto in Mg., as *kulāhim*=*kule*; *pavahāṇāhim*=*pravahāne* and in A., as *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *gharahī*=*ghare*; *sisahī*=*śiṣe* (§ 366); in the genitive plural formed likewise according to the pronominal declension with the ending *-sām* in Mg. and A., as Mg. *śaṇāhā*=*svaṇānām*, A. *taṇāhā*=*trṇānām*, *mukkāhā*=*muktānām*, *loṇāhā*=*locanayoh*, *saūṇāhā*=*śakunānām* (§ 370), in the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as *sariāhā*=*saritām*, *kammāhā*=*karmaṇām*, *tāhā*=*teṣām*, *tumhāhā*=*yuṣmākam*, *amhāhā*=*asmākam* (§ 395.404.419.422); in the genitive sing. in Mg. in *āha* from *-*āsa*=*asya*, as *kāmāha*=*kāmasya*; *calittāha*=*caritrasya*; *puttāha*=*putrasya*, and in A. in *-aha*, *-ahō*, as *kaṇāha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, *kāmāhō*=*kāmasya*, *śesahō*=*śeṣasya* (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing. active in *-hi* beside in *-si* as *nīsarahi*=*nīhsarasi*; *ruahi*=*Vedic ruvasi*; *lahasi*=*labhase* (§ 455). On *h*=*s* in consonant groups see § 312 ff.

1. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 72; WEBER. ZDMG. 28,369.

§ 265. For *sa* in *ṣaṣṭi* (60) and *sa* in *saptati* (70) there occurs *va* too beside *cha*, *sa*, *ha* (§ 211.264) in conjunctions with units in AMg. JM.: *bāvaṭṭhim* (62), *tevaṭṭhim* (63), *caūvaṭṭhi*^o (64), *chāvaṭṭhim* (66), *bāvattarim* (72), *tevatattarim* (73), *covattarim* (74), *chāvattarim* (76); (§ 446); AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvādūyasayāim* (363 adversaries); JM. *tiṇham tevaṭṭhānam nayarasayānam* (of the 363 cities); (§ 447). The *va* has probably developed on the analogy of *va* in the numeral for 50, as *egāvannaṃ* (51), *bāvannaṃ* (52), *tevaṇnaṃ* (53), *caūvaṇnaṃ* (54), *pañavaṇnaṃ* (55), *sattāvaṇnaṃ* (57), *aṭṭhāvaṇnaṃ* (58), A. *bāvanna* (52), *sattāvaṇṇāi* (57); (§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for *pa* in **pañcat* (§ 445). *aūnaṭṭhim* (59), *aūnatattarim* (69); (§ 444), *pañnaṭṭhim* (65); (§ 446) stand for **agunaṭṭhim*, **agunaatṭhim*, **agunāṭṭhim*; **agunaṭṭarim*, **agunaattarim*, **agunāṭṭarim*; **pañnaṭṭhim*, **pañnaatṭhim*, **pañnāṭṭhim*, *pañnaṭṭhim* according to § 167.83. Spellings like *khadaṇḍavi*=*ṣaḍaṇḍavid* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,425), *khodaṣama*=*ṣoḍaṣa* (Sūyag. 562 in the subscription), *hōkkhāi*=**bhōsyati* (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing of *kha* for *ṣa*, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in Northern India at the present day.¹ On this is based the false reading

AMg. *pākhaṇḍa* (Thān. 583), Mg. *pāhaṇḍa*=*pāṣaṇḍa* (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have *pāsaṇḍa*, as also AMg. (Anuog. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.)² and JM. *pāsaṇḍiya*=*pāsaṇḍika* (Kk.).

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,261 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 19 p. 24; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 118. — 2. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,213, note 6; KERN, Jaartelling p.67 note; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 32 f.

§266. *ha* neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed¹ rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies.² Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for *h* of Skt. there we need not see "coarsening" of *h*³, but the old phonetic conditions.⁴ So Ś. Mg. Ā. *idha*=*iha* (Ś. Mṛcch. 2,25;4,14;6,9;9,10.12;24,20;51,24;57,17;69,6.15; etc.; Śak. 12,4;20,3; 67,5;115,5;168,15; Vikr. 30,17;48,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,10;100,20;113,17; 114,21;123,21;133,15.16;164,10; Śak. 114,11; Ā. Mṛcch. 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have *iha*, as Ś. (Mṛcch. 70,12;72,13; Vikr. 21,12), *ihaloio* (Mṛcch. 4,1), Mg. (Mṛcch. 37,10 [beside *idha*!]; 122,12), readings, that are to be corrected.⁵ The rest of the dialects have *iha*, also D. (Mṛcch. 101,13) and JŚ. *iha* (Pav. 389,2), *ihalogā* (Pav. 387,25), *ihaparaloyā* (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in Ś. *iha* beside *idha*(§21). For Dh., where *ida* was expected, examples are wanting. — *dāgha*=*dāha* (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. *nīdāgha*. — AMg. *nibhelaṇa* beside *ñihelaṇa*, M. *sibhara* beside *sihara* (§206). — AMg. *maghamaghanta*, *maghamaghenta* beside M. *mahamahāi*, JM. *mahamahiya* (§558). — AMg. *vebhāra* (Vivāhap. 194,195; Uttar. 194 f.), *vebbhāra* (Nāyādh.), *vibbhāra* (Nāyādh. 1032)=*vaihāra*, with Jains also in Skt. *vaibhāra*. The passive *vubbhāi*=*uhyate*, *dubbhāi*=*duhyate*, *libbhāi*=*lihyate* (§ 541.544) go back to the root-doublets **vabh*, **dubh*, **libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g*, (230.231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of gutturals to labials. -*rubbhāi* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the parasmaipada *rumbhāi* in M. AMg. commonly (§ 507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On *hammaṇ*=Pāli *ghammati* see § 188. Obscure is *bhimora*=*himora* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word *himora* is not known, and the meaning *bhimora* has not been handed down.

1. WEBER teaches dropping off, Hāla¹ p. 29; 2 on the stanzas 4,410.584; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29; Bhag. 1,411, P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 47; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *thāha*; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *bhamuhā* teach insertion. — 2. PISCHEL, GGA. 1880 p. 333 f.; BB. 3,246 f.; 6,92 f.; cf. § 296. — 3. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 469 ff. — 4. PISCHEL, BB. 6,91 f. — 5. PISCHEL, KB. 8,1137.

§267. After nasal vowels *h* can become *gh*, after nasals, the aspirates of the corresponding class of the nasals. In many cases the aspirates here as well might be older than *h*, as certainly in *saṃghaṇḍa* (body; Deśin. 8,14; Pāyāḥ, 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. *saṃghayaṇa* (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=**saṃghatana*=*saṃhanana*, AMg. *saṃghayaṇi* (Jiv. 66.87)=**saṃghatani*, Ś. *saṃghadi*=*saṃhati* (Anarghar. 290,2). Other examples are: *saṃghāra*=*saṃhāra* (Hc. 1,264); *siṃgha*=*siṃha* (Hc. 1,264), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *siha*, Ś. *siṃha*, Mg. *siṃha* (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. *siṃgha* (Śak. 102,2 ed. BÖHTLINGK according to some MSS.), *virasiṃgha* (Kāpās. 53,20), *siṃghala* (Mallikām. 88,21), M. *siṃghali*=*siṃhali* (Viddhaś. 24,11). AMg. *haṃbho* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740. 761.767.769.1337; Uvās.; Nirayāv.)=Ś. Mg. *haṃho* (Viddhaś. 97,10; Mg. Mṛcch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. *haṃho*. —

Behind nasals the aspirate stands for *h* in M.AMg. JM. *cindha* from **cinha* (§ 330) = *cinha* (Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text *cinṇam*]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāṇal. 68.114; G.; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyādh. §64; p. 1318; Paṇṇav. 101.117; Vivāhap. 498; Paṇhāv. 155.167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nīrayāv.; Āv. 13.5; Dvār. 507,38), JM. *cindhiya* = *cinṇita* (Āv. 27,1), dialectical *cindhāla* (delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22), M. in compounds °*indha* (G.), beside M. Ś. Mg. A. *cinha* (Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mrcch. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11). According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *cinha*. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cindha* also *cēndha* (§119). Further in AMg. JM.A. *bambha* = *brahman* (Jiv. 912; Sūy g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412); AMg. *bambha* = *brahman* (Uttar. 904.906; Dasav. N. 654,39), *bambha* = *brāhma* (Āyār. p. 125,34), feminine *bambhī* (Vivāhap. 3; Paṇṇav. 62.63): M. *bambhaṇḍa* = *brahmāṇḍa* (G.); AMg. *bambhaloṇa* = *brahmaloka* (Uttar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224.4-18; Ovav.); AMg. *bambhacāri* = (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās.), AMg. JM. *bambhāyāri* = *brahmācārin* (Dasav. 618,34; 632,38; Uttar. 353.487.917 f.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg.A. *bambhacera* = *brahmacarya* (§ 176); AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 250); AMg. *bambhaṇṇaṇa* = *brāhmaṇyaka* (Ovav.; Kappas.) and others. The other dialects have only *bamha*-, *bamhaṇa* (§287.330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary *h*, that originated from a sibilant (§ 262 ff.) in *āsaṁghā* = **āsaṁhā* = *āsaṁsā* (Deśin. 1,63), mostly with a change of gender (§ 357)¹, M.Ś. *āsaṁgha* (Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhaś. 42,7; Kāmsav. 7,20), Ś. *āṇāsaṁgha* (Mallikām. 93,9); M. *āsaṁghāi* = *āsaṁsati* (Hc. 4,35; G.R.); *saṁghāi* = *saṁsati* (Hc. 4,2); AMg. *dhimkuna*, dialectical *dhāmkuṇa*, *dhēṇkuṇa* = **damṅkuṇa* from *damś* (§ 107.212)². Beside AMg. JM.A. *simbha* (Hc. 2,74; Paṇhāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412), AMg. *seṁmbha* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,439), also femin. *seṁmbhā* (Mk. fol. 25) = *sleṣman* from **seṁmha*-, **simha*, AMg. *seṁmbhiya* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,415; 2,274.274), *simbhiya* (Ovav.) = *ślaismika*, AMg. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *siṁghāṇa* from *sleṣmāṇa* - (§ 403), **seṁmhāṇa*-, *simhāṇa*-, **siṁhāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l.]; Thāṇ. 483; Paṇhāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūyag. 704; Ovav.; Kappas.; Bhag.). The word, as *siṁghāṇa*, *śrīṅghāṇika*, has been taken into Skt. A denominative therefrom is AMg. *siṁghāṇei* (Vivāhap. 112). A. has also *gimbha* = *grīṣma* (Hc. 4,412). On *kambhāra* = *kāśmīra* see § 120, on *sepha* = *sleṣman* see § 312, and on *bharai* = *smarati*, § 313.

1. BOLLESEN on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 5, f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250. — 2. Cf. PISCHEL, BB. 3,255; 6,85 f.

II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel (§131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha*, and dialectically also of consonant + *ra*, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the anlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as anlaut (§ 196). M. *kaḍḍhai* = *kvathati*; *kiḷai* = *krīḍati*; *khandha* = *skandha*; *gaṇṭhi* = *granṭhi*; *jalai* = *jvalai*; *thala* = *sthala*; *thāmatihāma* = *sthāmasthāma* - (G.); *diu* = *dvija*; *bhamai* = *bhramati*; *ṇhāṇa* = *snāna*; *ṇhāṇia* = *snāpita*; *lhasai* = *hrasati*. — *mhi* = *asmi*, *mha*, *mho* = *smah* can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the anlaut.¹ The grammarians permit a consonant + *r* in the anlaut and the anlaut (Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20): *doḥa*, *droha* = *droha* (Bh. 3,4),

daha, *draha*=*hrada* (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14); *canda*, *candra* (Grr.); *rudda*, *rudra* (Bh.; Hc.); *inda*, *indra* (Mk.); *bhadda*, *bhadra* (Hc.; Mk.); *sammudda*, *samudra* (Hc.). So there occurs M. *bodraha* (Pāiy. l. 62; cf. Deśin. 7,80) or *vodraha* (young; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 7,80; H. 392)²; JM. *vandra* (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; Deśin. 7,32; Erz. 26,3) or *bandra*, *bundra*³. Frequent is consonant + *r*, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: *tram*=*tad*, more correctly=*tyad* (4,360); *dramma*= $\delta\rho\infty\kappa\mu\eta'$ (4,422,4); *dravakka* (fruit; 4,422,4); *draha*=*hrada* (4,423,1); *drehi*=**dekhi*=*dṛṣṭi* (4,422,6; cf. § 66); *dhrum* in the sense of *yad*, *yasmād* (4,360. 438,1), in Ki. 5,49 *drum*=*tad*, *jrum*=*yad* and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛācaḍa Apabhraṁśa; *dhruvu*=*dhruvan* (4,418; cf. Ki. 5,5, where *ghruva*, *ghru* has been edited); *praṅgaṇa*=*prāṅgaṇa* (4,360.420,4); *pramāṇia* *pramāṇita* (4,422,1); *praāvadi*=*prajāpati* (4,404); *prassadi*=*paśyati* (4,393); *prāiva*, *prāu*=*prāyah* (4,414); *pria*=*priya* (4,370.2.377.379,2; 398.401.6.417); *bruvahu*=*brūta*; *brōppi*, *brōppiṇu*=**brūtvā* (4,391; also Ki. 5,58); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *vratta*=*vrata* (4,394); *vrāsa*=*vyāsa* (4,399; Ki. 5,5). In Ki. besides those mentioned above also *bhrāsa*=*bhāṣya* (5,5). In the inlaut: *antraḍi*=*antra* (Hc. 4,445,3); *bhrantri*=*bhrānti* (4,360); *putra* (Ki. 5,2); perhaps also in *jatru*, *tatru*=*yatra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404), and in *etrula*, *ketrula*, *jetrula*, *tetrula*=*iyat*, *kiyat*, *yāvat*, *tāvat* (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between *ta* and *trā*. Ki. 5,50 has in the edition *yadru*, *tadru*=*yatra*, *tatra*. — In Mg. A. there occur dialectically in the inlaut also *yca*, *yja* (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80. The MSS., according to WEBER on H. 392 and IS. 16,140 f., do not have *r*. — 3. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha*; 3) dialectically consonant + *r* (§ 268); 4) nasal + consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to Ki. 2,121; Mk. l. 34 *m* comes in for *n*, *ṇ*, according to Vr. 4,14, for *n*, *ṇ* before a consonant¹: *vaṁcaṇia*=*vañcāṇia*; *vinṇja*=*vindhya*; *paṁti*=*pañktiḥ*; *maṁti*=*mantrin*. According to Hc. 1,1 *ṇ*, *ṇ* can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *n* must become *m* before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Deśin. 1,26 it is seen that *airimṇa*, not *airimṇa*, was written, and Deśin. 1,18 makes it probable that *andhandhu*, and not *aṁdhaṁdhu* should be read.² The examples of the grammarians partly relate to words in which the nasal in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them *m* must be written.³ So: *Ś. avuraṇṇmuha*=*aparāṇṇmukha* (Vikr. 44,9); AMg. *chaṁmāsiya*=*ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M.A. *chaṁmuha*=*ṣaṇmukha* (§ 441); M.Ś. *diṁmuha*=*diṁmukha* (Karp. 39,3; Viddhaś. 34,11; Laṭakam. 4,3); M. *diṁmoha*=*diṁmoha* (H. 866); M. JM.Ś. *paraṇṇmuha*=*paraṇṇmukha* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bhartṛharin. 22,13); M.A.Mg. JM.Ś.A. *paṁti*=*pañkti* (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446.512; Paṇhāv. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Piṅgala 1,10), M.Ś. *vaṁti* (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1), AMg. *paṁtiyā*=*pañktikā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5. Anuog. 386; Thān. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇnav. 80.84.85); AMg. *baṁjha*=*bandhya* (Sūyag. 450 (text *va°*]), *abaṁjha* (Sūyag. 600 (text *ava°*]); M. AMg. JM.Ś. *vinṇja*=*vindhya* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189.1274.1287; Erz.; Rukmiṇip. 48,3); Ś. *vinṇhakeḍu* (Priyad. 14,6; 52,6); M. JM.Ś. *saṁjha*=*sandhyā* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,

like Vr. 3,43=Hc.2,61; Ki 2 98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for *nma* the change into *mma* is especially prescribed again. Whether an exception should, however, be generally made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even *parammuha*, *chammāsija* should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found *śca*, *yyha*, *śtha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śta*, *śta*, *sta*, *spa*, *spha*, *hka* (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331).

1. On the misunderstanding of this rule by Bhāmaha see COWELL on Vr. p. 137, note 2.—2. FISCHER, Deśin., Introduction p. 8 f.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 1,25.

§ 270. Of the conjunct mutes of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second (Vr. 3,1.50; C. 3,3.24; Hc. 2,77.89; Ki. 2,49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26). 1) *k+t* becomes *tt*: M. *āsatta*=*āsakta* (G.H.); *jutta*=*yukta* (H.R.); *bhatti*=*bhakti* (G.H.); *mōttia*=*mauktika* (G.H.R.). Likewise the other dialects¹. *mukka* beside rare *mutta*=*mukta* is derived from **mukna*, as *ragga* beside *ratta*=*rakta* goes back to **ragna* (§ 566). *sakka*, which Hc. 2,2 equates as=*śakta*, is everywhere=*śakya* (Ki. 2,1)². *nakkam̐cara* (Hc. 1,177) is not=*naktam̐cara*, which must become *ṇattam̐cara*, but goes back to **nakkā* from **nakā*' (§ 194.355)=Vedic *nak*³.—2) *k+th* becomes *tth*: JM. *rittha*=*riktha* (Pāiyāl. 49; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *sittha*=*siktha* (Hc. 2,77; Ovav.; Kappas.); *sithaa*=*sikthaka* (Bh. 3,1; Pāiyāl. 228).—3) *k+p* becomes *pp*: M. *vappairā*=*vāḥpatirāja* (G.)—4) *g+dh* becomes *ddh*: M. *duddha*=*dugdha* (G.H.); M. *muddha*=*mugdha* (G.H.R.); M. *niddha* (H.R.), *siṇiddha*=*snigdha* (G.).—5) *g+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *pabbhāra*=*prāgbhāra* (G.R.)⁴.—6) *t+k* becomes *kk*: AMg. *chakka*=*śatka* (§ 451); AMg. *chakkatthaga*=*śatkāsthaka* (Nāyādh.).—7) *t+c* becomes *cc*: AMg. *chacca*=*śatca*; *chaccaraṇa*=*śatcaraṇa* (§ 441).—8) *t+t* becomes *tt*: AMg. *chattala*=*śattala*; *chattisam*, *chattisā*=*śattrimśat* (§ 441).—9) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *chappaa*=JM. *chappāya*=*śatpada*; AMg. *chappannam*, A. *chappana*=**śatpañat* (56; § 441.445).—10) *t+ph* becomes *spph*: *kappala*=*katphala* (Hc. 2,77).—11) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *khagga*=*khaḍga* (G.H.R.); M. *chaggunā*=*śadgunā*, Ś. *chaggunaa*=*śadgunoka* (§ 441).—12) *d+j* becomes *jj*: AMg. *chajjiva*=*śadjiva* (Āyār. 1,1,7,7); *sajja*=*śadja* (Hc. 2,77).—13) *d+d* becomes *dd*: AMg. *chaddisim*=*śaddisam* (§ 441).—14) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: AMg. *chabbhāya*, °ga=*śadbhāga* (§ 441); Ś. *chabbhua*=*śadbhūja* (Cait. 42,7).—15) *d+v* becomes *vv*: AMg. JM.A. *chuvviam*=*śadvimśati* (§ 441).—16) *t+k* becomes *kk*: M. *ukkaṇṭhā*=*utkṇṭhā* (G.H.); AMg. *ukkaliyā*=*utkalikā* (Ovav.); Ś. *balakkāra*=*balātkāra* (Mṛcch. 13,22; 17,23; 23,23,25; Śak. 137,3), Mg. *balakkāla* (Mṛcch. 140,15; 146,17; 158,22; 162,20; 173,12).—17) *t+kh* becomes *kkh*: M. *ukkhaa*, JM. *ukkhaṇṭha*=*utkhāta* (80).—18) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *uppala*=*utpala* (G.H.R.); AMg. *tappadhūmayā*=*tatprathamā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *sappurisa*=*satpurusa* (G.H.).—19) *t+ph* becomes *spph*: M. *upphulla*=*utphulla* (H.R.); M. Mg. *upphāla*=*utphāla* (R.; Mṛcch. 99,10).—20) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *uggama*=*udgama* (G.H.R.); M. Ś. *mōggara*=*mudgara*: AMg. JŚ. *pōggala*=*pudgala* (§ 125).—21) *d+gh* becomes *ggh*: M. *ugghāa*=*udghāta* (G.H.R.); M. *ugghuṭṭha*=*udghuṣṭa* (R.).—22) *d+b* becomes *bb*: M. *bubbua*=*budbuda* (G.); Ś. *ubbandhia*=*ubbandhya* (§ 513).—23) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ubbhada*=*udbhata* (G.R.); M. *ubbheda*=*udbheda* (G.H.R.); M. *sabbhāva*=*sadbhāva* (G.H.R.).—24) *p+t* becomes *tt*: M. *ukkhitta*=*utksipta* (G.H.R.); M. *prijatta*=*paryāpta* (G.H.R.); M. *sutta*=*supta* (H.).—25) *b+j* becomes *jj*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (§ 206).—26) *b+d* becomes *dd*: *adda*=*abda* (Hc. 2,79); M. *sadda*=*śabda* (G.H.R.).—27) *b+dh* becomes *ddh*: *āradha*=*ārabdha* (R.); M. *laddha*=*labdha* (G.H.R.); *lōddha*=*lubdhaka* (§ 1255).

1. Cf. § 184, note 1.—2. BOLLSENSEN on Vikr. 12,120; FISCHER on Hc. 2,2.

Cf. 279. — 3. Skt. *nakṣatra* "star", "constellation" too should be equated as = **nakṣatra* "ruling over the night". The customary explanations on account of **naktatra* (AUFRECHT, KZ. 8,71; cf. WEBER, *Naxatra* 2,268) or from *ṇnakṣ* (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) are in any case perverse. — 4. So according to the usual interpretation. ZACHARIAE (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 60 ff.) sees probably rightly in *prāgbhāra* a false back formation of *pabbhāra*. He would like to derive *pabbhāra*, that is frequent in AMg. also (e.g. Uttar. 1034; Anug. 416; Vivāhap. 248.920; Thāp. 135.297; Ovav.; Nirayāv.) and is found also in JM. (Kk.) and S. (Anarghar, 149.10), from **prahvāra*. The common meaning "crowd" points, however, rather to **prabhāra* (JACOBI, Kk. s.v.) with duplication according to §196.

§271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the cases mentioned in §333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. *ṭṭ* becomes *ṣṭ* (Hc. 4,290); *paṣṭa*=*paṭṭa*; *bhaṣṭālikā*=*bhaṭṭārikā*; *bhaṣṭiṇi*=*bhaṭṭiṇi*. STENZLER, in Mrcc., writes *ṣṭ* for *ṭṭ*: *bhaṣṭaka*=*bhaṭṭaka* (10,5;16,18;22,3,5;114,16;118,8,12,22;119,9;122,10;124,12 ff.; 125,1,3,8,24;132,11,15,18); *bhaṣṭālaa*=*bhaṭṭāraka* (22,5;32,4;112,18;119,13;121,12;154,9;164,12;165,1,5;176,4); *piṣṭadu*=**piṭṭadu*=*piṭṭayatu* (125,8). GODABOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have *bhaṭṭaka*, *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭhaka*, *bhaṭṭālaka*, *bhaṣṭālaka* [^olaa], only some of the MSS. have ^oṣṭ in 10,5;22,3,5;32,4;119,13;124,24;132,11. For *piṣṭadu* all have *piṭṭadu*¹ or *viṭṭadu*, likewise *aṭṭahāsaśa* (168,21), for which we should read *asta*^o according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have *ṭṭ*^o throughout, likewise all the editions at Śak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8,10,11,12; Caṇḍak. 60,12 etc. In Mrcc. *ṣṭ* can be a dialectical variant for *ṣṭ*, as *ṣk* beside *hk*=*kṣ*. But elsewhere according to Hc. *ṣṭ* should be written for *ṭṭ*². Cf. §290. — *kṛtti* (skin) becomes *kicci* according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only *kattī* (Pāṭyāl. 110; G.H.) and *M. kitti* (H). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v.l. ^okaccīa for ^okattīo; in Dhvanyāloka at 128,6 the edition reads ^okattī a and so also Kāvya prakāśa 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. *kacci* and *kicci* presuppose Skt. **kṛtyā*=*kartyā* (scil. *tvak*) "what is to be cut off (skin)". Cf. AMg. *vigiñcaī*=**vikṛtyati* (§485). On Mg. *ṣca* for *ccha* see §233.

1. *piṭṭadu* in GODBOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 233 note; SENART, *Piyadasi* 1,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate *ṣṭ* as=ṭṭ. Cf. FISCHER, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchanged as a rule, when the nasal precedes: *M. anika* (G.H.R.); *M. Ś. saṅkhalā*=*śṅkhalā* (§213); *M. siṅga*=*śṅga* (G.H.); *M. jaṅghā* (G.); *M. koñca*=*krauñca* (G.); *M. lañchana*=*lāñchana* (G.H.R.); *M. mañjarī* (G.H.); *M. kañṭha* (G.H.R.); *M. khaṇḍa* (G.H.R.); *M. anta* (G.H.R.); *M. manihara* (G.H.R.); *maaranda*=*makaranda* (H.R.); *M. bandha* (G.H.R.); *M. jambū* (G.H.). If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes *m̐* (§269).

§273. Dialectically *ñca* becomes *ṇṇa* in *pañcadaśan* and *pañcāśat* (Vr.3,44; Hc. 2,43; Ki. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: *pañṇaraha* (15; Grr.; A. Piṅgala 1,112,114); AMg. JM. *pañṇarasa* (^onnā) (Hc. 3,123; Kappas.; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), *pañṇarasī* (Kappas.); *pañṇāsā* (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas.); AMg. JM. also *pañṇāsam* (Ki. 2,66; Thāp. 266; Bhag.; Erz.), also *pañṇā* (C. 3,32), in the remaining fifties shortened to ^opañṇam, ^ovañṇam: *ēkkāvannam* (ed. *ekā*^o; 51; Samav. 112); *bāvannam* (52); *tevannam* (53); *caūvannam* (54); *paṇavannam* (55); *chappannam* (56); *satiāvannam* (57); *aṭṭhāvannam* (58) (WEBER, Bhagavatī 1,426; Samav. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI)

aiñāpaṇṇam (49; Ovav. §163); *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.); A. *bāvanna* (52), *sattāvannāi* (57) (Piṅgala 1,87.51). So also AMg. *paṇṇatthi* (65; Kappas.) and *paṇṇattari* (75; Samav. 133). Before 20—60, in JM. AMg. *paṇṇa* is mostly weakened to *paṇa*: *paṇavisam* (25); *paṇatisam* (35); *paṇajālisam* (45); *paṇavannam* (55) and *paṇavannā* (C. 3,33; [so to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside *pañcāvannā*); *paṇasatthim* (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72-123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.) and A. *chappāṇa* (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli *paṇṇuvisati*, *paṇṇuvisam* (25) stands AMg. *paṇuvisāhi* (Instr.; Āyār. p. 137,25), AMg. *paṇuvisam* (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jiyak. 19,20); JM. *paṇuvisā* (Av. 48,13), of which *u* is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇarasi*, *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇāsa* beside *paññāsa*. E. KUHN has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “ññ should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of *c* and *ś*, and accordingly it goes to back to a time, when *ś* had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to *c*.” That is not possible for for *ṇṇa*. Pañjābī and Sindhi *pañjāh*, P. °*vañjā*, S. °*vañjāha* (HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from *ñca* to *ñja*, *ñya*, *nya*. Cf. Pāli *āñā*=*ājñā*, *āñāpeti*=*ājñāpayati* and § 274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in *pacisa* (25) and *pacaālisahī* (45; instr.). See §445. On AMg. *āṇṇaṇa* supposed to be=*ākuñcana* see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 in Mg. *ñja* becomes *ñña*: *aññali*=*añjali*; *dhaññāñña*=*dhanamjaya*; *paññāla*=*prāñjala*. According to this *ja*, as in the anlaut (236), has become *ya*. In Mṛcch. 19,6 stands *añjalim*.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12; Amaracandra, Kāvyaḷaḷpalatāvṛtti p.9 in Ś. and Mg. *nta* can become *nda*. The examples of the grammarians are: Ś. *andeura*=*antahpura*; *niiccinda*=*niścinta*; *mahanda*=*mahat*; Mg. *mahanda*; in addition to the assumptive Ś. *randūṇa*=*ratvā* (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 *saūmdale*=*śakuntale*. Inscriptionally *nda* occurs throughout for *nta* in Lalitav. in Mg.: *payyāṇde*=*paryante* (565,7); *avayyāṇdadā*=*aparyantā* (565,12); *peṣkiyyāṇḍi*=*prekṣyante* (565,13); *puṣcāṇde*, *ni[liśkaṇ]de*=*prechan nirikṣamāṇaḥ* (565,20); *vaññāṇḍassa*=*vrajataḥ* (566,7), whilst in Ś. *nta* exclusively remains: *viloijjaṇṭi*=*vilokyante* (554,21); *peḥkhiijjaṇṭi*=*prekṣyante* (554,22); *vuttāṇṭi*...*suñiyāṇṭi*=*vṛttāntāḥ*...*śrūyante* (555,2); *huvaṇṭi*=*bhavanṭi* (555,5); *peraṇṭesu*=*paryanteṣu* (555,11), *desaṇṭara*=*deśāntara* (560,19) etc. HOEFER¹ and LASSEN² have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as *bhakkhanti*, for which STENZLER, Mṛcch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads *bhakkhanti*=*bhaksayanti*, *sandāva*, for which stands *saṇṭāpa* (Mṛcch. 78,8; Śak. 55,1;68,1; Ratn. 298,10;229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.), Bombay (Bb.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have *nda*, even in words other than in BROCKHAUS, as 39,2 B. Bb. *ramandī*, M.P. *ramaṇḍī*, 9 B. *saṁbhāvaandī*, M.P. *saṁbhāvaandī*, Bb. *saṁbhāvaṇḍī*, but 4 B. *ciṭṭhanti*, M. *ciṭṭhandi*, P. *ciṭṭhandi* Bb. *tussanti*, while all 7 read *nti* in B. *paḍichanti*, Bb.M. *paḍicchanti*, P. *paḍichanti*. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PAṆḌIT writes Mālav. 27,2 *oleantī*, 3 *antare*, but 5 *uvaārāṇandaram* (BOLLENSEN 6,9 correctly °*ntaram*); 66,1 *pañcarattabhbhandare* (BOLLENSEN 34,13 °*ntare*), but 5 *āntavvaṇḍi* etc.; TĀRĀKUMĀRA CAKRAVARTĪ, Uttarak. 59,5;69,10;77,4;89,11 *vāsandī*=*vāsanti*; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 *jāṇandi*, but 38,2 *jāṇantam*; 39,4 *sahandi*,

but 7 *nivedianti* [sic]; [DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Unmattarāghava 3,2,5; 7,4 *disandi*, but 5,4 *disanti*=*drśyante*; 7,4 *anṣesantie*=*anveṣantyā*, but 5,4 *sambhāmanti*=*sambhramantaḥ*; Mukund. 13,2 *kim di*=*kim iti*; 13,18 *andareṇa*=*antareṇa*; 17,14 *sandi*=*sānti*; 21,12 *akkando*=*ākraṇtaḥ*. Frequent is the writing in both the editions of Pārvaṭip., as *nirandaram cindāulam* (2,15,16), *vāsantie* (9,3), *vāsantiā* (9,15), *ahilasandi* (24,16; 28,4) and others. LASSEN was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś³. But *nda* is found also in Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. *jāṇandā* v.l. for *jāṇantā* (H. 821); *kim deṇa* (H. 905); *bhaṇandi* (Pārvaṭip. 28,2); *ramandi*=**ramanti*, *ujjhandō*=*ujjhantaḥ*, *rajjandi*=*rajjante* (Mukund. 5,2.23,2). Hc. 2,180 teaches that *haṇdi* is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and 2,181 teaches that *haṇda* is used in the sense "take!", "take care". *haṇda* is=*handa*=Skt. *hanta*. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where the MSS. read *geṇhaha*, *ginhaha*, *maṇda*, the Jaina recension R. has *haṇdi* and Bhuvānapāla (IS. 16,70 on strophe 145) reads *haṇta*. AMg. has *haṇda* *ha* or *haṇda haṇ* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6.11,1.2; Thāṇ. 354); elsewhere, however, M.AMg. JM.Ś. *hanta*, AMg. also *hantā* (G.; Āyār. 2,5,2,4; Nāyādh. 1332; Vivāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31,7). AMg. *haṇdi* (Sūyag. 151; Dasav. 624,26 [*haṇdi*]; Dasav. N. 647,41 [*haṇdi*]; 653,13 [*haṇdi*]; Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuog. 323; Nāyādh. 1134), goes back to JM. *haṇti* (Kk.), that is=*ham iti*. Cf. § 185 and AMg. *haṇbho* §267. The examples in Hc., with the exception of *handa*, are found in the Telugu recension, and like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of *nd* for *nt* is to be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce *nt* as *nd*. Hence *nd* is found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write *ntta* for *nta* in Skt. too, e.g. *śakuntalā*⁴, to ensure the pronunciation *nt* thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes *māhaṇte* (7,43) for *māhaṇte*=*mahataḥ* (acc. plur.)⁵, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond of doubling *t* after *m*⁶. Especially frequently is found *saṁtāva* in M. (H. 817; Appendix 994) and Ś. (Mālatīm. 79,1; 81,2; 219,1; Uttarar. 6,1; 92,9; 163,5; Nāgān. 87,12; Viddhaś. 81,4; Priyad. 4,7; 22,12; 24,7; 25,13; Mallikām. 218,10; 223,6; 330,17; Rukmiṇip. 27,6.11; 33,13), *saṁdāvedī* (Priyad. 20,7; Mukund. 73,3 [so to be read]), *saṁdāvida* (Mālatīm. 79,1). Śak. too has *saṁdāva* at 55,1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68,1, in two of them at 127,7, most of them have *saṁdāvedī*. Since M. possesses a verb *dāvai*=*tāpayati* (Śak. 55,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1), one might derive *saṁdāpa* from it. But in M. *saṁtāva* is the most accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same phonetic change has occurred in *oandaḥ*=*apakerṇati* (§485), and *vihumḍua*=*vidhumtuda* (Deśin. 7,65; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,252).

1. De Prakrita dialecto p. 54.—2. Inst. p. 238; 378 note.—3. Inst. p. 238.—4. PISCHEL, GN. 1873, 211 f.; KB. 8, 130 f.; Vikramorvaṣiṇī p. 615.—5. PISCHEL, GN. 1895, 210.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29, 494, note 1; Rāvaṇavaho p. xi.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, *n*, *n* become assimilated to the preceding consonant: M *aggi*=*agni* (G.H.R.); M AMg. JM. Ś. *uvviggā*=*udvigna* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 150,16; 151,2). *uvvigna*, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as=*udvigna* is rather=**udvṛṇṇa* from Vedic *vrad*, **vrd* with *ud*. An original *r* is pointed to by *vunṇa* (timid; frightened; Hc. 4,421; Deśin. 7,94; Pāiyāl. 76) and *uvvunṇa* (frightened; Deśin. 1, 123); JM. *nagga*=*nagna* (Erz.); M. *rugga*=*rugna* (G.); M. *viggha*=*vighna* (R.); AMg. *saṇagghī*=*śataghnī* (Uttar. 285; Ovav.); *suruggha*=*srughna* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *paṭṭi*=*paṭni*

(Uttar. 363.422); M. *savatta*=*sapatna* (G.R.), M. J.M.S. *savattī*=*sapatnī* (H.; Āv. 28,9; Anarghar. 287,1; Venis. 12,6), Ś. *nisavatta*=*nihasapatna* (Mr̥ch. 5,1), M. *paatta*=*prayatna* (H.); AMg. *pappoi*, J.S. *pappodi*=*prāpnoti* (§504). See 566. The sound-group *jña*, as a rule, becomes *ṇa*, in the anlaut *na* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ki. 2,102; Mk. fol. 25); M. *ahinṇāṇa*=*abhiṇṇāna* (R.); M. *janṇa*=*yajña* (H.); *pañṇa*=*prajña* (Hc. 2,42); M. *saṇṇa*=*saṃjñā* (R.); M. AMg. J.M. *añā*=*ājñā*, AMg. J.M. *āṇavei*, Ś.Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§88); M. *najjai*, AMg. J.M. *najjai*=*jñāyate* (§548), AMg. *nāṇa*=*jñāna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6). Hc. 2,83 permits also *ajjā*=*ājñā*; *pajjā*=*prajñā*; *saṃjā*=*saṃjñā*; *jāṇa*=*jñāna*, and beside *ṇa*, *ṇṇu* (§105) also *jja*, when *jña* forms the second member of a compound: *appanṇu*, *appijja*=*ātmajña*, *ahinṇu*, *ahijja*=*abhiṇṇa*, *ingiaṇṇu*, *ingiajja*=*ingitajña*; *daivaṇṇu*, *daivajja*=*daivajña*; *maṇoṇṇa*, *maṇojja*=*manoṇṇa*; *savvaṇṇu*, *savvajja*=*sarvajña*, but only *viṇṇāṇa*=*viññāna*. According to Vr. 3,5; Ki. 2,52; Mk. fol. 20 in M. only *jja* is used in words of the type of *sarvajña*: *sahajja*, *ahijja*, *ingiajja*, *sujji*=*sujña*, in Ś. on the other hand, according to Vr. 12,8 only *savvaṇṇa*, *ingidaṇṇa*, according to 12,7 in *viñña* and *yajña* optionally *ṇja*, according to Ki. 5,76 *ahijjo*, and *ahinṇo* optionally, according to 5,77 *paññā*=*pratiññā*. The correct reading in Vr. Ki. is wholly doubtful; presumably *jja* and *ṇa* should be permitted. The forms found in the texts are Ś. *anahinṇa*=*anabhiṇṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1); *janṇa*=*yajña* (Śak. 142,3; Mālav. 70,15); *pañṇa* (§220). In AMg., beside *ṇṇu*, *ṇṇu* (§105), *ṇa*, *ṇṇa* also are suitable for use: *samaṇṇuṇṇa*=*samanujña* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *kheyaṇṇa*=*khedajña* (Āyār. 1,1,4,2; 1,2,3,6; 1,2,5,3; 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,3,4; 1,4,1,2; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 234 [°da°]. 304.565); *māyaṇṇa*=*mātrajña* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2; 1,8,1,19; Dasav. 623,15; Uttar. 51); *kālaṇṇa*, *balāṇṇa*, *khaṇṇaṇṇa*, *khaṇṇaṇṇa*, *viṇṇaṇṇa*, *samaṇṇaṇṇa*, *bhāvaṇṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2); *mejaṇṇa* (Uttar. 508); *pañṇa*=*prajña* (Uttar. 33); *āsupaṇṇa*=*āsuprajña* (Uttar. 181); *maḥapaṇṇa* (Uttar. 200); *maṇṇuṇṇa*, *amaṇṇuṇṇa*=*manoṇṇa*, *amaṇojña* (Āyār. 2,1,10,2,11,2; 2,4,2,6; p. 136,7 ff.; Sūyag. 390; Ovav. 53,87), but Ś. *maṇojja* (Mallikāmi. 195,5). So also AMg. *janṇa*=*yajña* (Uttar. 742), *janṇai*=*yajñakṛt* (Ovav.). In Mg. *jña* becomes *ñña* (H. 4, 293); *avaññā*=*avajñā*; *paññāvisāla*=*prajñāvisāla*; *savvañña*=*sarvajña*. Vr. Ki. Mk. do not have this rule, and the MSS write only *ṇa*. So: *janṇa*=*yajña* (Mr̥ch. 171,11); *janṇasenī*=*yajñasenī* (Venis. 34,13); for which, according to Hc., should be written *yañña*, *yaññasenī*; *paññāṇa*=*pratiññāta* (Venis. 35,13); *viññāṇa*=*viññāta* (Mr̥ch. 37,21), *viññāṇa*=*viññāpya* (Mr̥ch. 138,25; 139,1) etc. The rule accredits *vaññādi*=**vrajñāti* (§448), which the copyists did not change, as they did not recognize it. —In P. too *jña* becomes *ñña* (Hc. 4,303; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12): *paññā*=*prajñā*; *saññā*=*saṃjñā*; *savvañña*=*sarvajña*; *ññāna*=*jñāna*; *viññāna*=*viññāna*; *yaññā*=*yajña*; *raññā*, *raññā*=*rājñā*, *rājñāh* (Hc. 4,304) beside *rāciññā*, *rāciñño* (§237.399) In Vr. 10,9.12 the MSS. give *ñja*, *jja*, which will simply be an error for *ñña*.

§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is *ma*, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule *gma* becomes *gga*: M. AMg. *jugga*=*yugma* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275.362); *tiggā*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62); *vaggi*=*vāgmin* (Bh. 3,2); probably also *dōgga*=*yugma* (§215). Dialectically, however, it becomes *mma* as well: AMg. *jumma*=*yugma* (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Thāp. 275; Samav. 138); *timma*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62). —*kma* becomes *ppa* Vr. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Ki. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); *ruppa*=*rukma* (Bh. 3,49; Ki. 2,63); AMg. *ruppi*=*rukmin*, by Hc. 2,52 equated as *=rucmin* (Samav. 114.117.139.144.157.160; Thāp. 75; Nāyādh. 781 ff.; Rāyap. 177); AMg. J.M.S. *ruppiṇi*=*rukmiṇi*

(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Nirayāv. 79; Paṇhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracandap. 18,15; Mālatim. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.=ed. Jibananda Vidyasagara 49,7, where, however, *rukkiṇi*]. — According to Hc. 2,52 *kuṭmala* forms in Pkt. *kumpala*, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also *kuñcala* (Deśin. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to *kuṭmala* or *kuḍmala*, *kumpala* also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside *kuṭmala*. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has *kuppala*. — *ātman* becomes almost always in M., always in A *appa-* (Vr. 3,48; Ki. 2,63; G.H.R.)¹, very rarely M. *atta-* in *attaṇo* (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillates (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have *appa-* and *atta-* beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. *ajjhappa*=*adhyātman* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5; Paṇhāv. 437); AMg. JM. *attaja*=*ātmaja* (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. *attajā*=*ātmajā* (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also *āja-* for **āta-*, corresponding to JŚ. *āda-* (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has *appa-*; in Ś. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. *appa-* is frequent; in the other cases almost only *atta-*, accus. *attāṇaṃ*; Dh. has *appa-* (§401). The form occurring in the Gīrnār inscriptions, *āpta-*, which is not to be read² *ātpa-* with ASCOLI³ and SENART⁴, shows that *appa-*, by the route *ātma-*, **ātva-* (§251.312), **ātpa*, *āpta*, has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst *atta* is the regular continuation of *ātman*⁵. In *kma*=*ppa* must be added a transition step: *rukma*, **rutma*=*ruppa*. — *dma* becomes *mma*: *chamma*=*chadma* (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form *chaūma* (§139); *po'mma*=*padma* (§166.195) beside *paūma* (§139).

1. At H. 201 in place of *attaṇo*, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read *appaṇo* with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably *appaṇo*, should be read *attaṇo* everywhere. — 2. BHAGVANLĀL INDRĀJĪ, IA. 10,105; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f.; BÜHLER, ZDMG. 37,89. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10. — 4. Piyadasi, 1,26 ff. — 5. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then *nma*, *nma* become *nma* (§269), *nma* becomes *mma* (Vr. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Ki. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), *mna* becomes *nna*, AMg. JM. JŚ. also *nna* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ummoha*=*unmukha* (G.R.), *ummūla*=*unmūla* (H.), *ummūlaṇa*=*unmūlana* (R.), *jamma*=*janman* (H.R.); *mammaṇa*=*manmana* (Hc. 2,42); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (§251); M. *nīṇṇa*=*nimna* (Hc. 2,42; G.), *nīṇṇaā*=*nimnagā* (G.), AMg. *nīṇṇa* (Vivāhap. 1244), *iṣimṇīṇṇajara*=*iṣannimnatara* (Vivāhap. 239), *ninnagā* (Paṇhāv. 440); M. Ś. *paḷḷjunṇa*=*pradyumna* (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratn. 295,26;296,5.17). In *dhṛṣṭdyumna*, according to Hc. 2,94 *mna* becomes *na*: *dhaṭṭhajjunṇa* Ś. has *dhaṭṭhajjunṇa* (Pracandap. 8,19), Mg. *dhiṭṭhajjunṇa* (Venis. 35,19), for which should be read *dhiṭṭhayyunṇa*. If *dhaṭṭhajjunṇa* is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to **dhṛṣṭārjuna*, as there occurs the synonym *arjuna* for *dyumna*.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. 1). One of the sounds is *ya* (Vr. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19): *kya*=*kka*: Ś. *cāṇakka*=*cāṇakya* (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); *pārakka*=*pārakya* (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. *vakka*=*vākya* (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10 16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26.658,29.31;659,22.33); Ś. *sakka*=*śakya* (Ś.k. 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7). — *khya*=*kkha*: M. *akkhāṇa*=*ākhyānaka* (H.); AMg. *akkhāi*=*ākhyāti* (§491);

Ś. *vakkhāṇaiṣaṁ* = **vyākhyānayiṣyāmi* = *vyākhyāsyē* (Viddhaś. 63,3, Rukmiṇip. 19,3); M.Amg. J.M. J.S. Ś.A. *sōkkha* = *saukhyā* (§61^a). On Amg. *āghāvei* see §88.551. — *gya* = *gga*: M. *joḡga* = *yogya* (G.H.R.). Amg. J.M. *veragga* = *vairāgya* (Ovav.; Erz.); M. *sohagga* = *saubhāgya* (G.H.R.). — *cya* = *cca*: Amg. *cuya* = *cyuta* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Kappas.); M. *muccai* = *mucyate* (G.); Amg. *vuccai*, Ś.Mg. *vuccadi* = *ucyate* (§544). — *jya* = *jja*: M. *jujja* = *yujyate* (H.), *bhujjanta* = *bhujyamāna* (G.); *rajjā* = *rājya* (H.R.). — *tya* = *tt*: *naṭṭaa* = *nāṭyaka* (Mṛcch. 70,3); M. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,116), M.A. *tuṭṭai* (§292) = *truṭyati*; M. *lōṭṭai* = *lutyati* (Hc. 4,146; Karp. 39,3). — *dya* = *dda*: *kudḍa* = *kudya* (Hc. 2,78; H.); Amg. *pidḍai* = *pidyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4). — *dhya* = *ddha* = *ādhyā* (G.; Sūyag. 957; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.); Amg. J.M. *vejāddha* = *vaitāddhya* (§60). — *pya* = *ppa*: Amg. *appege* = *apyeke*, *appegaiyā* = *apyekatyāh* = Pāli *appekacce* (§174); M. *kuppai* = *kupyati* (H.G.), *suppail* = *supyatām* (H.). — *bhya* = *bbha*: M. *abbhantara* = *abhyantara* (G.H.R.); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna* = *abhyupapanna* (§163); Amg. J.M. *ibbha* = *ibhya* (Thān. 414.526; Paṇhāv. 319; Nāyādh. 547.1231; Vivāgas. 82; Ovav.; Erz.). On *d* for *jy* see §215.

§ 280. In conjunction with dentals *y* is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus *tya* becomes = *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Ki. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23), *thya* = *ccha* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), *dya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), *dhya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). — *tya* = *cca*: M. A.Mg. J.M. J.S. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (§163); M. *ṇacca* = *nṛtyati* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.); M. *docca* = *dautya* (H.); A.Mg. *vejāvacca* = *vaiyāpriya* (Ovav.); M. *sacca satya* (G.H.). — *thya* = *ccha*: M.S. *nevaccha*, A.Mg. J.M. *nevaccha* = *nepathya*¹ (G.R.; Vikr. 75,14; Ratn. 309,16 [°*ttha*]; Mālatīm. 206,7; 234,3 [both the times °*ttha*]; Pras. 41,7; Mālav. 33,18; 36,3; 38,3; 73,17; 74,17 [throughout °*ttha*]; Priyad. 27,18; 28,1,4; Viddhaś. 30,8; 120,11 [both the times °*ttha*]; Rukmiṇip. 37,15; 41,11 [°*cca*]; 42,5; 43,5,9; Āyār. 2,15,18 [°*ttha*]; Vivāgas. 234; Paṇhāv. 240.459 [both the times °*ttha*]; Thān. 238 [°*ttha*]; Nāyādh. §117 [°*ttha*]; Ovav.; Āv. 27,17; Erz.), A.Mg. J.M. also *nevacchiya* (Vivāgas. 111; Paṇhāv. 196 [both the texts °*tthiya*]; Āv. 28,5) = **nepathyita*; J.M. *nevaccheṭṭā* (absol.; Āv. 26,27); A.Mg. *paccha* = *pathya* (Grr.; Kappas.); M.S. *racchā* = *rathyā* (G.H.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4; 30,7). — *dya* = *jja*: P.G. *ajātāye* = *adyatvāya* (§253); M. *ajja* = *adya* (G.H.R.); M. *ujjāna* = *udyāna* (G.R.), *chijja* = *chidyate* (R.), *vijjujjoa* = *vidyuddya* (G. 907); M. J.M. Ś. *veḷja* = *vaidya* (§60). — *dhya* = *jja*: M.S. *uvajjhā*, A.Mg. J.M. *uvajjhāya* = *upādhyāya* (§155); M. *majjha* = *madhya* (G.H.R.); M.A.Mg. J.M. Ś. *vinjha* = *vindhya* (§269); M. J.M. Ś. *saṁjhā* = *sandhyā* (§269). In Mg. *dya* becomes *yya* corresponding to §236 (Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaḷaṁkāra 2,12): *ayya* = *adya*; *avayya* = *avadya*; *mayyi* = *madya*; *viyyāhala* = *vidyādhara*. Corresponding to this *dhya* must become *yyha*, therefore, e.g. *madhyamāṇa* becomes *mayyhaṇṇa* (§148.214.236). The MSS. write throughout *jja*, *jja*, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 *yujjha* = **yudhya* = *yuddha* = M. A.Mg. J.M. Ś.A. *jujja* (G.H.; Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 1311.1313; Erz.; Lalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel *i* does not hinder palatalization: A.Mg. *ciyatta* from **tijakta* = *tyakta* (Thān. 528 [text *bi*°]; Kappas. §117; cf. §134), absol. *ciccā*, *cēcā*, *ciccāṇa* *cēcāṇa* = **tiykvā*, **tiiktvā*, **tiiktvā* = *tyaktvā* (§587), quite like *caṇṇi* = *tyajati* (Hc. 4,86; Uttar. 902; Dasav. 638,18), *caṇṇanti* = *tyajanti* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [ci°]. 174), *cae* = *tyajet* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *caṇṇhi* = *tyaja* (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), *caṇṇanti* = *tyakṣyanti*

Sūyag. 361), *catta*=*tyakta* (Āyār. 2,15,23.24), JM. *cāi*=*tyāgi* (KJ: 5). AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti*, as M. *jhāi* (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *ccha* and *ttha*, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *ttha* in this word. The v.l. has throughout the only correct form *nevaccha*.

§ 281. D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dāksinātyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. *ghatta* (Sūyag. 964), *aghatta* (Sūyag. 969.983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*ghātya*, *aghātya*. Yet *ghatta* may also be equated as =*ghātā* according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. *caitta* (Hc. 1,151; 2,13; Mk. fol. 23) is not =*caitya*¹, but =*caitra*, in the sense of *caitya* (B-R. s.v. *caitra*). — In M. *pattiyāi*, AMg. JM. *pattiyāi*, Ś. Mg. *pattiyādi* (§487) = *pratiyāti* and AMg. *putteya* = *pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,1,5; Sūyag. 28.783; Jiv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Paṇṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyap. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādh. §42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas.), *patteyabuddha* = *pratyekabuddha* (Nandis. 245; Paṇṇāv. 19) *patti* = **parati*, **parti* with separation-vowel is from *prati* (§132). *prati* and **parti* may, therefore, be compared with *πρῶτι*¹ and *πορτι*². AMg. **vattiyaṃ* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN³, to be equated as = *pratyayam*, but as = *vṛttikam*. On AMg. *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna* etc. see §163. — AMg. JS. *tacca* (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kattig. 400,324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as = *tathya*, but with WEBER⁴ and HOERNLE⁵ as = *tātta*, more correctly through the intermediate step **tāttya* (§299). *tathya* with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tahiya* = **tathiya*; it sometimes stands beside *tacca*, as *taccānam tahiyaṇam* (Nāyādh. 1006; Uvās. §85), *taccehim tahihiṃ* (Uvās. §220.259). — *sāmattha* beside *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22) is not = *sāmarthya*, but presupposes a **sāmartha*. — M. *kutthasi*, *kutthasu* = *kvāthyase*, *kvāthyasva* (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the v.l.) for *kaddhasi*, *kaddhasu* passive of *kadhāi* = *kvāthati* (§221).

1. With Hc., WEBER, ZDMG. 28,403; on Hāla² 216. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,210. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. *pattiya*. Deviating BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 331 f.; WEBER on Hāla² 216; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 64. — 3. Aup. S. s.v. — 4. Bhag. 1,398, note 2. — 5. Uvās. Translation p. 127, note 281.

§ 282. *y* is assimilated to a nasal: *nya*, *nya* become *ṇṇa*; in AMg. JM. JS. it is written also *nna*; in Mg. (Hc. 4,293; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvym-ākāra 2,12), P. CP. (Hc. 4,305) they become *ṇṇa*. So M. *dahkhinṇa* = *dāksinṇa* (G.H.R.), *puṇṇa* = *puṇya* (H.R.); AMg. *hirāṇṇa* = *hiranya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17.18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), Mg. *sahilaṇṇa* = *sahiranya* (Mṛcch. 21,9); AMg. *pinnāga* = *pinyāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūyag. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7); *panna* = *paṇya* (Sūyag. 921); M. Ś. Mg. *aṇṇa*, AMg. JM. *anna* = *anya*; M. *nāsa* = *nyāsa* (H.), *viṇṇāsa* = *vinyāsa* (G.); M. Ś. *maṇṇe* = *manye* (§457); M. Ś. *seṇṇa* = *sainya* (G.R.; Adbhutad. 56,6.19). — Mg. *abamhaṇṇa* = *abrahmanya*; *puṇṇa* = *puṇya*; *abhimāṇṇu* = *abhimanyu* (cf. §283); *aṇṇadiśam* = *anyadiśam*; *kaṇṇakā* = *kanyakā*; *sāmaṇṇa* = *sāmānya*; (Hc.; Nāmisādhū). The MSS. of the dramas have only *ṇṇa*. — P. *puṇṇa* = *puṇya*; *abhimāṇṇu* = *abhimanyu*; *kaṇṇakā* = *kanyakā* (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. *kanyā* becomes *kañjā*, according to 12,7 in Ś. *bhāhmanya* becomes *bamhaṇṇa* or *bamhaṇṇa*, *kanyā* becomes *kaṇṇā* or *kañcā*. The reading in Vr. and Ki. is very doubtful. In Ś. we find in the texts *bamhaṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 89,12), *abbamhaṇṇa* = *abrāhmanya* (Śak. 142,8.14; Vikr. 84,13; Karnas. 10,3; 33,10); *kaṇṇā* (Śak. 30,3; 71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālatim. 73,8; 80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1; 243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratn. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [kā]; 11,1.10

etc.); in Mg. Mudrār. 193,3;194,6 [so to be read]. -*mya* becomes *mma*, after a long vowel *ma*: M. *kilammai*, Ś. *kilammadi*=*klāmyati* (§136); M. *tāmai*=*tāmyati* (H.), Ś. *uttamma*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 19,8), *uttammia*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 56,9); *sōmma*, AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* (61^a); Ś. *kāmāe*=*kāmyayā* (Mṛcch. 49,14).

§ 283. *abhimanyu* becomes, according to Vr. 3,17; Kī. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, *ahimajju*, according to Hc. 2,25 *ahimajju*, *ahimañju*, *ahimañnu*. Ś. has *ahimañnu* (Mk.fol.68; Venis. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venis. 34,12), for which *ahimañnu* should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. *mañnu* (H.R.; Venis. 9,19;11,15;12,1;61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for *manyu* is used also *mantu*. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a v.l. for *mañnu*¹. According to Pāiyāl. 165 *mantu* means "bashfulness", "unpleasantness", the meanings that in Deśin. 6,141 are evidently given to the connected word *mantakkha*. Skt. too has *mantu*², which according to the form, is compared with *kantu* (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER ON Hāla 683.— 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v.

§ 284. *yya* becomes *jja* (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Kī. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M. AMg. JM. *ṣejjā*=*ṣayyā* (§101), in Mg. P. CP. *yya* (§252).— *rya* becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., *jja* (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Kī. 2,89; Mk.fol.21): M. *ajja*=*ārya*(G.) *ajjā*=*āryā*(H.), *kajja*=*kārya*(G.H.) *majjā*=*mayādā*(H.R.). In Ś.Mg. according to Hc. 4,266.302 *rya* can become *jja* or *yya*: Ś. *ayyāutta* *ṣayyākulikada mhi*=*āryaputra paryākuliktāsmi*; *suyya*=*sūrya*; beside *ajja*=*ārya*; *pajjāula*=*paryākula*; *kajjaparavaśa*=*kāryaparavaśa*; Mg. *ayya*=*ārya*. The writing *yya* is found only sometimes in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write, however, in place of the ligature a small circle: *aoa*=*ārya*; *paoavathāvehi*=*paryavasthāpaya*; *suoya*=*sūrya*, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations *jja* and *yya*¹ or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER², has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER³ wished to read as *yya*, which, however, with JACOBI⁴, and E. MÜLLER⁵, is read as *jja*. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jainas. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects *jja*. Right is *jja* for Ś., *yya* for Mg. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: *kayya*=*kārya*, and is offered by Lalitav.: *payyamde*=*paryante* (565,7), *avayyamdadā*=*aparyantatā* (565,12). Instead of *jja* there occurs after *i*, *ū*, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, *ria*, *riya* (§134), also *ra*, therefore, elision of *y* according to §87 (Vr. 3,18.19; Hc. 2,63; Kī. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. *gambhira*=*gāmbhīrya*(R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś.A. *tūra*=*tūrya* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vikr. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venis. 23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgala 1,15); M. *soḍira*=*saṭṭīrya* (Mk.; R.), Ś. *soḍirattana* (Karp. 30,7), *soṇḍira*=*saundīrya* (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6), *soṇḍiradā* (Mṛcch. 54,4;74,12). So especially in the passive, as *jirai*=*jīryate*, M. JM. *tirai*, *tirae*=*tīryate*, M. JM. *hīrai*=*hīryate* (§537), M. AMg. JM. *kīrai*=*kīryate* (§547)⁶. The word *sūra*, Mg. *sūla* frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from *sūra*. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in *bhāriā*=*bhāryā*. Hc. has also *sujja*=*sūrya*, for which **suyya* was expected, and *kirate* for **kīryate*=*kīryate* (4,316).— *kacca* (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=*kārya*, but=*kṛtya*.

1. PISCHEL, GN. 1873, p. 208; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, p. 615 f. — 2. Beiträge p. 12. — 3. Bhag. 1,388 f. — 4. Kalpa-sūtra p. 18 note 1. — 5. Beiträge p. 12 f. — 6. Falsely JACOBI, KZ. 28,250.

§ 285. Like simple *ra* (§256.257), sometimes even *r*, that is in conjunction with *y*, is changed into *l*, to which *y* is assimilated: JM. *paḷāṇa*=*paṛyāṇa* (Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.), whilst AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* is=*paṛyādāna* (§258); *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. *paḷaṇka* (Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36,3) can, like AMg. *paḷiyaṇka* (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. *palyaṇka*, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-form of *paryāṇka*. In *paḷaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,68), *Ṣ. paḷaṭṭha* (Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bālar. 243,11; Venis. 60,10; 65,13; Mallikām. 26,18;57,9;125,6;135,16;195,3; Rukmiṇīp. 29,8), M.AMg. *Ṣ. paḷaṭṭha* (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. *as*; Kappas.; Mrcc. 4,1,20; Mālatīm. 118,3;260,5), M. *vīḷaḷaṭṭha*, *Ṣ. vīḷaḷaṭṭha* (Uttarar. 63,13 [text °*ṇha*°]; 92,10 [text °*ṇha*°]) and their denominatives *paḷaṭṭai*, *paḷaṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. *as*), AMg. *paḷaṭṭhiya* (Pāiyāl. 201; Vivāhap. 282.284; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the grammarians, scholiasts and all the moderners¹ from *as* (to throw) with *paṛi*, two roots are to be referred to. *paḷaṭṭa* and *paḷaṭṭha* are=*paṛyasta* (§308), *paḷaṭṭha*, on the contrary=**praḷasta* is from *hlaṣ*=*hṛas* with *pra*; cf. *nirhrasta*, *nirhrasita*. M. *paḷaṭṭharaṇa* (R. 11,108) is a false reading for *paḷaṭṭharaṇa*, as CK have=**paṛyāstarāṇa*; cf. *paṛyāstāra* (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN, 1874, p. 521; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 45.64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. 2 *as*; Sh. P. PAṆḌIT, Gaṇḍavaho s.v. *as*; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v. *paḷaṭṭha*; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,454 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. §137.143.

§ 286. *lya* becomes *lla*: M. *kalla*=*kalya* (G.H.); M. *kullāhi tullā*=*kulyābhis tulyāh* (Karp. 44,6); M.AMg. *JṢ. Ṣ. mulla*, AMg. *JM. mōlla*=*mūlya* (§83.127).—*vya* becomes *vva*: M. *vavasāa*=*vyavasāya* (G.R.), *vāha*=*vyādha* (G.H.), *kavva*=*kāvya* (G.H.R.); the participia necess. in *-tava*, as AMg. *JM. hoṇava*, *Ṣ.Mg. hodava*, *JṢ.Ṣ. bhavidava*, *Mg. huvidava*=*bhavitava* (§570). AMg. *pittijja* (Kappas.) is not=*pitṛya*¹, but=**pitṛiya*. AMg. *pūha* (Nāyādh. §18; p.331.353.845; Ovav.) is not=*vyūha*², but=**pyūha* for **apyūha* from *ūh* with *api* (§142). *pp* in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT³ and S. GOLDSCHMIDT⁴ wish to explain from *vy*, which WEBER⁵ earlier regarded as erroneously written *yy*, JACOBI⁶ and according to him JOHANSSON⁷ wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*, M. *JM.AMg.A. ghēppai* is=**ghṛpyate* for **grbhyate*=*grhyate* (§212.548). *JM. ādhappai* (Hc.4,254; Āv.12,21) beside *ādhavai* (Hc.4,254) and M. *viḍhappai* (Hc. 4,251; R.) beside *viḍhavijjai* (Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from *ādhavai* (Hc. 4,155; Ki. 4,46) and *viḍhava* (Hc. 4,108), the causatives from *dhā* (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMg. *JM. ādhatta*, M. *samādhatta* M. *JM.Ṣ. viḍhatta*, A. *viḍhatta* (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that *ādhatta* would be=**ādhapta*, like *ānatta*=*ājñapta*; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)⁸.—*sippai*=*snihyate* and *sicyate* (Hc. 4,255), M. *sippanta* (v.l. to H.185) belongs to *sippai* (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī *śimṇem*, Gujarātī *śimṇum*⁹ and presupposes a root **sip*, which was parallel to *sic* from **sik*. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To **sip* belongs M. AMg. *Ṣ. sippi* (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhaś. 63,8; Uvās.; Bālar. 195,9;264,3; Viddhaś. 108,2)=Pāli *sippi*, Marāṭhī *śipa*, *śimṇa*, Gujarātī *śipa*, Hindī *sipī*, *sipa*, Sindhī *sipa*¹⁰.—*vāhippai* (Hc. 4,253), *JM. vāhippantu* (Āv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from *Vhr*, is=*vyāhriyate*, is rather=*vyākṣipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Skt., as *samākṣip* occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we

have M. *nīhippanta-* (R.8,97) = *nīkṣīpyamāna*, which is wrongly derived from *Vdhā* by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. From this may be derived M. *nīhitta*, AMg. JM. *nīhitta* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. *nīhittaū* (Hc. 4,395,2) and M. AMg. JM. *vāhitta* (Hc. 1,128; 2,99; Pāṭiyā. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Āv. 38,6)¹¹ = *nīkṣīpta*, *vyākṣīpta*. Possible is also, however, the explanation from *nīhita*, *vyāhṛta* according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. *khuppaī* (sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51), M. *khuppanā-* (R.), past passive participle M. AMg. *khutta* (R.; Paṇḥāv. 201), explained by S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹² from **khuyyāi* and derived from *khu* = *khan*, is = **kṣuyyati* from *Vkṣupa avasādane*, *sāde* (WESTERGAARD, Radices p. 333). — *juppaī* (yokes; Hc. 4,109) is = *yupyati* from *yupa ekikaraṇe*, *samīkaraṇe* (B.-R. s.v.), with which may be compared AMg. *juvala*, *juvalāya*, *juvalīya* (§231). — M. *pahuppaī* (Hc. 3,142; 4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R.), which has been explained by WEBER¹ as a deponentially used passive of *bhū* with *pra*, is a denominative from *prabhutva* = **prabhutvati* “exercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. *pahuccāi* (Hc. 4,390.491), which presupposes a **prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. *ohupanta-* (R. 3,18) = **apabhutvant-*. The scholiasts explain it by *ākramyamāna* and *abhibhūyamāna*. It belongs to *ohīvāi* = **apabhāvati* = **apabhāvayati* in the sense of *ākramati* (Hc. 4,160), from which spring also *ohāia*, *ohāmāi*, *ohāmiya* (§261) and *ohua* (overcome; Deśin. 1,158) = **apabhūta*. — M. *appīhai* (entrusts; Hc. 4,180), *appāhei*, *appāhēnta*, *appāheum*, *appāhijjāi*, *appāhia* (H.R.), which S. GOLDSCHMIDT¹⁴ artificially derives from an impossible **āvyāhṛta*, and WEBER¹⁵ doubtfully equates as = *har* + *abhyā*, is regularly = **āprārthayati* from *pratha prakhyāne* (Dhātupāṭha 32,19); cf. *viprathayati*, *saṃprathita*.

1. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 17,35. — 2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. with the scholiasts. — 3. GN. 1874, p. 512 f. — 4. ZDMG. 29,491 ff.; Prakṛtica p. 3,13 note 1,17 f. — 5. ZDMG. 28,350; Hāla¹ p. 64; cf. IS. 14,92 f. — 6. KZ. 28, 249 ff. — 7. KZ. 32,446 ff.; where occur further literary details. — 8. The derivation from *rabh* is linguistically impossible. — 9. FISCHER on Hc. 4,96 — 10. FISCHER on Hc. 2,138. — 11. Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 513 note.; JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *nīhitta*. — 12. Prakṛtica p. 17 f.; against it JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 448, note 1. — 13. On Hāla 7. — 14. Rāvaṇavaho s.v. — 15. Hāla s.v.

§287. II) One of the sounds is *r* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *rka* = *kka*: M. *akka* = *arka* (G.); AMg. *kakkeyaṇa* = *karketana* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *takkemi* = *tarkayāmi* (§ 490). On M. *kaṃkoda*, *kaṃkola* beside M. AMg. *kakkoḷa* = *karkoṭa* see §74. — *kra* = *kka*: A. *kijjāi* = *kriyate* (§547); M. *cakka* = *cakra* (G.), *vikkama* = *vikrama* (G.). On M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṃka* = *vakra* see §74. — *rkha* = *kkha*: Ś. Mg. *mukkha* = *mūrka* (§139). — *rga* = *gga*: Ś. *niggamamagga* = *nirgamamārga* (Lalitav. 567,24); M. *duggama* *durgama* (G.R.), *vagga* = *varga* (G.H.R.). — *gra* = *gga*: PG. *gāmāgāmabhojake* = *grāmāgrāmabhojokān* (5,4), *gāme* = *grāme* (6,28), *gahaṇam* = *grahaṇam* (6,31.33.34), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41); M. *gaha* = *graha* (G.H.R.); AMg. JM. *naggoha*, *ṇaggoha* = *nyagrodha* (C. 3,9; Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Paṇḥāv. 31; Vivāhap. 41 [ni°]. 1530; Kappas. §212 [text ni°; see also the v.l.]; Āv. 48,25; Erz.); AMg. JS. *niggantha* = *nirgrantha* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4.6.15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kattig. 404,386). — *rgḥ* = *ggḥa*: M. *nigghina* = *nirghṛṇa* (H.), *nigghosa* = *nirghoṣa* (R.), Ś. Mg. *digghā* = *dirghikā* (§ 87). — *ghra* = *ggha*: *āigghāi* = *ājighrati*, *jigghia* = **jighṛta*, M. AMg. *agghāi* = *āghrāti*, *agghāia* = **āghrāyita* (§408). — *rca* = *cca*: M. *accā* = *arcā* (G.); JM. S.D. *kucca*

=*kūrca* (Erz.; Śak. 134,4; Karp. 22,8; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); Ś. *caccarī* *carcarī* (Ratn. 293,17,18). — *rch*=*cch*: M. *mucchā*=*murchā* (R.). — *chra*=*ceha*: Ś. *samucchida*=*samucchrita* (Mṛcch. 68,15). — *rja*=*jja*: M. *ajjuna*=*arjuna* (G.), *gajja*=*garjita* (G.H.R.), *jajjara*=*jarjara* (G.H.), *bhua* (birch; Deśin. 6,106) is not=*bhūrja*, but=*bhuja* (Vaijayanti 48,89), therefore, M. *bhuavatta* (G. 641)=**bhujapattra*. In Mg. *rya* becomes *rya* (Vr. 11,7; Hc. 4,292); *ayyuna*=*arjuna*; *kayya*=*kārya*; *gayyadi*=*garjati*; *gunavayyida*=*gunavarjita*; *duyyana*=*durjana*. The MSS. of the dramas have only *jja*, thus *kajja* (Mṛcch. 126,6; 139,23); *dujjana* (Mṛcch. 115,23). — *jra*=*jja*: M. *vajja*=*vajra* (G.H.R.). — *rjha*=*jha*: M. *ñijjhara*=*nirjhara* (G.H.). — *rna*=*na*: M. *kaṇṇa*=*kaṇa* (G.H.R.), *cuṇṇa*=*cūrṇa* (G.H.R.). *vaṇṇa*=*varṇa* (G.H.). *kaṇṇikāra* can, beside *kaṇṇiāra*, form also *kaṇiāra* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,95; Kī. 2,114; Mk. fol 27). So AMg. *kaṇiāra* (Āyār. p. 128,28), A. *kaṇiāra* (Hc. 4,396,5). The form shows accentuation on the final=**kaṇṇikārā*. On *kaṇera* see §258. A *cūra* (Hc. 4,337) is not=*cūrṇa*, which too becomes in A. *cuṇṇa* (Hc. 4,395,2), but=**cūrya*. — *rpa*=*ppa*: M. *kuppara*, AMg. *kōppara* (§127); M. *kuppāsa*=*kurpāsa* (G.H.), *dappa*=*d rpa* (G.H.R.). — *pra*=*ppa*: PG. *amhapesaṇappayutta*=*asmatpṛesaṇaprayuktān* (5,6), *appatthata*=*apratthata* (6,10), *satasahasappadāyino*=*śatasahasrapradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *patibhāgo*=*pratibhāgaḥ* (6,12 e c.) etc.; M. *pia*=*priya* (G.H.R.) *appia*=*apriya* (H.). — *rba*=*bba*: AMg. *kabbaḍa*=*karbaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,2,6; Sūyag. 684; Thāṇ. 347; Paṇḥāv. 175. 246. 406. 486; Nāyādh. 1278; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40,295; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *ñibbandha*=*nirbandha* (Mṛcch. 5,4; Śak. 51,14); M. *dōbballa*=*daurbalya* (G. H. R.). — *bra*=*bba*: PG. *bamhaṇṇāṇam*=*brahmaṇṇāṇam* (6,8. 27. 30. 38), AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (§250), Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* (e. g. Mṛcch. 4,16. 18. 21. 24; 5,5; 6,2; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,17; 121,10; 127,4; Śak. 113,7); Ś. *abbamhaṇṇa*=*abrāhmaṇya* (§282). — *rbha*=*bbha*: M. *gabbha*=*garbha* (G. H. R.), *ñibbhara*=*nirbhara* (G. H. R.); Ś. *dubbhējja*=*durbhējja* (Mṛcch. 68,19). — *bhra*=*bbha*: PG. *bhātukāṇa*=*bhrātrkāṇam* (6,18); M. *paribbhamāi*=*paribhramati* (G.H.), *bhamara*=*bhramara* (G.H.R.). — *rma*=*mna*: AMg. *ummi*=*ūrmi* (Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. M. *dhamma*=*dharma* (5,1; G.H.R.), PG. *dhamaṇyubala*=*dharmāyurbala* (6,9), *sivakhamdavama*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), Ś. *dummaṇussa*=*durmaṇussa* (Mṛcch. 18,8; 40,14). — *mra*=*mna*: M. *dhummakka*=*dhūmrākṣa* (R.); AMg. *makkhei*=*mraṣayati* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8), *makkhējja*=*mraṣayeti* (Āyār. 2,13,4). — *rla*=*lla*: M. *ñillajja*=*nirlajja* (H.R.), *dullaha*=*durlabha* (H.). — *rva*=*vva*: PG. *savvattha*=*sarvatra* (5,3), *puvvaḍattam*=*pūrvadattam* (6,12,28); M. *puvva*=*pūrvā*, *savva*=*sarva* (G.H.R.). — *vra*=*vva*: Ś. *pārivvājaa*=*parivrajaka* (Mṛcch. 41,5,7,10,17); M. *vaa*=*vraja* (H.); AMg. *vīhi*=*vrihi* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682; Thāṇ. 134; Vivāhap. 421,1185; Jiv. 356). On *rya* see §284,285.

§288. In conjunction with dentals *r* may be regularly assimilated. *rtu*=*tta*: PG. *nivataṇam*=*nivartanam* (6,38); M. *āvatta*=*āvarta* (G.R.), *kitti*=*kirti* (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. *dhutta*=*dhūrta* (Mṛcch. 30,12; 32,7; 34,25; 35,1; 36,23); M. *muhutta*=*muhūrta* (H.R.). — *tra*=*tta*: PG. *gotṭasa*=*gotrasya* (6,9 etc.); M. *kalatta*=*kalatra* (H. R.), *citta*=*citra*, *patta*=*patra*, *sattu*=*satru* (G. H.). — *rtha*=*ttha*: M. *attha*=*artha* (G. H. R.), *patthiva*=*pārthiva* (G. R.), *sattha*=*sārtha* (G. H. R.), *samattha*=*samartha* (H. R.). — *rda*=*dda*: PG. *balivadda*=*balivarda* (6,33); M. *kaddama*=*kardama* (G. H. R.), *daddura*=*dardura* (G.), *duddiṇa*=*durdina* (G. R.). — *dra*=*dda*: PG. *ācanda*=*ācandra* (6,29); M. *inda*=*indra*, *ñiddā*=*nidrā* (G. H. R.), *bhadda*=*bhadra* (G.H.), *samuḍḍa*

=*samudra* (G. H. R.). — *rdha*=*ddha* : PG. °*vadhanike* = **vardhanikān* (6,9); M. *addha*=*ardha* (G.H.R.), *ṇiddhūma*=*nīrdhūma* (H.R.); AMg. *muddha*=*mūrdhan* (§402). — *d'ra*=*ddha*: AMg. *saddhim*=*sadhrim* (§103).

§ 289. In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is *r*, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians (Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Kī. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22) in the case of *rt* cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Kī.; Mk. in the *ākṛtigāṇa dhūrtādi*. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. *aṭṭa*=*ārta* (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,2,5,5; 1,4,2,2; 1,6,1,4; Sūyag. 401; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *aṭṭataram* (Sūyag. 282); AMg. *aṭṭiya*=**ārtita* (Ovav.); in addition to *kavaṭṭia* (§246); but *Ś. atti*=*ārti* (Śak. 57,4). — AMg. *kiṭṭai*=*kīrtayati* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), *kiṭṭe* (Sūyag. 661), *kiṭṭimāṇa* (Sūyag. 663), *kiṭṭitā* (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappas.), *kiṭṭiya* (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyag. 578.661), but always *kitti*=*kīrti* in all the dialects (§ 83.288). — *kevaṭṭa*=*kaivarta* (Hc.; Mk.), *kevaṭṭaa* (Bh.). — M. AMg. JM. *cakkavaṭṭi*=*cakravartin* (Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thān. 80.197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7.1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but *Ś. cakkavatti*- (Candak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. *naṭṭaga*=*nartaka* (Ovav.; Kappas.); *naṭṭaa* (Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22); *naṭṭai*=*nartakī* (Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30). — *Ś. Dh. bhaṭṭā*=*bhartā* in the sense of "Lord", but in all the dialects *bhaṭṭā* in the sense of "husband", "consort" (§ 390); AMg. *bhaṭṭidāraya*, *Ś. bhaṭṭidāraa*, *bhaṭṭidāriā* (§55). — The root *vrt* forms M. *vaṭṭasi* (H.), *vaṭṭai* (R.), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai* (Vivāhap. 268.1408; Erz. 6,3), AMg. *vaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 35), M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭanta*- (R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāhap. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), JŚ. *vaṭṭadi* (Pav. 382,27; Lalitav. 560,15; Mṛcch. 2,20; 3,1.20; 169,21; Śak. 37,7; 59,12; Vikr. 21,10; 52,1; Candak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,3; 28,20 etc.), JŚ. *vaṭṭadu* (Pav. 387,21), Mg. *vaṭṭāmi* (Mṛcch. 32,22). Likewise with prefixes, pro ex. M. *āvaṭṭanta*-, *āvaṭṭamāṇa*- (R.); AMg. *anupariyaṭṭa-māṇa* (Sūyag. 328), *anupariyaṭṭai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 1,2,6,5), *niyaṭṭai* (Uttar. 116), *niyaṭṭanti* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,6,4,1), *niyaṭṭamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *niyaṭṭaejjā* (Sūyag. 415), *uvvaṭṭejjā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *uvvaṭṭenti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,9), JM. *uvvaṭṭiya* (Erz.), *Ś. paṭṭadi*=*pravartate* (Mṛcch. 71,7), *A. paṭṭai* (Hc. 4,347), and in derivatives, such as AMg. *priyaṭṭanā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,1,4,2; Ovav.), *paryaṭṭaya* (Kappas.), but M. *Ś. pariattana*, *parivattana* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6), AMg. *pariyatta*=*parivarta* (Ovav.); AMg. *saṃvaṭṭaga* (Uttar. 1056). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Grr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. *uvattai* (G.), *niattai* (G.H.R.), *pariattai* (G.), *parivattasu* (H.), *pariattanta*-, *parivattium* (R.); AMg. *pavattai* (Paṇṇav. 62); *Ś. niattiadi* (Vikr. 46,19), *niattiadu* (Mṛcch. 74,25; 78,10 [°va°]), *niattissadi* (Vikr. 17,2), *niattaissadi* (Śak. 91,6), *niattavehi*, *niattadu* (Śak. 91,5,6), *niattasu* (Śak. 87.1.2 [to be so read]), *niattamāṇa* (Vikr. 5,11), *nivattehi*, *nivatteḍu* (Mṛcch. 27,12.15), *niyvattamha* (Śak. 74,3) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. *vaṭṭaya*=*varitaka* (quail; Āyār. 2,10,12; Sūyag. 100; Uvās.), *vaṭṭaga* (Sūyag. 681.708.722.747), but *vattiā*=*vartikā* (Bh.; Hc.) against *vaṭṭiā* (Mk.). — AMg. *vaṭṭi*=*varti* (Hc. 2,30) in *gandhavaṭṭi* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) against *M. vatti* (H.). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolutive, as AMg. *kaṭṭu*=*kartu*°, *āhaṭṭu*=*āhartu*°, *saṃhaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu* etc. (§ 577). On *kāum*, *kāduṃ*=*kartum* etc. § 62. — Transition to the

media occurs in AMg. *gaḍḍa*=*garta* (Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246.479); *gaḍḍā*=*garta* (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. *r̥tha* becomes *ṭṭha* in AMg. JM. *aṭṭha*=*artha* in the sense of "reason", "cause", "thing", "story", but *attha* in the sense of "wealth", "money" (Hc. 2,33). So especially in the phrase AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samatṭhe* (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. *se ten' aṭṭheṇam* (Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218.219), *se ken' aṭṭheṇam* (Uvās. §218.219); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Uttar. 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.), *aṭṭhāyāe* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); JM. *aṭṭhā* (Erz.). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning "thing", "story" (Ovav.) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), and more frequently in JM. (Erz.). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.¹ AMg. has also *anaṭṭha* "aimless", "false" (Uvās.; Ovav.), *niraṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 113), *samatṭha* (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. *caṭṭha*=*caturtha*, Hc. 2,33 teaches also *caṭṭha*; beside Ś. *caduttha*, there occurs also *cadutṭha* (§449). AMg. *addhutṭha* is=*ardha*+**tūrtha* (§450). On *kavatṭa* said to be=*kadarthita* see § 246.289. In Mg. *r̥tha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12); *eṣe aste*=*eṣo 'r̥thaḥ* (Namis.); *astavadi*=*arthavati*, *śastavāhe*=*sārthavāhaḥ* (Hc. 4,291); *tista*=*tīrtha* (Hc. 4,301). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has *vahastam* (read *yadhastam*)=*yathārtham*, but 566,7 *śastasā*=*sārthasya* and 566,8, *paṣṭidum*=*prārthayitum* with *śta*. In Mṛcch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have *attha*, likewise Caṇḍak. 60,11; Prab. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads *palamacco*. Mṛcch. 145,17 K in GODABOLE has *accha*, 158,21 the very good manuscript E has *asta*. In Mṛcch. 138,17 the MSS. have *kajjatthi* for *kyyavti*; in Śak.114,11 there stand *vikkaattham*=*vikrayārtham*, 115,7 *sāmippasādattham*=*svāmiprasādārtham*, Prab. 28,15 has *tiṭṭhiem*=*tīrthikāḥ*, 29,7 *tiṭṭhiā*=*tīrthikāḥ*. Mṛcch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 STENZLER has *śatthavāha*=*sārthavāha*, 133,1, *śaṭṭhavāha*. The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in GODABOLE correctly has *śastavāha*, to which the reading *śasyastavāha* of B and *śatchavāha* of H point². The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s.v. *attha*, —

2. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1319 f.

§ 291. *r̥da* becomes *ḍḍa* in *kavaḍḍa*=*kaparda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23); —*gaḍḍaha*=*gardabha* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Ki. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23) beside *gaddaha* (Hc. 2,37; Pāiyāl. 150), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Ḍh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 (Sūyag. 204.724 f. 727 [°bha]; Samav. 83; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 79,13;175,14), JM. *gaddabhi* and *gārdabhi* (Kk.), *gaddabhillā* (Kk.), *gaddabbha*=**gārdabhya* (unharmonic, shrill; Deśin. 2,82; Pāiyāl. 204); *gaddaha* (Deśin. 2,83), *gaddahaja* (Pāiyāl. 39; white lotus); Ḍh. *gaddahi* (Mṛcch. 29,19). Kāleṃk. 25,15 *gaḍḍuho* [sic] is edited in Ś. — *chaḍḍai*=*chardati* (Hc.2,36); AMg. *chaḍḍējjā* (Āyār.2,1,3,1) *chaḍḍasi* (Uvās. § 95), JM. *chaḍḍijjā* (Āv. 41,8), *chaddei*, *chaḍḍijjā*, *chaḍḍiya* (Erz.); A. *chaḍḍevīṇu* (Hc. 4,422,3); JŚ. *chaddida* (Pav. 387,18; Text. 9a); *chaḍḍi*=*chardi* (Hc. 2,36); JM. *chaddi*=*chardis* (Erz.); AMg. *chaddijallijā* (Ovav.); M. JM.Ś. *vicchaḍḍa*=*viccharda* (Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāiyāl. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.; Anarghar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read]); *vicchaḍḍi*=*vicchardi* (Vr. 3,26; Ki. 2,23); AMg. *vicchaḍḍaittā* (Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *vicchaḍḍia* (R.). AMg. JM. *vicchaddiya* (Ovav.; Pāiyāl. 79), Ś. *vicchaddida* (Uttarar. 20,11; Mālatim. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anarghar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere]). — *maḍḍai*=*mardate* (Hc. 4,126), but Ś. *maddiadi*=*mardyate* (Mṛcch. 69,9);

maddia=*mardita* (Hc. 2,36); *saṁmadda*=*saṁmarda* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23), but M. J.M.Ś. *saṁmadda* (G.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 325,17); *saṁmaddia*=*saṁmardita* (Hc. 2,36). Against these Ś. *uvamadda*=*upamarda* (Mṛcch. 18,11); AMg. *paṁaddaṇa*=*pramardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *paṁaddi*=*pramardin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *pāṁmaddā*=**pādamardā* (stamping asunder of corns with the feet; Deśin. 6,40); AMg. *parimaddaṇa*=*parimardana* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *piḍhamadda*=*piṭhamarda* (Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *piḍhamaddiā* (Mālav. 14,9); Adbhutad. 72,13;91,9), AMg. *vāmaddaṇa*=*vyāmardana* (Ovav.; Kappas.). — *viaddi*=*vitardi* (Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23). — *khuddia*=*kūrdita*, *saṁkhuddai*=*saṁkūrdati* (§ 206), beside AMg. *ukkuddai* (Uttar. 788). According to Mk. fol. 23, some taught also *taḍḍū*=*tardū*. — *rdha* has become *ḍḍha* in: AMg. J.M. *aḍḍha*=*ardha* beside *addha*, as the other dialects alone have (Hc. 2,41; § 450); *aḍḍha*, pro ex. also in AMg. *avaḍḍha*=*apārdha* (Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhap. 1057.1306), *saḍḍha*, *aṇaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 354), *divaḍḍha* (§ 450); J.M. *aḍḍhamāsa* (Erz.), beside *aḍḍha* (Kk.) and AMg. *māsaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 168); J.M. *aḍḍharatta*=*ardharātra* (Erz.) etc.; M.A.Mg. J.M.Ś.Mg.Ā.A. *aḍḍha* (G.H.R.; Samav. 156.158; Thāṇ. 265; Jiv. 231.632 f.; Vivāhap. 209.1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Mṛcch. 69,16; Caṇḍak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 31,17.20.23.25;32,5;133,10;168,20.21; Śak. 118,4; Ā. Mṛcch. 100,12; A. Hc. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6.61 ff.). — M. AMg. J.M. *vaḍḍhai*=*vardhate* (Vr. 8,44; Hc. 4,220; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 23; H.R.; Āyār. 2,16,5 [°i]; Sūyag. 460; Vivāhap. 160; Kk.); Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (Vikr.10,20;19,7;49,4;78,18;88,14; Mālav. 25,4). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name *vardhamāna* becomes AMg. JŚ. Ś. *vaḍḍhamāna* (Āyār. 2, 15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛcch. 25,18;44,24;45,5 etc.), but AMg. also *vaddhamāna* (C. 3,26; Āyār.2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas.), as also AMg. *nandivaddhaṇa* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Kappas.) and *vaddhāvei* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.) are said. For *govardhana* Mk. fol. 24 teaches *govaddhaṇa*. Ś. has *govaddhaṇa* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5).

§ 292. *tra* has become *ṭṭa* in M. A. *tuṭṭai*=*trutyati* (R.; Piṅgala 1,65.68) beside AMg. *tuṭṭai* (Sūyag. 100.105.148), *tuṭṭanti* (Sūyag. 539); *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,230); A. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356). According to Vr. 12,5 in Ś. *putra* in certain cases (*kvacit*) can become *puḍa*. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of *pāṭaliputra*, which will have been **pāṭalipuṭa* (§238, note 2), which must have regularly become **pādaliuḍa*. To the Skt. form corresponds M.Mg. *pādaliuṭta* (H. 2,150; Mṛcch. 37,3), J.M. *pādaliputta* (Āv. 8,1;12,1.40; Erz.), Ś. *pādaliputtaa* (Mudrār. 149,3). In Mg. STENZLER writes in Mṛcch. 118,1;119,11.21;124,5;129,18;132,9.164,16; 165,3 *puṭṭhaka*=*putraka*. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to *pustaka* or to *puṭṭhaka*. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. *puttaka*, and in Mg. in Mṛcch. *putta* 19,19;116,8;129,7;133,1;160,11;166,1;167,24; 168,3; *puttaka* 114,16;122,15;158,20; *śaputtaka* 166,18.21 stand. STENZLER likes to correct it to *puṭṭhaka* at p. 294 on 114,16. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have *pustake*, *puṭṭake*, *putṭhake*, otherwise all have °*ṭṭa*°, which will be right. As at 158,19 for *ṇattike*=*napṭṛkaḥ* the vv. ll. *ṇattihike* (so STENZLER, GODABOLE and the Calc. editions in the text), *ṇastike*, *ṇastike* also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from *rtha* (§290). After a long vowel *tra* frequently becomes *ṛa* through *ta* in AMg., as *gāṛa*=*gātra*, *goṛa*=*gotra*; *dhāi*=*dhātṛi*; *pāi*=*pāṛi* (§87). In *rāṛi* the same law occurs in M.Ś. (§87). *dhāri* (nurse; Hc.2,81) is not=*dhātṛi*, but is derived from *vdhai* (to suckle) with suffix *-ra*=“wet nurse”. Cf. *dhāru*.

§ 293. Against 288 *tra* apparently becomes *ttha* in the adverbs ending in *-tra*, as *anṇattha*=*anyatra* (Hc. 2,161;3,59); *Ś. attha*=*atra* in *atthabhavaṇ* (Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9), *atthabhavado* (Mālav. 27,11), *atthabhodī* (Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1); M.AMg. JM. *kattha*=*kutra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. JM. *JS. Ś.D. jattha*=*yatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig.; 401,353; Uttarak. 20,11;21,10; D. Mṛcch. 100,3); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg. tattha*=*tatra* (Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī. 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7;1,1,2, 1.2 etc.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6), in *Ś.* also in *tatthabhavaṇ* (Vikr.46,6;47,2;75,3,15), *tatthabhavadā* (Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav.10,13), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16), *tatthabhodī* (Mṛcch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4 7.13;18.5 etc.); *iarattha*=*itaratra* (Bh. 6,2); M. JM. *savvattha*=*sarvatra* (Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59,60; G.H.R.; Erz.). Meanwhile PG. M.AMg. JM. *Ś. Mg.D. Ā. ē'ttha*, *A. ē'tthu* (§107), on account of the *e*, cannot be equated as=*otra*, but as=*Vedic itthā*. From *i* the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that *kattha* must be derived from **katthā*, *jattha* from **yatthā* etc.¹. The regular continuation of *yatra*, *tatra* are *A. jattu*, *tattu* (Hc. 4,404; cf. 268), of *anyatra*, *Dh anṇatta* (Mṛcch. 36,23;39,10). *Mg. atta*=*atra* (Mṛcch. 161,17;167,17) is probably false. In the first place D. has *ē'ttha*, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing *atthabhavaṇ*, *tatthabhavaṇ*, which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have², and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous³. On *A. kē'tthu*, *je'tthu*, *tē'tthu* see §107. — *Ś. mahāmē'ttha*=*mahāmātra* (Mṛcch. 40,22) is a false reading for *mahāmē'tta*, as the MSS. D H in *Goḍābole* p.120 read, and *mē'tthapurisa* =**mātrapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 69,12) for *mahāmē'ttapurisa* (cf. D in *Goḍābole* p. 196), since *mātra* becomes only *mita*, *mē'tta* (§109). Cf. also *mē'ṇṭha*, JM. *miṇṭha* (mahout, elephant-driver; Deśin. 6,138; Erz.), Pāli *mē'ṇḍa*, — M. *patthi* (H. 240), which WEBER wishes to equate as=*pātri*, is a false reading for *pacchi* (Deśin. 6,1), Pāli *pacchi*; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.

1. Others in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; R. s.v. *kattha*; WEBER on H. 240. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253. — 2. BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 20,11 p. 177. — 3. FISCHER, *De Kālidāsae Çākuntalī recensionibus* p. 34 f.

§ 294. *dra* has become *ḍḍa* in AMg. JM. *khudda*=*kṣudra* (Deśin. 2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Thān. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559.622. 663.1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz.); *khuddā* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105), AMg. JM. *khuddāya*, femin. *khuddīyā* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Thān. 67; Paṇhāv. 520; Vivāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6), AMg. *khuddaga* (Sūyag. 872; Thān. 545; Vivāhap. 1101; Ovav.), *khuddāga* (§70); rarely AMg. also *khudda* (Sūyag. 504) and *khuddāya* (Kappas.). — Like simple *da* becoming *la* (§244), *dda*, originating from *dra*, also becomes *lla* in M. AMg. *alla*, beside M.AMg. JM. *Ś. adda*=*ārdra* (§111), and *chilla* (hole; hut; Deśin. 3,35), *ucchilla* (hole; Deśin. 1,95), beside M.AMg. JM. *chidda* (H.; Uvās.; Erz.) and AMg. JM. *chidḍa* (Nirayāv.; Āv. 41,4,5; Erz. v.l.), M. *chiddia*=*chidrita* (G.). On *culla* see §325. M. *maḷai* is not=*mardati*, but=*mradata* (§244). The synonymous *maḍhai* (Hc. 4,126) is=*maḥati* from *maṭha mardanivāsayaḥ* (Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to *math*, *manth*. On *dra* beside *dda* see §268.

§ 295. *b* is inserted between *m* and *r* in *āmra* and *tāmra*. The sound-group *mbra* created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: *ambira*, *tambira* (§137), or in it *r* is assimilated. So M.AMg. JM. *amba*

(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Kī. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 145; H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,1.4.6; 2,7,2,2 ff.; 2,10,21; Thān. 205; Paṇṇav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz.); AMg. *ambaga* (Aṇuttar. 11; Uttar. 231.983 ff.); AMg. *ambādaga* = *āmṛātaka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1.4; Paṇṇav. 482). — M. AMg. *tamba* = *tāmra* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282 834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *tambaga* (Uttar. 1065), *tambiya* (Ovav.); M.Ś. *tambavaṇṇi* = *tāmraparṇi* (Karp. 12,4; 71,8; Bālar. 264,3.4; Anarghar. 297,15 [so to be read]); M. *āmba*, AMg. *āyamba* = *ātāmra* (G.H.; Śak. 119,6; (Ovav.); *tambakimi* = *tāmrekrimi* (cochineal; Deśin. 5,6); *tambarattī* = **tāmraṛaktī* (wheat rust; Deśin. 5,5); *tambasiha* = *tāmraśikha* (cock; Pāiyāl. 125); M. *tambā* = *tāmṛā* (cow; Deśin. 5,1; Pāiyāl. 45; H.). — According to Mk. fol. 27 *kamra* also becomes *kamba*. — *m̐la* is treated in the same way. *amla* becomes either *ambila* or *amba*: AMg. *sehambadāliyambehim* = *sedhāmladālikāmlaiḥ* (Uvās. § 40); A. *om̐baṇu* = *āmlatvam* (Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is *la* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk fol. 19): *lka* = *kka*: M. *ukkā* = *ulkā* (G.R.); *kakka* = *kal̐ka* (Vivāhap. 1025); M.Ś. *vakkala* = *val̐kala* (§ 62). — *kla* = *kka*: AMg. *kīsanti* = *kliśyanti* (Uttar. 576), *kesa* = *kleśa* (Uttar. 202.575), *kīva* = *klīva* (Thān. 181); *vikkava* = *viklava* (Bh. 3,3; Hc. 2,79). *śukla* forms beside AMg. *sukka* (Sūyag. 313; Thān. 25 ff) and *suila*, AMg. *sukkila* (§ 136) according to Hc. 2,11 also *suṅga*. Provided this goes back to *śukla*, the more correct writing would be *suṅga*, corresponding to *suṅka* = *śulka* (§ 74) with transition to the media — *lga* = *gga*: M. *phaggu* = *phalgu*, AMg. Ś. *phagguṇa* = *phalguna* (§ 62); AMg. *vaggai*, *vaggittā* = *valgati*, *valgilvā* (Vivāhap. 253), *vaggaṇa* = *valgana* (Ovav.), *vaggu* = *valgu* (Sūyag. 245). — *lpa* = *ppa*: AMg. JM. Ś. *appa* = *alpa* (Sūyag. 371; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 150,18); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kappa* = *kalpa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4); M. AMg. JM. *sippa* = *silpa* (H.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), AMg. Ś. *sippi* = *silpin* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 152,25; 153,3). In *jalp* and derivatives *l* becomes *m*: M. JM. *jampai* = *jalpati* (Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,2; Kī. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *jampia* [sic], *jampanteṇa* (Kī. 8,15); AMg. *jampantā* (Sūyag. 50); JM. *paṇjampae* = *prajalpate* (Erz.); Dh. *jampidum*, *jampasi* (Mṛcch. 34,24; 39,9); Ś. *jampasi* (Vikr. 41,11), *jampijjādi* (Lalitav. 568,6), *jampissam* (Mālatim. 247,2); *jampaṇa* (disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51); JM. *ajampaṇa* (non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34); M. A. *jampira* (Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1), AMg. *ajampira* (Dasav. 619,22; 631,13; 632,28); AMg. *paṇjampāvaṇa* = **prajalpāpāna* (teaching to learn; Ovav.); Mg. *yampideṇa* (Lalitav. 566,12), A. *paṇjampaha* (Hc. 4,422,10; so to be read). For *mpa* there often occurs *ppa*: AMg. *jappanti* (Sūyag. 26); Ś. *jappemi* (Hāsy. 33,21), *jappasi* (Kāmsav. 49,7), *jappesi* (Hāsy. 25,10.12; 34,3 7), *jappissadi* (Pras. 144,2), *jappidum* (Hāsy. 33,13), *jappanti* (Prab. 44,1; so ed. Bomb. P.M.), *jappiṇi* (Pras. 37,16; Vṛṣabh. 26,7), *jappida* (Pras. 120,1) etc. Probably everywhere it is to be read *mpa*, as certainly in M. *jampieṇa* for *jappieṇa* (Ratn. 322,4), as rightly stands *jampie* (Karp. 38,4) as well as A. *jampiam* (Piṅgala 1,60; so GOLDSCHMIDT for *im̐*, *am̐*, *jam̐*) — *pla* = *ppa*: M. *pavaṅga* = *plavaṅga*, *pavaṅga* = *plavaṅga* (R.), *parippavanta* = *pariplavant* (G.R.), *pappua* = *prapluta* (G.); AMg. *paviṇṇam* = *plaviṇṇam* (Sūyag. 508); *vippava* = *viplava* (Hc. 2,106). — *lpha* = *ppha*: AMg. *guppha* = *gulpha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Ovav.). *lba* = *bba*: M. *ubbaṇa* = *ulbaṇa* (G. 734; text *uvvaṇa*); AMg. *kibbisa* = *kilbiṣa* (Uttar. 156 [text °vvi°; Dasav. 624,11.12), *kibbisiya* = **kilbiṣika* (Ovav.); *subba* = *śulba* (Hc. 2,79). — *lbha* = *bbha*: AMg. *pagabbhai* = *pragabbhate* (Āyār. 1,5,3,3[°i]; Sūyag. 134.150), *pagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 31.146.198), *pāgabbhiya*

(Sūyag. 596), *pagabbhittā* (Sūyag. 358), *vippagabbhiya* (Sūyag. 50), *pagabbhi-* (Sūyag. 332), *pāgabbhi-* (Sūyag. 268, 296). Hence *pagambhai* (Uttar. 202) is a printing error for *pagabbhbhai*=*pagabbhai*. — *lma*=*mma*: *kammasa*=*kalmaṣa* (Hc. 2,79; Pāiyāl. 53); AMg. *kummāsa*=*kulmāsa* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4,13); AMg. Ś. Mg. *gumma*=*gulma* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15; Nāyādh.; Mṛcch. 97,22; Mudrar. 185,8; 197,5; Priyad. 12,3; 13,3; 19,17; 23,14; Karpas. 28,7; Subhadr. 12,5; Mg. Caṇḍak. 61,11), PG. *gumike*=*gulmikān* (5,5); M. *vammīa*, AMg. *vammīya*=*valmika* (§ 80); Ś. *vammīi*=*vālmiki* (Bālar. 6,15). — *mīa*=*mma*: AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*=*mleccha* (§ 84,105). — On *lya* see § 286, on *rla* § 287. — *lva*=*lla*: Ś. *gallakka*=*galvarka* (Mṛcch. 6,6); M. *pallala*=*palvala* (G.); AMg. *biila*=*bilva* (Hc. 1,85; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 148; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 1530 [vi°]; Dasav. 621,5), according to Hc. and Mk. also *be'lla* (§ 119).

§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is *va* (Vr. 3,3; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19); *kva*=*kka*: M. *kaḍhai*=*kvathati*, Ś. *kaḍhida*, AMg. *sukaḍhiya* (§ 221); M. *kaṇakkaniya*=*kvaṇakvaṇita* (Karp. 55,7); M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*, AMg. Ś. *pakka*=*pakva* (§ 101). — *gva* has become *vva* instead of *gga* in *divvāsā*=*divvāsāḥ* (Cāmuṇḍā; Deśin. 5,39). — *jva*=*jja*: M. *jalaī*=*jvalati*, *ujjala*=*ujjala*, *pajjalaī*=*prajvalati* (G.H.R.); M. *jara*=*jvara* (H.). — *nva*=*ṇṇa*: M. *kiṇṇa*=*kiṇva* (G.); Ś. *kaṇṇa*=*kaṇva* (Śak. 9,10; 14,1; 15,1 etc.); Ś. *rumaṇṇado*=**rumaṇvataḥ* (Ra'n. 320,16). On *vya* see § 286, on *vva*, *vra* § 287, on *tva* § 296.

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops *va* may be assimilated to the dental. *tva*=*tta*: PG. M. AMg. JM. *cattāri*, Mg. *cattāli*=*catvāri* (§ 439); M. Ś. *satta*=*sattva* (H. ; Śak. 154,7); the suffix *tta* = *-tva*, as *piṇatta*=*pinatva*; AMg. *bhaṭṭita*=*bhartṭva*; **-ttaṇa*=*-tvana*, as M. *piṇattana*=**pinatvana*, Ś. *niṇattana*=*nipinatvana*, A. *pattattana*=**patratvana* (§ 597). — *dva*=*dda*: M. AMg. JM. *dāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,70; 2,79,112; G. H. R. ; Sūyag. 129; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.); always M. Ś. A. *diā*, JM. *diya*=*diya* (Hc. 1,94; Pāiyāl. 102; G. ; Erz. ; Kī. 11 [diā]; Caṇḍak. 3,16; 52,6; 56,6; 93,13; Piṅgala 2,48), *diāhama*=*divijādhama* (the bird *bhāsa*; Deśin. 5,39), also=*diṇṇa* (Hc. 2,79); Ś. *diṇṇa*=*diviṇṇa* (Śak. 140,13), *diṇṇadara*=*diviṇṇatara* (Mṛcch. 22,13), *diṇṇida*=*diviṇṇita* (Nāgān. 18,2); Mg. *diṇṇa* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *diraa*=*divirada* (Hc. 1,94); AMg. *dāvāra*=*dvāpara* (Sūyag. 136), *danda*=*dvandva*, *digu*=*divigu* (Anuog. 358); AMg. JM. *jambuddiva*=*jambudvīpa* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk.); PG. *bharaddāyo*=*bharadvājah* (5,2), *bhāradāya*, *bhāradāyasa* (6,16,19); M. *saddala*=*śādvala* (G.). — *dhva*=*ddha*: *dhattha*=*dhvasta* (Hc. 2,79), M. *uddhattha*=*uddhvasta* (G. 608; so to be read). If the prefix *ud* occurs before a word beginning with *va*, so *dva* becomes *vva*: M. *uvvatṭana*=*udvartana* (G. H. R.), AMg. *uvvatṭana* (Uvās.); JM. *uvvatṭiya* (Erz.); M. *uvvahaṇa*=*udvahaṇa* (G. R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uvvigga*=*udvigna* (§ 276).

§ 299. Dialectically *tva* becomes *cca* through *tya*, *thva* becomes *ccha* through *thya*, *dva* becomes *jja* through *dya* and *dhva* becomes *jjha* through *dhya*. *tva*=*cca*: M. AMg. JM. *caccara*=*catvara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Vivāgaṣ. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside M. Ś. *cattara* (Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H. ; Mṛcch. 6,7; 28,20; Bālar. 147,20); AMg. JŚ. *tacca*=**tāttva* (§ 281); A. *pahuccaī*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); AMg. JM. JŚ. in the absolutes, as AMg. JŚ. *kiccā*=*kṛtvā*; AMg. JM. JŚ. *so ccā*=*śrutvā*; AMg. *bhōccā*=*bhuktvā*; AMg. *ciccāṇa*, *cēccāṇa*=**tyaktvāṇa*, *hiccāṇam*=**hūtvāṇam* (§ 587). — *thva*=*ccha*: AMg. *picchī*=*prthvī* (Hc. 2,15). — *dva*=*jja*: AMg. *vijjaṇ*=*vidvān* (Hc. 2,15; Sūyag. 126,306). — *dhva*=*jjha*: AMg. JM. *jhaṇya*

(Hc. 2,27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgas. 61; Kappas. § 4,32; T. 5,10; Erz.); AMg. *isijjhaya*=*ṛsidhvaja* (Uttar. 630); *aruṇajjhaya* (Uvās. §179; 277,5), *indajjhaya* (Samav. 97), *mohindajjhaya* (Thāṇ. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26), *maṅgalajjhaya* (Jiv. 552), *ūsiyajjhaya*=*ucchritadhvaja* (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40), *kaṇagajjhaya* (Nāyādh. 1084), *cindhajjhaya*=*cihnadhvaja* (Nirayāv. §5), *dharmajjhaya* (Ovav. § 16), *chattajjhaya*=*chattradhvaja* (Panhāv. 286), *tālajjhauvuddha*=*tāladhvajodvuddha* (Panhāv. 249), *sajjhaya* (Samav. 97; Rāyap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42. 49), beside M. *dhaa* (Hc. 2,27; H. R.), JM. *dhaya* (Pāiyal. 68; Erz.), M. Ś. *maaraddhaa* (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālar. 289,13; Viddhaś. 105,8); P. *makaraddhaya* (Hc. 4,323), but AMg. *mayarajjhaya* (Panhāv. 286); JM. *garuḷaddhaya* (Dvār. 507,37), but AMg. *garuḷajjhaya* (Panhāv. 235); AMg. *tāladdhaya* (Samav. 236). — A. *jhuṇi* (Hc. 1,52; 4,432), beside Ś. *dhuni* (Pras. 14,10; Kāmsav. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 48,9)=*dhvani* from **dhvuni* with *u* according to §104. — AMg. *bujjhā*=*buddhā* (Hc. 2 15), *abujjha* (Sūyag. 504). — M. JM. Ś. *sajjhasa*=*sādhvasa* (Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,75; Mk. fol. 23; G.; Erz.; Jivān. 88, 14; Mālatim. 276,6; Pāvatip. 12,14.23), beside *saddhasa* (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands *adisaddhasena*; the cd. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has *adisajjhasena*. — *māukka* is not=*mydutra* (Hc. 2,2; Mk. fol. 26), but=**mārdukya* from *mydka* (cf. § 52), as JM. *garukka* (Ki. 13)=**gukukya* from *guruka* (§ 123).

§ 300. However, *va* behind *ta* shifts to *pa*, behind *da* to *ba*; dialectically *tva* becomes *ppa*, *dva* becomes *bba*¹. *tva*=*ppa*: M. *pahuppa*=**prabhutvati* (§ 286); A. *pañ*=*tvām*, *tvayā* and *tvayi* (§ 421); A. *-ppaṇa*=*-tvana*, as *vaddappaṇa* beside *vaddhattaṇa*=**vaḍratvana*, *maṇusappaṇa*=**maṇuṣatvana* (§ 597); A. absolute in *-ppi*=*-tvi*, as *jinēppi*, *jēppi*=**jītvī*; *gampi*=**gantvī*=Vedic *gatvī*, *gameppi*=**gamitvī*, and *-ppiṇu*=*-tvīnam*, as *gameppiṇu*, *gampiṇu*=**gamitvīnam*; *karēppiṇu*=**karitvīnam* (§ 588). This secondary *pa* becomes *va* as well, as *karevi* beside *karēppi*; *leviṇu* beside *lēppiṇu*; *ramevi* beside *ramēppi* (§ 184.588). On *ppa* from *tma* see § 277. — *dva*=*bba*: PG M. AMg. *be*, A. *bi*=*dve*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*=**dveni* (436. 437); M. *biṇṇa*=*dviguṇa* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79; G. H. R.)², but Ś. Mg. *diṇṇa* (§ 298); AMg. JM. *bārasa*, A. *bāraha*=*dvādaśa* (§ 443), as generally AMg. JM. A. *bā°*=*dvā°* (§ 445 ff.); M. *biia*, *bia*, *biija*, AMg. JM. *biīya*, *biya*, A. *biā*=*dvītiya* (§ 82 91. 165. 449); M. A. *bāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,79; 2,79. 112; H.; Hc. 4,436); AMg. JM. *bāraṇi*=*dvāraṇi* (Nāyādh. 524. 1296 ff.; Nirayāv. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff.); *bisaṇṭava*=*dvīṣaṇṭava* (Hc. 1,177); M. *besa*=*dveṣa* (G.); M. AMg. =*dveṣya* (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Panhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMg. *baissa* (Uttar. 961). *dhva*=*bbha*; JM. *ubbha*=*ūrdhva* (Hc. 2,59; Erz.); JM. *ubbhaya*=*ūrdhvaka* (Pāiyal. 234); M. *ubbhia*, JM. *ubbhiya*=**ūrdhviṭa* (R.; Erz.), *ubbheha*=**ūrdhvyata* (Erz. 40,15), beside M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha* (§ 83), AMg. JM. *uddha* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1.5.2.3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc.; Sūyag. 215 273 288 304. 590. 914 931; Vivāhap. 11. 101. 105 f. 260 etc.; Erz.). — *nva*=*ṇna*: M. JM. *aṇṇesaṇa*=*anveṣaṇa* (G.; Erz.), Ś. *aṇṇesaṇā*=*anveṣaṇā* (Vikr. 32,3), *aṇṇesiadi*=*anviṣyate*, *aṇṇesidava*=*anveṣitavya* (Mṛcc. 4,4.21); Ś. *dhaṇṇantari*=*dhanvantari* (Bālar. 76,1); Mg. *maṇṇantala*=*manvantara* (Prab. 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. *evam*, *ṇedaṇ*=*evam* *nv* *etat*; Ś. Mg. *kiṇ* *ṇedaṇ*=*kiṇ* *nv* *etat* (§ 174).

1. ASCOLI, Vorlesungen p. 59; Kritische Studien p. 197 ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f. — 2. The Indian editions and WEBER in H. mostly write *v* in lieu of *b*.

§ 301. If the first member of conjunct consonant is a sibilant and the consonant following it, a tenuis, as a rule, the sibilant is assimilated

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly when the first member is a prefix¹. *śca*=*ccha* (Vr 3,40; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25); M. Ś. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. AMg. *acchera*; *accharija*; AMg. JM. *accheraja*, AMg. *accheraga*=*āścarya*, *āścaryaka* (§ 138. 176); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā*=*paścāt* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāhap. 101; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 150,18; Śak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8); A. *pacchi*=**paśce* (Hc. 4,388); M. AMg. JM. Ā *pacchima*=*paścima* (Grr.; G. R.; Vivāhap. 63; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99,18); Ś. *pacchādāva*=*paścāttāpa* (Vikr. 33,11; 38,17); AMg. *pājacchitta*, AMg. A. *pacchitta*=*prāyaścitta* (§ 165); AMg. JM. *nicchaya*, A. *nicchaa*=*niścaya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,422,10), but M. *niccaa* (R.); AMg. JM. *nicchiya*=*niścita* (Dasav. 642,7; Nirayāv.; Erz.), Ś. *nicchida* (Bālar. 87,1), but also Ś. *niccida* (Mudrār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Samvat 1926; Mahāv. 55,1 ed. Bomb.); M. Ś. A. *niccala*=*niścala* (Hc. 2,21.77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 59,24; Mudrār. 44,6; Hc. 4,436), AMg. JM. *niccala* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. AMg. *niccēṭṭha*=*niśceṣṭa* (R.; Nirayāv.); M. *duccaria*, JM. *duccariya*, Ś. *duccarida*=*duścariṭa* (H.; Erz.; Mahāv. 118,11); AMg. *duccara*=*duścara* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2), *duccaraga* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6); JM. Ś. *tavaccarāṇa*=*tapāścārāṇa* (Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15.38; Mṛcch. 68,8.9; 72,6; Pārvatīp. 24,3; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2.10). — *ṇahaara* is not=*nabhaścara* (Ki. 2,110), but=**nabhacara* (§ 347). M. JM. Ś. *harianda* (G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4), JM. *hariyanda* (Dvār. 503,16) is not=*hariścandra* (Hc. 2,87; Ki. 2,110 [text *harianno*, LASSEN *hariando*]), wh ch becomes Mg. *haliccanda* (Caṇḍak. 43,5), but=*haricandra* like M. *hārianda* (G.)=*hāricandra*. — *cuai* may be=**ścutāti* (Hc. 2,77; cf. § 210, note 2), or=**cyutāti*. — In M. *vimchua*, *vimchia* beside *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, *vicchiya*=*vṛścika* (§ 50.118) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. *pincha*=*piccha*; *guincha*=*guccha*; *pumcha*=*puccha* (§ 74); *vimcua* (§ 50) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of old *ccha* to *śca* (§ 233), in Mg. *śca* remains unaltered: *aścalia*=*āścarya* (§ 138); *niścaa*=*niścaya* (Mṛcch. 40,4; text. °*cca*°); *niścala* (Mṛcch. 135,2); *paścādo*=*paścāt* (Venīs. 35,10 in Hc. 4,299; Bengal recension *pacčādo*)²; *paścā* (Mudrār. 174,8 [text *pacchā*; cf. v.l.]; Caṇḍak. 42,12 [text *pacchā*]); *paścima* (Mṛcch. 169,22; text *pacchima*; v.l. *paccima* and *pakṣima*); *śilaścālana*=*śiraścālana* (Mṛcch. 126,7). — *ścha* becomes *ccha*: M. *nicchallia*=*niščallita* (G.); AMg. *nicchodējja*=*niščotejyam* (Uvās. § 200); JM. *nicchoḷiṇṇa*=*niščodya* (Erz. 59,13).

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 261.264. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,299.

§ 302. *śka* and *śkha* become *kkha* as a rule (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,4; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24). *nikkha*=*niška* (Hc. 2,4), according to Mk. fol. 24 also *nikka*; Ś. *pōkkhara*, AMg. JM. *pukkha* a=*puškara*, AMg. Ś. *pōkkhariṇi*, AMg. *pukkkhariṇi* (§ 125); *mukkha*=*muška* (Bh. 3,29); M. AMg. *vikkhambha*=*viškambha* (Ki. 2,88; R.; Ovav.). In many cases, however, the aspiration does not take place, even outside the compounds, while it sometimes appears in compounds against the rule: M.Ś. *kikkindha*=*kiṣkindha* (R.; Anarghar. 262,5); M. AMg. JM. *caūkka*=*catuska* (Deśin. 3,2; G.; Āyār. 2,11,10; Aṇuog. 388; Paṇṇav. 702; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1294; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *cadukkiā*=*catuskikā* (Bālar. 136,16; Viddhaś. 52,4 [text *caū*]); AMg. JM. *turukka*=*turuska* (Paṇḥāv. 258; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 96.99.110; Vivāhap. 941; Rāyap. 28.36.60.190; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Āv. 40,17 [read so]); Ś. *dhāṇukka*

= *dhāṇuska* (Mk fol. 24; Pālar. 86,15 202,16), *dhāṇukkada* (Bālar. 261,1); *sakkai*=*svaṣkati* (Mk. fol. 55; WEBER or H. 608), *osakka*=**apaṣvaṣka* (gone away; Deśin 1,149; Pāiyal. 178), AMg. *osakkai* (Paṇṇav 541), M. *osakkanta* (R.), AMg. *avasakkējjā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), AMg. *paccosakkai*=**pratyapaṣvaṣkati* (Nāyādh. 1463; Vivāhap. 1035.1217.1248), M. *parisakkai* (H. R. [text falsely *paḍi*°]), M. *parisakkaṇa* (G. R.); AMg. *sakkuli* beside *samkuli*=*śaṣkuli* (§ 74); AMg. JM. *sukka*=*śuska* (Hc. 2,5; Aṇuttar. 11.13; Nāyādh. 984; Vivāhap. 270; Uttar. 758 ff; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *sukkanti* (Deśin. 8,18,23), A. *sukkahī* (Hc. 4,427)=**śuskanti*, M. AMg. *parisukka*=*pariśuska* (G.; Uttar. 53); beside M. AMg. Ś. *sukkhā* (Hc. 2,5; H. R.; Dasav. N. 660, 16; Mṛcch. 2,15; 44,4), Ś. *sukkhāṇa* (Mṛcch. 18,4) M. *sukkhanta*- (H.), *osukkhā*, *osukkhanta*- (R.). Examples for compounds are : M. *nikkaiava*=*niṣkaitava* (H.); M. Ś. *nikkampa*=*niṣkampa* (G. R.; Śak. 126,14; Mahāv. 32,21); M. JM. *nikkāraṇa*=*niṣkāraṇa* (G. R.; Dvār.); AMg. *nikkaṇa*=*niṣkaṇa* (Vivāgas. 102), *nikkaṇkada*=*niṣkaṇkaṭa* (Paṇṇav. 118; Ovav.); M. Ś. *nikkiva*=*niṣkrpa* (Pāiyal. 73; H.; Śak. 55,16; Caṇḍak. 87,2); M. AMg. Ś. A. *dukkara*=*duṣkara* (Hc. 2,4; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 817; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 77,14; Hc. 4,414,4.441), AMg. *dukkada*, JM. *dukkaya* (§ 49). *kram*+*nis* forms in M. *nikkhamai*, in AMg. *nikkhamai* (§ 481), AMg. *nikkhamma*=*niṣkrāmya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.), *nikkhamiṣanti*, *nikkhamiṇsu*, *nikkhamittae* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *nikkhanta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2; Erz.); AMg. *paḍinikkhamai* (§ 481); AMg. JM. *nikkhamāṇa* (Kappas. ; Erz.). M. has also *nikkamai* (H.), *viṇikkamai* (G.) beside *viṇikkhamai* (G.), a point on which the manuscripts vary. Ś. has only *nikkamadi* (§ 481), *nikkamidum* (Mudrār. 43,6), *nikkamanta*- (Mudrār. 186,2), *nikkanta* (Mṛcch. 51,5.8.12), *nikkāmaissāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,9); Dh. *nikkamia* (Mṛcch. 36,23); D. *nikkamantassa* (Mṛcch. 105,24). — In Mg. *śka* becomes *ska* and *śkha* becomes *skha* (Hc. 4,289): *śuska*=*śuska*; *dhaṇuskhaṇḍa*=*dhaṇuskhaṇḍa*. According to Nāmiśādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12, *śka* and *śkha* appear, and thus the Lalitav. has *tuluśka*=*tuṛuśka* (565,14.17), *śuske*=*śuskaḥ* (566,12). The texts write *kkha*, *kka*. So Mṛcch. 21,17 *sukkhe*, but MS. A. *śuske*; 132,24; 133,17; *sukkhā* without v. l.; 161,7 *sukkhā*, v. l. *śuskā*=*śuskaḥ*; 133,15.16 *sukkhāvaśiśam* without v. l.; 112,11 *poṣkhalinī*, 113,22 *pukkhaliṇī* without v. l.; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22 *nikkamadi*, *nikkama* with the v. l. *niṣkama*, *nikkhama* 133, 21; 173,9 *nikkide*, 134,13 *nikkidaṁ*=*niṣkrītaḥ*, *niṣkrītam* without v. l.; 43,4; 175,15 *dukkala*=*duṣkara* without v. l.; 125,1.4 *dukkida*=*duṣkrta* with the v. l. *dukkhida*, *dukkhida*, *duḥkida* etc. We should read *śuska*, *poṣkaliṇī*, *niṣkamadi*, *niṣkida*, *duskala*, *duskida* etc.

§ 303. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṭṭha* (Vr. 3,10.51; C. 3,8.11; Hc. 2,34.90; Ki. 2,86.49; Mk. fol. 21.19): PG. *aggiṭṭhoma*=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1; cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2,484), *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34), *veṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); M. *iṭṭha*=*iṣṭha* (H.), *diṭṭhi*=*drṣṭi* (G. H. R.), *muṭṭhi*=*muṣṭi* (G. H. R.) — PG. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *goṭṭhi*=*goṣṭhi* (G.), *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* (G. H. R.), *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (G. H. R.). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* (Hc. 4,289.290): *kaṣṭa*=*kaṣṭa*; *koṣṭāgāla*=*koṣṭhāgāra*; *śuṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu*. Nāmiśādhu on Rudrāṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 prescribes *ṣ* for *ṣ* in consonant groups (cf. § 302): *koṣṭhāgāla* (MSS. *koṣṭhā*°, *koṣṭa*°; ed. *kāṣya*°). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have *ṭṭha* mostly falsely, STENZLER in Mṛcch., mostly has *ṣṭa*. Thus in Mṛcch. *kaṣṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (29,18; 127,13); the MSS. have *kaṣṭa*, *kaṭṭha*, *kaṭṭa*; *duṣṭūna*, *pabbhaṣṭe*=**drṣṭūna*, *prabhaṣṭaḥ*; (29,21); the MSS. have *daṭṭhūna*, *pabbhaṭṭhe*; *duṣṭa*=*duṣṭa* (19,5; 20,17; 21,8; 40,9; 79,17.18; 112.14.21; 113,19; 133,19; 151,25); the MSS. have mostly *duṭṭha*, partly *duṣṭa*, *duṣṭha*, *duṭṭha*, *duṭṭa*, *duha*, *duṣṭa*, *ducha*; *paṇaṣṭā*

=*prapaṣṭā* (14,11); the MSS. have °*ṭṭhā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭhā*; *palāmiṣṭā* = *parāmiṣṭā* (16,23); the MSS. have °*miṣcā*, °*miṣvā*, °*miṭṭhā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭhā*, °*miṭṭā*; *uvaviṣṭe*, °*paviṣṭā*, °*ppaviṣṭam*=*upaviṣṭah*, °*praviṣṭam* (14,10; 21,12,21,22), the MSS. have *viṣce*, °*viṭṭhe*, °*viṣṭe*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṣṭā*, °*viṭṭhā*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṭṭhā*, °*viṣṭā*, °*viṣṭā*, etc.; *laṣṭia*=*rāṣṭrika* (121,12;125,21; 130,13; 138,14), the MSS. have *laṭṭhia*, *laṭṭia*, *laṣṭhia*, *laṣṭia*, *ṣaveṭṭhanam* (11,22), but *ṣaveṣṭanena* (127,12)=*saveṣṭanam*, °*nena*, the MSS. point to °*vedha*° (see STENZLER p. 242 301; GODBOLE p. 32.35 and §304), and so GODBOLE 32,9 rightly reads *ṣavedhanam* etc.; Prab : *miṭṭham*=*miṣṭam* (46,17); *paṇaṭṭhassa*=*pranaṣṭasya* (50,14); *uvadiṭṭhe*=*upadiṣṭah* (51,2); *duṭṭha*=*duṣṭa* (51,10); *diṭṭhānde* (sic; 51,10; Bomb. *diṭṭhamdo*, M. *diṭṭhande*, P. *diṭṭhande*); so also Bombay M., whilst P., except 50,14, has always °*ṭṭha*°. BROCKHAUS does not note any v.l. Venis.: *paṇaṭṭha*=*pranaṣṭa* (35,2.7) without v.l.; Mudrār.: *paveṭṭhum*=*praveṣṭum* (185,6), printed *paveṭṭhum* for which the best MSS. and the ed. Calc. 156,8 have *pavisidum* (read °*ṣi*°) etc.—*ṣṭha*: Mṛcch.: *koṣṭake*=*koṣṭhaka* (113,15), the MSS. have *koghaṭake* (?), *koṣṭake*, *koṭṭhake*. *koṣake*, *koṣṭhake*, while in Venis. 33,6 *gōṭṭhāgāle*, in the ed. Calc. p.69,1 *kōṭṭhāgāle* stand, and the MSS. have mostly *kōṭṭhāgāle*, none of them has °*ṣṭa*, in the face of Hc.'s *kōṣṭāgālam*, apparently taken from here and Nām'sādhu's *kōṣṭhāgālam*; *piṣṭi*, *puṣṭi*=*prṣṭha* (79,9;165,9), the MSS. *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*, and so Venis. 35,5.10 *piṭṭhado*, °*nupitṭham*=*prṣṭhato*, °*nuprṣṭham*, where *piṣṭado* *anupitṭham* should be read; *suṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu* (36,11;112,9;115,16;164,25), the MS. *suṭṭhu*, *suṣṭu*, in the face of Hc.'s *susṭu*; for *soṭṭhakam* (20,21) we should read *soṣṭukam*=**suṣṭhukam*; the MSS. have *soṃukkam*, *soṃukam*, *soṭṭhikam*, *soṭṭhakam*, *soṣṭakam*, the ed. Calc. has *soṭṭhikam*, which it explains as=*svastikam*; *ṣeṣṭi*=*śreṣṭhi* (38,1), the MSS. have °*ṭṭha*°, as is printed in Mudrār. 257,5 (the ed. Calc. 212,10 °*ṭṭi*°) etc. *ṣṭha* is retained according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298 in Mg. *ciṣṭhadi*=*tiṣṭhati*. STENZLER in Mṛcch. writes throughout *ciṣṭadi* (pro ex. 9,22.24;10,2.12; 79,16;90,3;97,2 etc.), the MSS. mostly have *ciṣṭha*, *ciṣṭa*, *ciṭṭha*, only quite rarely *ciṣṭa*; Prab. 32,11; in Mudrār. 185,8;267,2 occurs °*ṭṭha*°, °*ṭṭa*°, °*ṭṭhṭha*° in the different editions. In Kī. 5,95 the printed edition has *ciṭṭa*, LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *ciṭṭha*. P. also has the like-form according to Kī. In Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,2 *ciṭṭha* is edited. — In P., according to Hc.4,313, the dental may enter into the ending °*ṣṭvāna* of the absol.: *ṇatiḥūna* beside *ṇaṭṭhūna*=**naṣṭvāna*, *tattiḥūna* beside *taṭṭhūna*=**drṣṭvāna*. On P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* see § 132. M. *vuṭṭha* with its compounds, as *uvvuṭṭha*, *paṭṭha*, *paḍiutṭha*, *parivuṭṭha*; JM. *pavutṭha* (§ 564) is not=**uṣṭa* (BÜHLER, Pāiṃyāl. s.v. *vuṭṭho*), which would have given **vuṭṭha* or **uṭṭha*, but=**vasta* with a secondary transition of *a* into *u* according to § 104. Like M. *vasia* and its compounds, such as *uvvasia*, *pavasia*, Ś. *uvavasida*=**vasita* (§ 564), so is also *vuṭṭha*=**vasta*, formed from the present stem, beside the regular M. *uṣia*=*uṣita* (G.). Cf. § 337. *ālēddhuam* (Hc. 1,24;2,164), *ālēddhum* (Hc. 2,164), *āliddha* (Hc. 2,49; Pāiṃyāl. 85; Deśin. 1,66), M. *āliddhaa* (Vikr. 51,6) are not to be derived with Hc. from *śliṣ*, but they belong to *ālihaṭ* (touches; Hc. 4,182; cf. BÜHLER, Pāiṃyāl. s.v. *āliddham*), which=*āleḍhi* from *lih* of the 6th class with *ā*, and is=**ālihati*, and are=**ālegdhukam*, **ālegdhum*, **āligdha*, **āligdhaka*. *h* here is to be treated according to the analogy of roots in an old *gh*. So correctly already BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 364.

§ 304. In *iṣṭā* (Hc. 2,34), *uṣṭra* (Hc. 2,34; Mk. fol. 21) and *saṃdaṣṭa* (Hc. 2,34) the aspiration does not take place: M. AMg. JM. *iṭṭā*=*iṣṭā* (G.; Thāp. 478; Antag 29; T. 7,9.15 [so it should be read; cf. v.l. to 7,15]), AMg. JM. *iṭṭagā*=*iṣṭakā* (Antag. 28; Paṇhāv. 128

[°kā]; Āv. 16, 10, 13; 19, 4), AMg. *ittajagini*=*istakāgni* (Jiv. 293). — *utta*=*uṣṭra* (Sūyag. 253, 724 f.; 727; Vivāgas 163; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 304; Paṇnav. 366, 367; Uvās.; Ovav.), *utṭiya*=*auṣṭrika* (Uvās.), *utṭiyā*=*uṣṭrikā* (Uvās.; Ovav.). According to Mk. fol. 21 there occurs also *utṭha*. — M. *saṃdaṭṭa*=*saṃdaṣṭa* (Deśin. 8, 18; G.R. s.v. *daṃś*, *daś*). — *daṃṣṭrā* becomes M.AMg.Ś. *dādhā*, CP. *tāthā*; *daṃṣṭrin*, AMg. Ś. *dādhi*- (§ 76). — *veṣṭate*, with the long vowel retained according to § 87, forms *vedhaī*=Pāli *veṭhati* (Vr. 8, 40; Hc. 4, 221; Ki. 4, 67). So M. *vedhia*, *āvedhia* (H.); AMg. *vedhemi* (Uvās. § 108), *vedhei* (Nāyādh. 621; Uvās. 110; Nirayāv. § 11; Vivāhap. 447), *vedheṇti* (Paṇhāv. 112), *uvvadheṇja vā nivvedheṇja vā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 2), *vedhittā* (Rāyap. 266), *vedhāvaī* (Vivāgas. 170), *āvedhiya*, *parivedhiya* (Thān. 568; Nāyādh. 1265; Paṇnav. 436; Vivāhap. 706 f. 1323); JM. *vedheṭṭā*, *vedhiya*, *vedhium*, *vedheum* (Kk.), *parivedhiya* (Rṣabhap. 20), *vedhiyaya* (Pāyāl. 199), *vedhāviya*, *parivedhāviya* (T 7, 15, 17); Ś. *vedhida* (Mṛcch. 44, 4; 79, 20 [to be so read; see v.l.]; M.AMg.Ś. *vedha*=*veṣṭa* (G.H.R.; Āṇuog. 557; Jiv. 862; Nāyādh. 1323, 1370; Rāyap. 266; Bālar. 168, 6; 267, 1); M. *vedhaṇa*=*veṣṭana* (H.R.), Mg. *śavedhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 11, 22; 127, 12; so it should be read; see § 303). AMg. *vedhima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Āṇuog. 29; Paṇhāv. 490, 519; Thān. 339; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348, 605; Rāyap. 186; Nandī. 507; Dasav. N. 651, 10; Ovav.); M. AMg. *āvedha* (R.; Paṇhāv. 185); M. *āvedhaṇa* (G.). Likewise formed are: AMg. *koḍha* from *kōṭṭha*, **kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha*, *koḍhi*- from and beside *kōṭṭhi*-, *kuṭṭhi*-, *koḍhiya*=*kuṣṭika* (§ 66); AMg. *sedhi* from **seṭṭhi*-, **siṭṭhi*=*śliṣṭi*, *sedhiya*, *anusedhi*, *paredhi*, *visedhi* (§ 66); AMg. JŚ. *loḍha*=*loṣṭa* (Dasav. 620, 14; Pav. 389, 10), beside Ś. *lōṭṭhaka* (Mṛcch. 79, 21), Mg. *lōṣṭagudīā* (Mṛcch. 80, 5). Beside the regular AMg. *lēṭṭha*=*leṣṭu* (Paṇhāv. 502; Ovav.; Kappas.), JM. *lēṭṭhuya*=*leṣṭuka* (Erz.); Ś. *lēṭṭhuā*=*leṣṭukā* (Mṛcch. 78, 12) stands *ledhukka* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153) with duplication of *k* according to § 194, further with dropping of the aspiration *leḍu* (Pāyāl. 153), *leḍua* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153), *leḍukka* (Deśin. 7, 29)=Pāli *lēḍdu*, and the AMg. *leḷu*, written *lelu* (§ 226; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 10; 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 2; 2, 10, 8; Sūyag. 647, 692; Dasav. 616, 14; 630, 17), going back to *leḍu*. Instead of *ḍha* there occurs *ḷha* (written *lha*) in *kōḷhua*=**kroṣṭuka*, *kulha*=*kroṣṭr*, *kōḷhāhala*=**kroṣṭāphala* (§ 242). The same soundchange, without lengthening of the vowels, has taken place in M. *maradhī*=*māhārāṣṭri*; AMg. *adha*=*aṣṭa*, *ūsaḍha*=*utsṛṣṭa*, *ṇisaḍha*=*niṣṛṣṭa*; M. *visaḍha*=*viṣṛṣṭa*; AMg. JM. *samosaḍha*=*samavasṛṣṭa* (§ 67). Cf. § 564.

§ 305. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 85, 51; Hc. 2, 53, 90; Ki. 2, 100, 49; Mk. fol. 25, 19); PG. *pupha* i.e. *puppha*=*puṣpa* (6, 34), M.AMg. JM.Ś. *puppha* (H.R.; Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9; Uitar. 981; Kappas.; Erz.; Hāsy. 31, 21), Ś. *pupphaka*=*puṣpaka* (Mṛcch. 68, 9); Ś.A. *pupphakarandaa*=*puṣpakaraṇḍaka* (Mṛcch. 93, 9; 107, 2; 100, 24); A. *pupphavaī*=*puṣpavaī* (Hc. 4, 438, 3); *sappha*=*śaṣpa* (Bh. 3, 35; Hc. 2, 53). *bāpha* in the sense of "tear", according to § 87, 188, becomes *bāha* through **bāpha*, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes *bappha* (Vr. 3, 38; Hc. 2, 70; Mk. fol. 25). Thus M. JM.Ś.A. *bāha* (tear: G.H.R.; Acyutaś. 60; Vikr. 51, 8; 53, 6; 54, 10; Karp. 43, 12; 44, 6; Bālar. 156, 16; Erz. 8, 9 [vāha]; Dvār. 507, 16; Sagara. 8, 14; Rṣabhap. 12; Mṛcch. 325, 15; Śak. 82, 11; Mālatīm. 89, 7; Uttarak. 78, 5; Ratn. 298, 26; Bālar. 281, 3; Karp. 83, 2; Mallikām. 161, 11; 196, 18 [vā°]; Cait. 38, 10 [vā°]; Hc. 4, 395, 2; Vikr. 59, 6; 60, 17; 61, 5; 69, 21); Ś. *bappha* (steam; Jivān. 43, 10). Instead of *bappha* Mk. fol. 25 has *bappa*, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on Ś. fol. 68, that in Ś. in the meaning "tear" *bappa* also may be used. Whether *bappa* is not merely an error of MSS. for *bappha* cannot be said with certainty. In Venīs. 62, 13; 63, 17; 76, 4, *bappha* is edited; the ed. Calc. has *bāpha*, *bāṣpa*; in Mudrār.

260,4, there stands in the text *vāha*; but the best MSS. have *bāpā*, P. *bāppha*, the ed. Calc. Saṁvat 1926 p. 214,6 has *bāppa*; at Rukmiṇi. 30,1, there stands *bappha*, likewise in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [*vā°*]. The vv. 11. *vāspa*, *vāspa*, *vāppa*, *vāppha* in Śak. 140;13 also point to *bappa* or *bāppha*; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands *bappha*, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 *vappa*; in Cait. 44,8 stands *vāspa*; in Śak. 82,11 Z has *bāppha*. Consequently for Ś. *bappha* too, perhaps *bappa* also, beside *bāha* in the meaning "tear" will be correct. In Pāiṇal. 112 *bappha* and *bāha* are given in the meaning "tear". — The compounds oscillate between *ppa* and *ppha*, yet *ppa* preponderates: AMg. JM. *caūppaya*, AMg. *caūppaya*, A. *caūppa*=*catuspada* (§ 439); Ś. *cadupphodha*=*catuspatha* (Mṛch. 25,14; text *caūppaha*); AMg. *dupphadhamsaga*=*duṣpradharṣaka* (Uttar. 286); M. *duppariia*=*duṣparicita* (R.); M. JM. *duppēccha*, Ś. *duppēkkha*=*duṣprekṣya* (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11); M. *niṣpacchima*, *niṣppatta*, *niṣpivāsa*=*niṣpaścima*, *niṣpattrā*, *niṣpipāsa* (H.), *niṣpakka*=*niṣpakṣa* (G.), *niṣpaampa*, *niṣpasara*, *niṣpaha*=*niṣprakampa*, *niṣprasara*, *niṣrabha* (R.); AMg. *niṣpaṇka*=*niṣpaṇka* (Paṇṇav. 118; Ovav.). Beside M. *niṣpaṇṇa*=*niṣpanna* (H.), one says more usually¹ M. *niṣphaṇṇa*, JM. AMg. *niṣphaṇṇa* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thān. 525; Dasiv. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *niṣphesa*=*niṣpeṣa* (Hc. 2,53); AMg. *niṣpāva*=*niṣpāva* (Thān. 398), but more frequently *niṣphāva* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag 747, Paṇṇav. 34; JM. *niṣphāiṇya*=*niṣpādita* (Erz.). One always says M. Ś. *niṣphanda*, AMg. *niṣphanda*, which should be equated as=*niṣpanda* (H. R.; A. tag. 48; Nāyādh. 1383; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cait. 43,4). — *sph*=*ppha*: M. *niṣphura*=*niṣphura* (G.), M. Ś. *niṣphala*, JM. *niṣphala*=*niṣphala* (H. R.; Dvār. 501,30; Rṣabhap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mṛch. 120,7; Mudrār. 266,2; Caṇḍak. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5). — In Mg. *spa* becomes *spa* and *spha* becomes *spha* (Hc. 4,289); *śaspakavala*=*śaspakavala*, *niṣphala*=*niṣphala*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyālaṅkāra 2,12 *spa* and *spha* should be written in such words. In Mṛch. there stands *pupphakalaṇḍa*=*puṣpakaraṇḍa* (113,20), *pupphakalaṇḍa* (96,18; 99,4; 100, 21; 158,22), *pupphakalaṇḍaka* (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly *puṣpa*, *puṣpha*. At 116,7, stands *duppēkkhe*=*duṣprekṣyah*; the v.l. is *duppēcche*. One reads *puspa°* and *duṣpēske*.

1. So correctly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho together with a translation 4,32; false FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. *ska* and *skha* become *kkha* (Vr. 3,29 51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,4,90; Ki. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19): M. AMg. JM. *khandha*=*skandha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); PG. *khaṇḍakoṇḍisa*=*skandakuṇḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=*skambha* (G. R.; Acvutaś. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jiv. 448,481; Paṇḥāv. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhap. 658. 660. 823; Rāyap. 58. 144; Nāyādh. § 21.122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛch. 40,22; 68,18; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dhūrtas. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vr. 3,14; Bh. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hc. 1,187; 2,8,89; Ki. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive *khambha* from *stambha*, since they make classical Skt. their basis. It is naturally= Vedic *skambha*. *avakkhandha*=*avaskanda* (Hc. 2,4); AMg. *amaṇakkha*, *samaṇakkha*=*amanaska*, *samanaska* (Sūyag. 842); *makkhara*=*maskara* (Ki. 2,88). In *skanda*, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; *khandha* and *kanda*. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): *ēkkāra*=*ayaskāra* (Hc. 1,166); AMg. JM. *naṃōkkāra*=*namaskāra* (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside *naṃōjāra*, *ṇavajāra* (C. 34 p. 51) and M. *ṇamakkāra* (G.); cf. § 195; AMg. JM. *takkara*=*taskara* (Paṇḥāv. 120; Nāyādh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *takkarattana* (Paṇḥāv. 147); Ś. *tirakkāra*=

tiraskāra (Prab. 15,1); Ś. *tirakkariṇī* = *tiraskariṇī* (Śak. 119,3). So reads also the Kashmir recension 112,14, whilst the Devanāgarī recension 77,9, ed. BÖHTLINGK and the South Indian recension 256,17 read *tirakkharinī*, as also BOLLESEN, Vikr. 24,4; 42,19 against his best MSS., which have °*kka*°; the ed. Bomb. 1888 has at 41,6; 72,1 rightly °*kka*°; the South Indian MSS. of Śak. and Vikr. oscillate between °*kkha*° and °*kka*°. M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkāja*, Ś. *sakkadā* = *saṁskṛta*, AMg. JM. *asakkāja* = *asaṁskṛta*, M. *sakkāra* = *saṁskāra*, JM. *sakkāriya* = *saṁskārita* (§ 76), AMg. *purakkaḍa* = *puraskṛta* (Sūyag. 692), *purekaḍa* (Sūyag. 284,540; Dasav. 627,7; 633,17; Ovav.), beside AMg. *saṁkhāja* (§ 49), *saṁkhaḍi* = *saṁskṛti* (Kappas.), *uvakkhaḍa* = *upaskṛta* (Uttar. 355), *purekkhaḍa* (Paṇḍav. 796 ff.). Cf. § 49, 219. To it belongs also *ṁkkha* (thief; Deśin. 4,47) = **ṁskṛ*. AMg. *nakkha* (nose; Deśin. 4,46; Āyār. 2,3,2,5; Sūyag. 280,748) is = **nāska* from Vedic *nās* with a change of gender; to it belongs *nakkasirā* (nostril; Pāiyāl. 114). — *skha* = *kkha*: M. JM. *khalāḥ*, Ś. *khaladi* = *skhalati* (R.; Dvār. 504,34; Śak. 131,6), Dh. *khalantaā* (Mr̥cch. 30,8); M. *khalia*, JM. *khalīya*, Ś. *khalida* = *skhalita* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,9); M. Ś. *parikkhalanta* (H. R.; Mr̥cch. 72,3), M. *parikkhalia* (G. R.). In Mg. *śka* and *śkha* are retained according to Hc. 4,289; *maskali* = *maskarin*; *paskhaladi* = *praskhalati*. According to Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra *s* becomes ś. The texts have *kkha*: *khalantī* (Mr̥cch. 10,15), *pakkhalantī* (Mr̥cch. 9,23; 10,15), *khandeṇa* (Mr̥cch. 22,8), without any v. l. *hatthikkhandam* (Śak. 117,4), where R. has °*skandham*. One reads *skhalantī* = *paskhalantī*, *skandheṇa*, *hastiskandham*. So in all the cases.

§ 307. *sta* and *stha* become *ttha* (Vr. 3,12,51; Hc. 2,45,90; Ki. 2,85,49; Mk. fol. 21,19); M. *thaṇa* = *stana* (G. H. R.); *thui* = *stuti* (G. R.), *thoa* = *stoka* (G. H. R.), *attha* = *asta* (G. R.) and = *astra* (R.), *atthi* = *asti* (§ 498), *paṭthara* = *prastara* (H.), *hattha* = *hasta* (G. H. R.); PG. *vattthavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇām* (6,8), *sahattha* = *svahasta* (7,51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMg. JM. *duttara* = *dustara* (Āyār. 2,16,10; Sūyag. 213; Erz.), M. *duttāra* = *dustāra*, *duttārattaṇa* = **dustāratvana* (R.), AMg. *suduttāra* (Ovav.); AMg. *nittusa* = *nistusa* (Paṇḍav. 435). So also M. AMg. *saṁatta* = *saṁasta* (Hc. 2,45; R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. Ś. *saṁattha* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 27,6; 28,1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59,4; 62,1 has *saṁatta*). *uraḍa*, which Ki. 2,110 equates as = *urastaṭa*, is explained, as already recognized by LASSEN¹, from the stem *ura-* (§ 407). Beside *theṇa* = *stena* (thief; Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29; Pāiyāl. 72), *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32), *thūṇa* (§ 129), AMg. and JM. exclusively have *teṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2 4; 2,3,1,9,10; 2,4,1,8; Paṇḍav. 412 f; Samav. 85; Uttar. 228,990; Dasav. 623,36,40; 624,10; 627,34; Uvās.; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *ateṇa* = *astena* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), *teṇa* (Ovav.), *teṇija* (Jiyak 87; Kappas) = *stainya*. *theṇa* is related to *teṇa*, as *stāyu* is to *tāyu*. *teṇa* (theft) has gone over also to Skt. of the Jainas.² According to Hc. 2,46; Mk. fol. 21 *tava* also may be used beside *thava* = *stava*; according to Vr. 3,13; Hc. 2,45; Mk. fol. 21 *stamba* becomes *tamba*. — *stha* = *ttha*: M. *thaūda* = *sthapuṭa* (G.), *thala* = *sthala* (G. H.), *thira* = *sthira* (G. H.), *avattthā* = *avasthā* (H. R.); Ś. *kāatthaa* = *kāyasthaka* (Mr̥cch. 78,13).

¹ Inst. § 82 p. 273. — ² E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental *ttha*, sometimes the cerebral *ṭṭha* too occurs for *sta* and *stha*. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the

other sounds must stand M.AMg. JM. *ś. atthi*=*asthi* (Vr.3.11; Hc. 2,32; Ki. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H.; Aṇu'tar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 594; Vivāgas 90; Vivāhap. 89.112 168.183.280 926; Thān 54 f 186.431; Uvās.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Candak 87,9); M. *atthia*, AMg. *atthiya*=*asthika* (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *ś. atthia*=*asthija* (Mrch. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.l.); AMg. *bahuatthiya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5,6). — *stambha* forms *thambha* and *thambha*, when it means "immovability" and "stiffness" (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has *thambha* only, and so M. (R.), JM. *gaithambha*=*gatistambha* (Erz. 82,21), *muhathambha*=*mukhastambha* (Erz. 82,22), *ś. ūrutthambha* (Śak. 27,1; Priyad. 17,12). In the meanings "pole" and "post" one says only *thambha* in M. AMg. *ś.* (C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddh. 74,7). Beside *thambhijjā*=*stabhyate*, Hc. 2,9 teaches also *thambhijjā*. Frequently there occurs in the text the dental *tha*, as M. *thambhia*, AMg. JM. *thambhiya* (G.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. *uttambhijjā*, *uttambhijjanti* (R. G.); M. *uttambhia* (H. R.), *ś. uttambhida* (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral *tha* occurs in A. *utthabhai* (Hc. 3,365,3)¹. On *kambha*, see § 306. — Beside *thera* there occurs more frequently *thera*=*sthavira* (§ 166). — Beside AMg. *tattha*=*trasta* (Uvās.), M. *uttattha* (H.), *saṃtattha* (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136. also *taṭṭha*. The grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67; Pāiyāl. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. *hittha* (H. R.) and *āhittha* (R.) also to *trasta*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT² refers *hittha* to *bhīṣ*, WEBER³ refers it to *dhvasta* or *adhastāt*, which in M. AMg. JM. forms *hēṭṭha*, *hiṭṭha* (§ 107) and HOEFER⁴ thought of aspiration of the initial of *trasta*. Dialectically there occur also *hittha* (noun — shame; Pāiyāl. 167), *hiṭṭhā* (shame; Deśin. 8,67), *hittha* (ashamed; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikośa on H. 386), *āhittha* (angry, confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāiyāl. 177), and with cerebralization *hiṭṭha*, *hiṭṭhahida* (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange of *ttha* and *ṭṭha* points to *sta*, and hence I consider the derivation from *adhastāt* as correct. — *ś. pallattha*, beside the dialectical *pallaṭṭa*, *pallaṭṭai* (§ 285)=*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭa* has lost its aspiration, as *saṃattha* beside *saṃattha*=*saṃasta* (§307). M. *ś. A visamṭhula*=*visamṭhula*, written in Skt. as *visamṭhula* as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f l. 21; Pāiyāl. 264; G. H. R.; Mrch. 41,10 v. l.; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab. 39,8; Mallikām. 13,3; Hc. 4,436).

1. PISCHEL, BB. 15,122. — 2. Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *bhīṣ*. — 3. On Hāla 386. —

4. ZWS. 2,518.

§309. The oscillation between *ttha* and *ṭṭha* is especially shown in the root *sthā* and its derivatives, without one being able, with OSRHOFF¹, to explain *tha* by false analogy. One says: PG. *anupaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45; cf 184.189); M. JM. *thāi*=**sthāti*, M. *niṭṭhāi*, *saṃthāi*, JM. *thāha*, AMg. *abhutthanti*; JM. *thāyanti*, but A. *thanṭi*; A. *utthāi*, JM. *utthaha*, AMg. JM. *utthei*, JM. *ś. utthehi*, but *ś.* also *utthehi*, *utthedu*, (§ 483); M. *thia*, AMg. JM. *thiya*, *ś. thida*=*sthita* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 42,18; 52,2), but also *thia*, *ś. thida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 83,20); Mg. AMg. JM. *thavei*, A. *thavehu*, AMg. *thāvei*, JM. *thāvēmi*, A. *paṭhāvai*, *ś. paṭthāvai*, beside *ś. samavattthāvēmi*, *pajjavattthāvēmi* (§551), M. *utthia*, AMg. JM. *utthiya* (Hc. 4,16; R.; Aṇuog. 60; Vivāhap. 169; Āyār. 1,5,2,2; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also *utthia*, *ś. utthida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 75,15; v.l. *utthi°*); *paṭṭhia*=*prasthita* (Hc. 4,16), but M. *paṭthia* (H. R.), *ś. paṭthida* (Śak. 136,16; Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālatīm. 102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3; Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. JM. *uvattthiya*=*upasthita* (Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.), but also *ś. uvattthida* (Śak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg. JM. *ś. A. thāna*=*sthāna* (Hc. 4,16; Pāiyāl. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 2,2,1,1 ff.; Sūyag. 688; Uttar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyādh.;

Ovāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mṛcch. 70,25; 141,2; Śak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362), but also M. *thāṇa* (Hc. 4,16; R.); AMg. *thāṇijja* (respectable; Deśin. 4,5; Nirayāv. § 10), beside *thāṇijja* (Deśin. 4,5) = *sthāṇiya*; M. AMg. JM. *thūi*, *ṣ. thidi* = *sthiti* (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovāv.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. *thūi*, *ṣ. thidi* (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Śak. 107,12) and so many others. At the end of compounds °*stha* always becomes °*uṭha*; M. *kamalattha*, *karattha* (H.), *dūrattha* (R.); AMg. *āgārattha* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), *gāratthiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); JM. *āsanattha*, *jōvvaṇattha*, *sahāvatttha*, *hiyaya-ttha* (Erz.), *ṣ. ekattha* (Mṛcch. 73,3; Śak. 26,14), *vaattha* = *vayahstha* (Śak. 141,9), *paidittha* = *frakṛistha* (Śak. 160,13); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *ṣ. majjhattha* = *madhyastha* (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. °*itha*, *asvattha* becomes AMg. *amsōttha*, *assōttha*, *āsōttha*, *āsatttha* (§ 74); *kapittha* becomes AMg. Mg. *kavittha* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mṛcch. 21,22), but mostly AMg. *kavitṭtha* (Nirayāv. 45; Paṇṇav. 31.482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — *sthāṇu*, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Ki. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes **thāṇu* in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes *khāṇu*. So M. *thāṇu* “Śiva” (Pāyāl. 21; G.); AMg. *khāṇu* “stump”, “flock” (Paṇṇāv. 509; Nāyā h. 335; Uttar. 439), but JM. also *thāṇu* “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), *khāṇu*, beside which *khāṇṇu* also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21,27) goes back to a side-form **skhāṇu*. *thāṇu* is related to *khāṇu* as *stubbh* to *kṣubbh*, *stambh* to *skambh*, Pkt. *duṭṭha* to *dukkkha* (§ 90.120.306.311). — *sthaḡ* has in M. a dental in the beginning: *thaei* (R.), *thaesu*, *thāissam*, *thāiṇm* (H.), *thāia* (H. R.), *utthaia*, *samutthaiaṇm* (H.), *ōtthaia*, *samōtthaia* (R.), in JM. a cerebral: *thāiya*, *thāiṇa* (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root **sthak* forms in Pāli *thaketi*, in M. JM. *ṣ. Mg. dhakkāi*, °*di* (§ 221). Yet there occurs also JM. *thakkissāi* (T. 5,19).

1, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 18,8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mg. *sta* is retained (Hc. 4,289) and *stha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra. 2,12): *hasti* = *hastin*; *uastida* = *upasthita*; *śamuoastida* = *samupasthita*; *śustida* = *susthita*. According to Nāmisādhū *sta* becomes *sta*. The Lalitav. has: *tatthastehim* = *tatrasthaih* (265,20); *uastidāṇam* = *upasthitāṇam*; *kaḍastalāṇam* = *kaḍasthalāṇam*, *pāstaside* = *pārsvasthitāh*, *niastāṇādo* = *nijasthānāt* (566,3.9.12.15); *stidā* = *stitāh*, *astāṇastide* = *asthānasthitāh* (567,1,2). In the Mṛcch. STENZLER and GODABOLE, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write *sta* for *sta*, but *ttha* for *stha*. Thus *haṣṭa* = *hasta* (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but *hattha* (32,18; 39,20; 134,1 2.3; 135,1.2; 160,3; 171,3) and *hatthi* = *hastin* (40,9; 168,4); as also at Śak. 117,4; Venis 34,14 it stands. In the Mṛcch. the MSS mostly have °*ttha*°, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has °*sta*°, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also *hacche*, and once *haṣce*, against this one of them has at 14,1 *hastādo*, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have *haste*, at 126,24 two of them have *haste*, so that °*sta*° is better warranted than °*sta*°. Further pro ex. *thuṇu* = *stuh* (113,12; 115,9), the MSS, however *stuṇu*, *stuṇa* (or *ṣuṇu*, *suṇu* and so on = *ṣṇu*); *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* = *masta* and *mastaka* (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but *mattha* (161,7); the MSS mostly have °*sta*°, rarely °*ttha*° and only at 161,7 one of them has °*sta*°; A points to °*stha*° at 12,17; 149,25, as STENZLER writes in *iṣṭhiā* = *itthiā* = *strikā* (12,3.5; 119,23; 136,13; 140,10; 145,3.4; 146,4; 164,20), against *itthiā* (112.6; 135.1.25). The MSS again have mostly °*tthi*°, only at 112,6 B, 140,10 E and 145,4 D have °*sti*°, on the other hand 112,6 H. has *iṣṭhiām*, C °*stri*°, 135,13 DE, 140,10 D °*sti*°, to which also points °*smi*° 136,13 of B. to °*sthi*° at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads *istiā*. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands *itthiā* and so also in other

places here and always in Veṇis., Mudrār, in other words, and often in Mṛcch. °ttha° stands for °sta°. For *siha* stands *ttha* in Mṛcch. pro ex. in *thāvalaa*, °laka = *sthāvaraka* (96,17; 116,4,118,10; 119,11; 121,9; 122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECDf have *sthā°*; *thoam* = *stokam* (157,6); *avatthide* = *avasthitaḥ* (99,3); *vatthida* = *upasthita* (118,23; 138,13; 175,17), and *ttha*, pro ex. *paṭṭhāvia* = *prasthāpya* (21,12); *saṁthāvehi* = *saṁsthāpaya* (130,11); *saṁthida* (v.l. °thi°) = *saṁsthita* (159,15); *āhalaṇaṭṭhāṇehim* (v.l. °tthā°) = *ābharanasthānaih* (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as °mastie = °mastike, *vastie* = **vastrike* beside °*hatthie* = °*hastike* (Caṇḍak. 68,16; 69,1), *astam* (Caṇḍak. 70,14), beside *samutthide* (72,1); *pastide* = *prasthitaḥ*, *nivastide* = *nivastritaḥ* (Mallikām. 114,4.11). The vv. ll. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write *st*.

§ 311. *spha* and *spha* become *ppha* (Vr. 3,36.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Ki. 2,100.49; Mk. fol. 25.19). *spha* = *ppha*: M. Ś. *phaṁsa* = *sparśa*, Ś. *pariphaṁsa* (§ 74), M. AMg. *pharisa*, AMg. *pharisaga* (§ 135), AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa* (§ 62); *phandaṇa* = *spandana* (Hc. 2,53); *paḍippaddhi* = *pratispardhin* (§ 77). The aspiration does not take place in AMg. *puṭṭha* = *sprṣṭa* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6, 7,4; 1,6,2,3; 1,8,3,6.4,1; Sūyag. 65.111.122.144.170.350; Uttar. 48.51.61.106. 126; Vivāhap. 97 f. 116.145; Paṇṇav. 134; Ovav.), *apuṭṭha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,1; Vivāhap. 97 f.), *apuṭṭhaya* (Sūyag. 104), very often immediately beside *pharisa* or *phāsa* and *phusaḥ* = *sprṣṭu* (§ 186). In Āyār. 1,6,5,1 there stands *phuṭṭho*. So also *phusaḥ* and *pusaḥ* (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§ 301): M. A. *avaroppara* = *aparaspāra* (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paroppara* = *paraspāra* (Hc. 1,62; 2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10; 101,1; Paṇḍāv. 68; Paṇṇav. 646; Vivāhap. 1099; Āv. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bālar. 218,11; Mallikām. 124,8; 158,19; 160,8; 223,12), Ś. also, probably falsely, *parappara* (Mālatim. 119,6; 358,1; Uttarar. 108,1; Mallikām. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — AMg. *dupparisa* = *duḥsparśa* (Paṇḍāv. 508). — *nippiha* = *niḥsprha* (Hc. 2,23). From *bṛhaspati* there occurs, beside *bihapphadi* and *bahapphadi* also AMg. *bahassaḥ*, *bihassaḥ* (§ 53), and numerous other forms in the grammarians (§ 212). Likewise stands in AMg. beside *vaṇapphaḥ* = *vanaspati* (Hc. 2,69; Paṇḍāv. 341; Paṇṇav. 35; Jiv. 213.316; Vivāhap. 93.144), JŚ. *vaṇapphadi* (Kattiv. 401,336), also AMg. *vaṇassaḥ* (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Āyār. 1,1,5,4; 2,1,7,3,6; 2,2,2,13; Sūyag. 792.857; Paṇḍāv. 29; Jiv. 13.316 (beside °*ppha*°). 969f.; Paṇṇav. 44.742; Uttar. 1039.1048; Vivāhap. 30,430.465 f.; Thān. 25.26.52). The forms with *ssa* presuppose that *pati*, as after vowels, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become *vai*, so that *ssa* = *sva*. Cf. § 195.407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in *sihaḥ* = **sprhati* (Hc. 4,34.192; Mk. fol. 25) for **svihaḥ*. AMg. has *pihejjā* = *sprhayet* (Thān. 158). *chihā* is not = *sprhā* (Hc. 1,128; 2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like *chihā* (touches; Hc. 4,182), to a root **kṣibh*, which is a parallel root to *kṣubh* (§ 66). — *spha* = *ppha*: M. AMg. Ś. *phaliha* = *sphatika* (§ 206), M. *phuda* = *sphuṭa* (G. H. R.); *phuliṅga* = *sphuliṅga* (G. R.); *apphodaṇa* = *āsphotana* (G.), *apphālia* = *āspālita* (G. R.); *papphuraḥ* = *prasphurati* (G. H.). *khodaa* is not = *sphotaka* (Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Ki. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and *khedaa* is not = *sphetaka*, *khedā* is not = *sphetika* (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial *skha*. Cf. § 90.120.306.309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *phodaa* alone is permitted; thus *vipphodaa* = *visphotaka* (Śak. 30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *spha* and *spha* are retained: *bhaspadi* = *bṛhaspati*; according to Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra 2,12 they become *spha*, *spha*: *bihaśpadi*. At Mṛcch. 133,24; Śak. 115,11 stands *phulanti* = *sphuranti*, Prab. 58,1, *phalasa*, 58,8 *phaṁsa*; ed. Bomb. P. have both times

phalasa, M. more correctly *phaliśa*. One reads *sphulanti*, *spaliśa* and so in all similar cases.

§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes *h* (§ 262—264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus *śna*, *śna* and *sna*, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become *ṇha*; *śma*, *śma*, *sma* become *mha* (Vr. 3,32,33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74,75; Kī. 2,90,94; Mk. fol. 25,26). — *śna*=*ṇha*: *aṇhai*, AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aśnāti* (§ 512); AMg. JŚ. *paṇha*=*praśna* (Sūyag. 523; Kattig. 399,311); *siṇha*=*śiśna* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 3,75). — *śma* becomes *mha*: *kamhāra*, Ś. *kamhāra*=*kāśmāra* (§ 120); *kumhāna*=*kuśmāna* (Hc. 2,74). *raśmi* always becomes *rassi* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; 2,74,78; Pāiyāl. 47); AMg. Ś. *sahassarassi*=*sahasrarāśmi* (Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Ratn. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15). In the anlaut *ś* is assimilated to *m*: AMg. *maṁsu*=*śmaśru*, *nimmaṁsu*=*niśmaśru*, JŚ. *maṁsuga*=*śmaśruka* (§ 74), also *massu* (Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kī 2,53) and *māsu* (Hc. 2,86); M. Ś. *maśāṇa*, Mg. *maśāṇa*=*śmaśāna*, whilst in AMg. JM. *susāṇa* *m* has been assimilated to *s* (§ 104). — *śna*=*ṇha*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uṇha*=*uṇa* (G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 29,5,6; 74,9; Vikr. 48,11); Ś. *aṇuṇhadā*=*anuṇatā* (Mālav. 30,6), *uṇhaa*=*uṇnaka*, *uṇhattana*=**uṇnatvana* (Hc. 4,343,1), AMg. *siuṇha*=*śitoṇa*, in AMg., however, usually *uṇa* (§ 133). — *uṇhisa*=*uṇniśa* (Hc. 2,75); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha*, AMg. *kiṇha*, beside M. Ś. *kaṣaṇa*, AMg. JM. *kaṣiṇa*=*krṣṇa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kaṇha*=*krṣṇa* (§ 52); JM. D. *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (§ 72,119). — *śma*=*mha*: M. *umhā*=*ūśman* (Grr.; G.), *umhavia*, *umhāla* (G.); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīśma* (§ 83); M. JM. Ś. *tumhārisa*=*yuṣmādrśa* (§ 245); M. JM. Ś. A. *tumhe*=*yuṣme* (§ 422). — *mahiśmatī* becomes in Ś. *mahiśsadi* (Bālar. 67,14). — *bhīśma*, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes *bhippha*, *śleśman*, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes *sepha*- beside *silimha* and AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, AMg. *seṁbha*- (§ 267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation **bhīśva*, **bhīśpa*, *śleśman*, **śleśpan* (§ 251,277). On *kohaṇḍi*=*kūśmāṇḍi*, AMg. *kohaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*, *kūhaṇḍa*=*kūśmāṇḍa* see § 127, on A. *gimha*=*grīśma* § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. *-smīn*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-i* and *-u*, *ś* is assimilated to *m*: M. *uahiṁmi*, JM. *uāhiṁmi*=*udadhau*; AMg. *sahassarassimmi*=*sahasrarāśmau*; AMg. *uūmī*=*rtau*; M. *pahummi*=*prabhau* (§ 366^a.379). In AMg. *-smīn* mostly becomes *-msi*: *kucchiṁsi*=*kukṣau*; *pāṇiṁsi*=*pāṇau*; *leluṁsi*=*leṣṭau* (§ 74.379), in A. it becomes *-hī* from *-ssim* (§ 263.313): *akkhihī*=*akṣni*; *kalihī*=*kalau* (§ 379). — *kṣṇa*, *kṣma* too are treated like *śna*, *śma*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa* (§ 315); M. AMg. *paṇha*=*paṣman* (Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kī. 2,94; G.H.R.; Uvās.; Ovav.); M. AMg. Ś. *paṇhala*=*paṣmala* (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālatim. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [text *vahmala*]; Caṇḍak. 87,8); Ś. *paṇhalida* (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside *tiṇha*=*tikṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kī. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *tikkha* (C. 2,3; 3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Sūyag. 280,289; Uttar. 338; Dasav. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P.]; Venīś. 61,14; Mahāv. 101,16; Bālar. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsy. 32,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1); AMg. *sutikkha* (Vivāhap. 424); Ś. *tikkhattaṇa* (Viddhaś. 99,9); A. *tikkhei* (Hc. 3,344); *tikkhālia* (sharpened; Deśin. 5,13; Pāiyāl. 200) only. According to Mk.fol.26 one says *tikkha* in literary sense, and *tiṇha* in a secondary sense, as *tiṇho raīaro* “the sharp sun”. In Karp., however, *tikkha* is used also in a secondary sense — *lakṣmī* always becomes, even as

a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *lacchī* (Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Mk. fol. 24; Pāiyāl. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2;49,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11;52,5; Mālav. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālatim. 218,2; Karp. 22,5;35,3;110,8; Anarghar. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,25; A. Hc. 4,436); on the other hand, *lakṣmaṇa* always becomes M. JM. Ś. *lakṣhaṇa* (C. 3,6; Mk. fol. 24; R.; Ki. 2; Uttarar. 32,5; 127,5;190.1;204.11; Mālav. 52,14; Anarghar. 115,12;317,16; Unmattar. 6,2; Pras. 88,6).

§ 313. *sna=ṇha*, always also in the anlaut in AMg. JM. JŚ., which otherwise mostly retain *n* (§ 224): *ṇhāi=snāti* (Hc. 4,14); JM. *ṇhāmo=snāmaḥ* (Āv. 17,7), *ṇhāitā* (Āv. 38,2), *ṇhaviṇṇa* (Erz.), *ṇhāvesu, ṇhāvinti* (T. 6,5); AMg. *ṇhānei, ṇhāpittā* (Jiv. 610), *ṇhāṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265), *ṇhāvei* (Nirayāv. 17), *ṇhāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 822), *ṇhāveha* (Vivāhap. 1261); Ś. *ṇhāissam* (Mṛcch. 27,14), *ṇhādum* (Mallikām. 128,11), *ṇhāia* (Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13;12,11); M. *ṇhāa*, AMg. JM. *ṇhā'a*, Ś. *ṇhāda=snāta* (Pāiyāl. 238; H.; Sūyag. 730; Vivāhap. 187,790 f; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12); *ṇhāvānto* [text *vayando*]=*snāpayan* (Mallikām. 239,3); AMg. JM. *ṇhāviya=snāpita* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *ṇhāpa=snāna* (Vr. 3,33; Ki. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyāch.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399); AMg. *aṇhāṇa=asnāna* (Panhāv. 452), *aṇhāṇaya* (Thān. 531; Vivāhap. 135); JM. *ṇhavaṇa=snapaṇa* (T. 6,1,3,6 [text *nha°*]; Kk.); Ś. *ṇhavaṇa=snapanaka* (Nāgān. 39,4,13); AMg. *ṇhāviyā=snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964). So also *ṇhāvia=*snāpita*; however, Ś. Mg. *ṇāvida* (§ 210). Ś. *paṇhuda=prasnuta* (Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarar. 73,10). In *sneha* and *snigdha* in M. AMg. JM. A. *s* is assimilated to *n* as a rule (Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102,109; Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26). Thus M. Ś. *neha* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,332,1,406,2,422,6,8,426,1; Piṅgala 2,118), AMg. JM. *neha* (C. 2,27; Pāiyāl. 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.), in verses *neha* also in Mg. (Mṛcch. 157,6) and D. (Mṛcch. 105,16); M. *niddha*, AMg. JM. *niddha, niddha* H. R.; Āyār 1,5,6,4;2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Panhāv. 285; Uttar. 1022; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); *neḥālu=snehavat* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [ne°]); A. *niṇṇeha*, JM. *ninneha=niḥsneha* (Hc. 4,367,5; Erz.). Beside these there occur *saṇeha*, A. *sasanehī, saṇiddha*, M. JM. Ś. *siṇiddha*, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. (§ 140). In *susā=snuṣā* (Hc. 1,261) beside AMg. *ṇhusā*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suṇhā*, M. *soṇhā* (§ 148), P. *surusā* (§ 139,148), *n* has been assimilated. — *sma=mha*: PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *amhe=asme* (§ 419); M. JM. Ś. *amhārisa=asmā-dṛśa* (§ 245); M. Ś. A. *vimhaa*, JM. *vimhaya=vismaya* (G. R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4). — *bhasman*, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also *bhappa*, which points to the transition steps **bhasvan*, **bhaspan* (§ 251,277,312), in addition to AMg. JM. *bhāsa*, Ś. *bhassa* (§ 65), JM. *bhasama* (§ 132). The pronominal ending *-smin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-a*, becomes either *-ssim*, Mg. *ssim*, as in Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taṣṣim=tassmin* (§ 425), *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, Mg. *edaṣṣim=elasmin* (§ 426); PG. *casi cāssmin*, AMg. Ś. *assim=asmin* (§ 429), or M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *-mmi*, as *tammi*, *eammi*, *eyammi* (§ 425,426), M. *jōvvaṇammi=yauvane*, AMg. *bambhāmmi kappammī=brāhṃe kalpe*, JM. *pāḍaliputtammi=pāḍaliputṛe* (§ 366^a), or AMg. mostly *-msi*, as *tamsi*, *imamsi* (§ 425,430), *logamsi=loke*, *dāragamsi=dārake* (§ 366^a), as AMg. also *amsi=asmi* says (§ 74,498). *-ssim*, through **sim*, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become *-him*, as in *tahim*, *jahim*, *kahim=tassmin*, *yasmin*, *kassmin*; Mg. *kulāhim=kule*; *gharahi=ghare* (§ 264,366^a,425,427,428).

Instead of *-mmi* Hc. 1,23 permits also *-m̐mi* : *vaṇammi* and *vaṇam̐mi*=*vane*. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — *s* has been assimilated with *m* in AMg. *mi*=**smi*=*asmī*, AMg. JM. *mo*=*smah*, beside the usual *mhi*, *mha*, *mho* (§ 498), on the other hand *m* has been assimilated to *s* in JM. *sarāmi*, *sarai*, AMg. *saraī*, JM. *sarasu*=*smarāmi*, *smarati*, *smara*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JS. *visarida*=*vismṛta*, beside JM. *vissariya*, dialectical *vimharaī*=*vismarati*, common *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaredi*, *visumarāmi*, Mg. *sumaledi*, *visumaledi* (§478); *seram*=*smeram* (Hc. 2,78). M. *bharai* (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. *smṛ*; H. R. s. v. *smar*), JM. *bhariya*=*smṛta* (Pāiyāl. 194; Erz.), also *bhalai* (Hc. 4,74), M. *saṁbharapa* (G.) will stand for **mharai*, **mbharai* (§267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also *marai*, *vibharai* (MS. *vimbharai*).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 *ṣṇa*, *ṣṇa* become *ṣṇa*, *ṣṇa*, *ṣṇa* become *ṣma*; only in *grīṣma*, *ṣṇa* becomes *mha*: *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu*; *usma*=*uṣman*; *vismaa*=*vismaya*; but *gimha*=*grīṣma*. For *ṣma*, Śilāṁka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text *akasmāt* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), *akasmāddanda* (Sūyag. 682) and *asmākam* (Sūyag. 983) he notes that these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadha, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Thāp. 372 *akasmāddanda*. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as *akamhābhaya* (Samav. 19; Thāp. 455); the forms with *ṣma* have been adopted from Skt. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭṭa, Kāv, ālāṁkāra 2,12 teaches *viṣṇu*=*viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ṣ* for *ṣ*, *s* in other sound groups. For *ṣna*, *ṣma* the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become *ṣṇa*, *ṣma* or *ṣṇa*, *ṣma* or *ṇha*, *mha*. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely *gimha* (Mṛcch. 10,4), but also *paṇha*=*praṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 80,18; 81,5); *uṇha*=*uṣṇa* (Mṛcch. 116,17; Venis. 33,12); *viṇhu*=*viṣṇu* (Prab. 63,15); *tuṇhia*=*tūṣṇika* (Mṛcch. 164,14); always *amhāṇam*, *amhe*, *tumha*, *tumhāṇam*, *tumhe* (pro ex. Mṛcch. 31,15; 158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛcch. 139,13; 16,19); *amhāṇisa*=*asmādr̥ṣa* (Mṛcch. 164,5); *ṇhāmi*=*snāmi*, *ṇhade*=*snātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 113,21; 136,11) etc. The ending *-sm̐in* in the MSS. always becomes *-śśim̐*, and *-ṣma* always becomes *-mha*. So has also the Lalitav.: *edaśśim̐*=*etasm̐in* (565,6), *yāpīśśamha*=*jñāsyāmah* (565,9), *amhadeśiya*, *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam* (565,12,14; 566,9), *payāśmha* [sic]=*prakāśyāma* (567,1).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated (§ 131-140), according to the principal rules (§ 279,287,296,297). — *śya*=*ssa*; Mg. *śsa*: JM. Ś. *avassam̐*=*avaśyam* (Erz.); Lalitav. 555,5; Śak. 44,6; 128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. *ṇṣai*, AMg. *nassaī*, JM. *nāsaī*. Ś. *ṇassadi*=*naśyati*; JM. *nassāmo*=*naśyāmah* Mg. *viṇaśśadu* (§ 63); Ś. *rāśāla*=*rājaśyāla* (Mṛcch. 23,19; 8,7; 151,16; 173,1); M. *vesā*=*veśyā* (H.), Ś. *veśājāna* (Mṛcch. 57,15) and *veśśājāna* (Mṛcch. 53,20); AMg. *veśsa*, *vaśsa*=*vaśya* (§ 61). — *śra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *miśa*. Ś. *miśa*, Mg. *miśsa*=*miśra* (§64); M. JM. Ś. *viśam̐ai*=*viśr̥amyati*, Ś. *vissam̐adu* (§ 64,489); Ś. *sussūsidapuruvo* *sussūsidavvo*=*śuśrūsitapūroah* *śuśrūsitavyah* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuśśūside*=*śuśrūsitah* (Mṛcch. 37,1); AMg. JM. Ś. *seṭṭhi*=*śreṣṭhin* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 28,20; 142,12; Śak. 139,5, Mudrār. 41,8; 43,1; 243,2; 248,7; 252,1; 254,4). On *aṁsu*=*aśru*, *maṁsu*=*śamśru* see § 74. — *śla* becomes *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*: M. AMg. *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*¹ (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118; 2,75,79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H.R.; Vivāhap. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); M. *parisaṇha*=*pariślakṣṇa* (R.); but also with assimilation of *s* M. *laṇha* (Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2; 96,2), *laṇhaa* (Karp. 49,11).

In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: *saṇha laṇha* (Savav. 211,214; Pannav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. *saggha*=*slāghya* (Sūyag. 182); Ś. *sāhaṇa*=*slāghaniya* (Mālav. 32,5), but also *lāhai*=*slāghate* (Hc. 1,187); AMg. *seṃbha*; AMg. JM. A. *simbha*-, dialectical *sepha*=*śleṣman* (§267.312), but also AMg. *lissanti*=*śliṣyante* (Sūyag. 218). — AMg. *lesaṇayā* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(*saṃ*)*śleṣaṇatā*, but it is =*reṣaṇatā* (damage). Generally the group is separated either by *a* or *i*. — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. JM. *āsa*, AMg. JM. Ś. *assa*=*aśca* (§64); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa*=*pārśva* (§87), falsely Ś. *passa* (Priyad. 23,16); JŚ. *viṇassara*=*vināśvara* (Kattig. 401,339); Ś. *vissāvasu*=*viśvāvasu* (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. *viśśāvaśu* (Mṛcch. 11,9); M. *sasaī*, *āsasaī*=*śvasiti*, *āśvasiti*; M. *ūsasaī*, AMg. *ussasaī*=*ucchvasiti*; M. *ṇisasaī*, AMg. *nissasaī*, Ś. *ṇisasaī*=*niḥśvasiti*; Mg. *śaśadi*, *ūśaśadu*, *ṇisāśadu*, *samaśśasadu* (§496); M. *sāvaā*, JM. *sāvaya*, Ś. *Ā. sāvada*=*śvāpada* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak. 32,7; Mṛcch. 148,22). — *sya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: Ś. *abhujissā*=*abhujīsyā* (Mṛcch. 59,25; 60,11; 65,1); AMg. *ārussa*=*āruṣya* (Sūyag. 293), beside *ārustiṣyāṇam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); Ś. *pussarā*=*puṣyarāga* (Mṛcch. 70,25; so we should read)³; AMg. JM. *maṇūsa*, M. AMg. Ś. *maṇussa*, Mg. *maṇuśśa*=*manuṣya* (§63); AMg. JM. *śisa*, JM. Ś. *sissa*=*śiṣya* (§63); in future, as A. *karīsu*=*karīsyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4). *phuttīsu*=*sphuṭīsyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12), JM. *bhavissai*, Ś. *bhavissadi*, Mg. *bhaviśśadi*, M. *hōssam*, A. *hosai* (§521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this *ssa*, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become *ha* through *sa*, as *kāhimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*=**kāryāmi*=*karīsyāmi*; *hohāmi*, *hohimi*=**bhoṣyāmi*; *kittāhimi*=*kīrtayīsyāmi*; A. *pekkhīhimi*=**prekṣīsyāmi* (§263.520 ff.). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: AMg. *osakkai*, *paccosakkai*=**apaśvaṣkati*, **pratyapaśvaṣkati*; M. *parisakkai*=**pariśvaṣkati* (§302); Ś. *parissaadi*=*pariśvajate* (Mālatim. 108,3; Mṛcch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), *parissaadha*=*pariśvajadhvam* (Śak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Uttitarar. 204,5), *parissaai*=*pariśvajya* (Śak. 77,9; Mālatim. 210,7). On AMg. *piusiyā*, M. *piussiā*, AMg. *piussiyā*, M. AMg. *piucchā*=*piṭṭvasā*, AMg. *māusiyā*, M. *māussiā*, *māucchā*=*māṭṭvasā*, dialectical *pupphā*, *pupphiā* see §148. — *sya*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. JM. Ś. *rahassa*=*rahasya* (G.H.; Karp. 66,11; Erz.; Mṛcch. 60,7; Vikr. 15,3.12; 16,1.11.18; 79,9; Karp. 67,1); M. *śvaassa*, M. *vaamśa*, JM. *vayamśa*=*vayasya* (§74); Ś. *hassa*=*hāsyā* (Mṛcch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in *-sya*, as M. Ś. *kāmassa*=*kāmasya* (H. 2,148.326.586; Śak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karp. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs *ha* from *sa* (§264), as Mg. *kāmāha* (Mṛcch. 10,24), A. *kāmahō* (Hc. 4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *ḍh.tassa*, Mg. *taśśa*, A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, M. *tāsa*, also Mg. *tāha*, A. *tahō*=*tasya* (§425). Likewise in future as AMg. *dāhāmo* beside *dāsāmo*=*dāsyāmaḥ* (§530); JM. *pāhāmi*, AMg. *pāham*=*pāsyāmi*, AMg. *pāhāmo*=*pāsyāmaḥ* (§524). — *sra*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. *tamissā*=*tamīsrā* (Kk.); M. *visambha*, Ś. *vissambha*=*visrambha* (§64); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sahassa*, Mg. *sahaśśa*=*sahasra* (§448). — *śva*=*ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: *bappasāmīhi*=*bappasvāmībhīḥ* (6,11), *sakakāle*=*svakakāle* (7,44) *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51); JM. Ś. *tavassi*-, Mg. *tavaśśi*-=*tapasvin* (Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 22,7; 76,8), JM. Ś. *tavassīṇi*, Mg. *tavaśśīṇi*=*tapasvinī* (Kk.; Śak. 39,4; 78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,6); M. JM. *sarassai*, Ś. *sarassadi*=*sarasvatī* (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. *siṇṇa*=*svinna* (G. H.); Ś. *sādam*, Mg. *śādam*=*svāgatam* (§203). On M. *maṇāmsi*=*manasvin*, AMg. *oṇāmsi*=*oṇasvin* and similar other forms see §74; on *haṃsa*=*hrasva*, beside *hassa*, *rahassa* see §354.

1. Hc. and with him JACOBI, KZ. 23,598 wrongly derive *saṇha* from *sūkṣma* and Hc. at 2,75 expressly separates *saṇha*=*sūkṣma* and *saṇha*=*ślakṣṇa*. Correctly WEBER,

ZDMG. 28,402; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 68; CHILDERS s. v. *saṃho*. — 2. Aup. S. s. v. — 3. PISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka p. 102 f.; Mahāvvyutpatti 235,28.

§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis+sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt. : *kṣīra* beside *kṣira*; *vathsa* beside *vatsa*; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*¹. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tsa* and *psa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śṣa*². The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha* regularly became *ccha*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. *ska*, *hka* (§ 324) points, and *śka* for *kṣa* became *kkha* (§ 302). The assumption of ASCOLI³ that *śa* become *kha* has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of JOHANSSON⁴ that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent⁵.

1. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,21 f.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 113. — 2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 116. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 236ff. — 4. Shāhbāzgarhi 2,22. — 5. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular (Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,3; Kī. 2,88; Mk.fol.24), and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *ākṛtigaṇa akṣyādi* (Vr. 3,30; Hc. 2,17; Kī. 2,82; Pkt. p. 60). Mk.fol.24 groups the words that always have *cha* for *kṣa* in the *gaṇa kṣurādi*, and includes in it the words *kṣura*, *akṣi*, *makṣikā*, *kṣīra*, *sadykṣa*, *kṣetra*, *kuṣi*, *ikṣu*, *kṣudhā*, and *kṣudh*. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *ākṛtigaṇa kṣamādi*. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If Skt. *kṣa* goes back to *śṣa*, so in the Avestā it becomes *śa*, in Pkt., originally through **śsha*, **scha* (§ 316) it became *ccha* : *chaa* = Av. *śata* in *huśata* = *kṣata* from *kṣan* (Hc. 2,17); in addition to AMg. *chaṇa* (murder) = *kṣaṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,4; 1,5,3,5); *chaṇe* = **kṣaṇet* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; 1,7,8,9), *chaṇāvae*, *chaṇantaṃ* = **kṣaṇāpayet*, **kṣaṇantaṃ* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); but M. *khaa* = *kṣata* (G.H.R.), *parikkhaa* (R.); AMg. *khaṇaha* = **kṣaṇata* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); AMg. *akkhaya*, JŚ. °da (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 385,69); Ś. *parikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,25; 61,24; Śak. 27,9), *aparikkhada* (Vikr. 10,4), *avarikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53,18,24). — M. AMg. JM. *chuhā* = Av. *śuda* = *kṣudhā* (Grr.; H.; Thān. 328; Vivāhap. 40,647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyādh. 348; Ovav.; Dvār. 500,7; Erz.), *chuhāiya* (hungry; Pāiyāl. 183); but also AMg. JM. Ś. *khuḥā* (Thān. 572; Vivāhap. 162,493.816; Paṇhāv. 200; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Dasav. 635,16 [*khuppiṇāsae*]; Dasav. N. 662,1,2; Erz.; Karp. 76,9 ed. Bomb., whilst KONOW 75,6 reads *chuhā*); AMg. *khuhiya* = *kṣudhita* (Paṇhāv. 340). — M. *chelta*, AMg. *chitta* = Av. *śoiθra* = *kṣetra*, but also AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khēṭta*, AMg. *khitta* (§ 84). M. AMg. JM. JM. Ś. *acchi* = Av. *asī* = *akṣi* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; 1,8,1,19; 2,2,2,1,7; 2,3,2,5; Vivāgas. 11; Vivāhap. 1152; Āv. 8,20; 30,4; Śak. 30,5; 31,13; Vikr. 43,15; 48,15; Ratn. 319,18; Karp. 11,2; Nāgān. 11,9; Jivān. 89,3); but also AMg. JM. Ś. A. *akkhi* (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34,1; Anarghar. 305,13; Hc. 4,357,2). — AMg. *accha* (§ 57), M. AMg. Ś. *riccha* (§ 56) = Av. *arēśa* = *ṛkṣa*; but also M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (§ 56). — M. *kaccha* = Av. *kaśa* = *kakṣa* (H.); but also AMg. JM. *kakkha* (G.R.; Nāyādh. 434). — *tacchā* (Hc. 4,194),

AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596 [text °*lthi*°]) = Av. *taś'a* = *takṣati*, **taṣkita*, but also *takkhai* (Hc. 4,194); *takkhāna* = *takṣan* (§ 403).

§ 319. Original *kṣa* becomes *hś'a* in the Avesā, *kkha* in Pkt.: AMg. *khattiya*, Ś. *khattia* = *kṣatriya* (Sūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 5(6.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29,22; 64.21; Uttarar. 167.10; Anarghar. 58.8; 70,1; 155 5; 157,10; Hāsy. 32,1; Pr.s. 47, 7; 48,4.5); JM. *khattiā* (sic.; KI 3); AMg. *khattiyāni* = *kṣatriyāni* (Kappas.), *khatti* = *kṣatrin* (Sūyag. 317); Ś. *nikkhattikada* = *niḥkṣatrikṛta* (Mahāv. 27,6), to Av. *hś'a θra*. — AMg. JM. *khīra* = Av. *hś'ira* = *kṣīra* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 817,822; Vivāhap. 660 942; Paṇṇav. 522; Uttar. 895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 28,23; 42 2); *khīri* = *kṣīri* (Pāiyāl. 240); M. *khīroa*, JM. *khīroya* = *kṣīroda* (G.H.; Erz.); AMg. *khīrodaja* (Ovav.); Ś. *khīrasamudda* = *kṣīrasamudra* (Prab. 4,7); but also M. *chīra* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 123; G.H.); AMg. *chīrabirālī* = *kṣīrabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532; [text °*vi*°]). For Ś. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes *khīra*. — *khivai* = *kṣipati* to Av. *hś'viv* (Hc. 4,143); M. *akkhivai* = *ākṣipati* (R.); *ukkhivai* = *utkṣipati* (H.); *samukkhivai* (G.); JM. *khivasi* (Erz. 83,18), *khivēi* (Erz.); AMg. *khivāhi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,16), *pakkhivaha* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3), *pakkhivējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Vivāhap. 270), *nikkhiyava* (Paṇhāv. 373); *pakkhippa* (Sūyag. 280.282.288.378); Ś. *khividum* = *kṣeptum* (Vikr. 25,16), *khitta* = *kṣipta* (Mrch. 41,6.22), *akkhitta* = *ākṣipta* (Vikr. 75,12 so we should read); *uvakkhiva* = *upakṣipa* (Mrch. 72,14), *ukkhivia* = *utkṣipya* (Mrch. 3,17), *nikkhividum* = *nikṣeptum* (Mrch. 24,22), *nikkhitta* (Mrch. 29,13; 145,11; Śak. 78,13; Vikr. 84,8), *nikkhivia* (Vikr. 75,10), *parikkhivāmo* = *parikṣipyāmahe* (Caṇḍak. 28,11) etc.; but also *ucchitta* = *utkṣipta* (Bh. 3,30; Deśin. 1,124; Pāiyāl. 84) and M. *chivai* (touches; Hc. 4,182; G.H. R.); *chitta* (touched; Hc. 4,258; Pāiyāl. 85; H.). — AMg. JM. *khudda* = *ksudra*, *khuddaja*, AMg. *khuddaga* = *ksudraka* (§ 294) = Av. *hś'udra* (semen). — M. *khunṇa* = *ksunṇa* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 222; H.) from Av. *hś'usta*; but also *ucchunṇa* = *utksunṇa* (Pāiyāl. 201). — M. *khubbhai* = *kṣubhyati* (Hc. 1,154; R.); *smkkhuhia* (G.), AMg. *khobhaium* = *kṣobhayitum* (Uttar. 921), *khobhittae* (Uvās.), *khubhiya* (Ovav.), *kokkhubhamāna* (§556); Ś. *saṃkhohida* = *saṃkṣobhita* (Śak. 32,8); A. *khuhia* (Vikr. 67,11); M. *khoha* = *kṣobha* (R.); JM. *mohakkhoha* (Pav. 380,7), but also PG. °*chobhm* °*kṣobham* (6,32); *vicchuhire* = *vikṣubhyanti* (Hc. 3,142); AMg. *chubhanti*, *ucchubhai*, *nicchubhai*, JM. *chubhai*, *chuhai*, M. *vicchuhai* etc. (§6). — M. *sikkhai* = *śikṣati* (H.); M. A. *sikkha*, JM. *sikkhiya*, Ś. *sikkhida* = *śikṣita* (G.H.; Erz.; Mrch. 37,5; Vikr. 62,11), JM. Ś. *sikkhanta* (Erz.; Mrch. 71,21), Ś. *sikkhiadi*, *sikkhidukāma* (Mrch. 39,22; 51,24), *sikkhāveni* (Priyad. 40,4) to Av. *asihsant*.

§ 320. Sometimes Pkt. and Av. go asunder. *uccha* = *ukṣan* (Bh. 3,30; Hc. 2,17; 3,56); *ucchāna* (Hc. 3,65), but Av. *uḥś'ān*. Mk. fol. 24 p. omits, however, also *ukkha*, beside *uccha*. — PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* = *dakṣiṇa* (§65), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* = *dakṣiṇā* (Mrch. 5,1; Karp. 103,6), but Av. *daśiṇa*. Yet AMg. has *daccha* (Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *dakka* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. *macchiā* (Grr.; H.); AMg. JM. *macchiyā* (Vivāgas. 12; Uttar. 245.1036.1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503,6), AMg. *macchiḡa* (Paṇhāv. 72) = *maḥś'i* = *maḥṣikā*; but also Ś. *ṇimakkhiya* = *niṃmaṣika* (Śak. 36,16; 124,7; Viddhaś. 62,2). M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rakkhasa* = *rākṣasa* (R.; Sūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996.1084; Thān. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrch. 68,8; Śak. 43,6; 45,1; Mahāv. 96,12; 97,7.15; 99,2; Bālar. 221,5), AMg. *rakkhasi* = *rākṣasi* (Uttar. 252) to Av. *raś*, *raś'anih*. — M. JM. *vaccha* = *vrkṣa* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 54; G.; Karp. 64,2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645,5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "tree") to Av. *urvāḥs* (to grow). Besides *vaccha*, according to Vr. 3,31; Hc. 2,127; Ki. 2,83; Mk.

fol. 24 *vrkṣa* can form also *rukkha*, and according to Rāmatakavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 66 only *rukkha* is used in Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMg. Ś. employ only *rukkha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1;1,8,2,3;2,1,2,3;2,3,2,15;2,3,3,13;2,4,2,11,12; Sūyag. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhap. 275.445; Samav. 233; Paṇṇav. 30; Rāyap. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mrcch. 40,24;72.8;73,6.7;77,16;87,11.12; Śak. 9,10;10,2;12,2,6; Mālav. 72,3); AMg. Ś. *kapparukkha*=*kalpa-vrkṣa* (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2); M. JM. have *rukkha* (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff; Rṣabhap. 29; Erz.), JM. *kapparukkha* (Erz.) beside *vaccha*. The word *rukkha* has nothing to do with *vrkṣa*, but is=*rukṣa*, for which ROTH (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning "tree" in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between *kkha* and *ccha* is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M.AMg. JM. *ucchu* beside AMg. Ś. *ikkhu*=*ikṣu*, AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka* (§ 117.84). — M. AMg. JM. *kucchi*=*kukṣi* (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2,4.10.12; Paṇhāv. 281; Vivāhap. 295.1035.1274; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); *kucchimāi*=*kukṣimāi* (pregnant; Deśin. 2,41), beside AMg. Ś. *kukkhi* (Nāyādh. 308; Paṇhāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Deśin. 2,34 declares as provincial. — *chura*=*kṣura* (Grr.), *churamaḍḍi*, *churahattha*=*kṣuramardīa*, *kṣurahasta* (barber; Deśin. 3,31), beside M. AMg. *khura* (Karp. 94,4; Sūyag. 546; Vivāhap. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *khurapatta*=*kṣurapāttra* (Thāp. 321). — AMg. A. *chāra*=*kṣāra* (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvās.; Hc. 4,365,3), *chārībhūya*=*kṣārībhūta* (Vivāhap. 237), *chārīya*=*kṣārīta* (Vivāhap. 322 f. 348), beside AMg. JM. *khāra* (Sūyag. 520.281; Ovav.; Kk.). — Cf. § 326. — M. AMg. JM. *peccaḥi*, but Ś. *pekkhadi*=*prekṣate* (§ 84). — M. AMg. JM. *vaccha*=*vakṣas* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *valkkhatthala*=*vakṣasthala* (Mrcch. 68,19; Dhanamjayav. 11,9; Hāsy. 40,22), against the dialect *vacchatthala* (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156,10 [text °tṭha°]; 201,13 [text °tṭa°]; Cait. 38,11;44,9). — M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha*, but AMg. Ś. A. *sārikkha*=**sādrkṣya* (§ 78.245). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of *kṣa*, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.¹ One says for example *akhṣi* and *akṣi*, and their contaminations in Pkt. are *acchi* and *akkhi*.

1. Thus correctly ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 238 f.; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,20. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 322. With the different treatments of *kṣa* in *kṣaṇa* and *kṣamā* is connected the difference in meaning. *kṣaṇa* becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, *chaṇa* in the meaning "festival", on the other hand it becomes *chaṇa* in the meaning "moment". Thus M. AMg. JM. *chaṇa* "festival" (Pāiyāl. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhap. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khana* "moment" (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135.137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhaś. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 *cha* never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read *uvatthidakkhaṇe*. Kī. 2,83 teaches *khana* and *chaṇa* with a difference of meaning. — *kṣamā* becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, *chamā* in the meaning "earth", but *khamā* in the meaning "patience". Vr. 3,31; Kī. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place *khamā* and *chamā* beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only *khamā*. In AMg. *chamā*= "earth" (Dasav. 641,13), in M. AMg. JM. *khamā*= "patience" (H.; Vivāhap. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMg. *khamāsamāṇa*=*kṣmāśramaṇa* (Kappas.).

§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before *kṣa*. Then *kkha* becomes *ha* (§ 188) through *kha* (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root *īkṣ* and its derivatives : AMg. *ihā=īkṣā*¹ (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *anuppehanti=anuprekṣante* (Ovav. § 31), *anupehāe* (Āyār. 2,1,4,2), *anuppehā=anuprekṣā* (Thān. 211.213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), *uvehējjā* (Āyār. 2 1,5,5,9,2;2,3,1,16.18;2,3,2,1,3,8), *uvehamāṇa=upekṣamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3;1,4,4,4;2,16,4), *pehe=prekṣeta* (Uttar. 726), *peha=prekṣa-sva* (Sūyag. 139), *pehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11;1,8,4,7;2,3,1,6); JM. *pehamāṇio* (Āv. 17,10); AMg. *pehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5;1,8,1,20;1,8,4,10;2,1,1,3;2,1,4,1.4 ff.; 2,1,9,2;2,4,2,6; Uttar. 33), *pehiya* (Uttar. 919), *pehiyā* (Sūyag. 104), *pehiyam* (Dasav. 633,3), *pehā=prekṣā* (Dasav. 613,21), *pehi=prekṣin* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar. 30), *pehiṇi* (Uttar. 663), *samuppehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4), *samuppehamāṇa* (Sūyag. 506), *samuppehiyā* (Dasav. 629,39), *sampehei* (Vivāhap. 152.248.841.916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *sampehāi* (Dasav. 643,10). *sampehāe* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4;1,5,3,2;1,6,1,3[ā°]; Sūyag. 669), *sāpehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,23), *sāpehittā* (Vivāhap. 152,248). Further AMg. *lūha*. beside *lukkha=rūkṣa*, *lūhei*, *lūhiya=rūkṣayati*, *rūkṣila*² (§ 87.257); AMg. JM. *seha=Pāli sekha=Skt. śaikṣa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyag. 165.511.520; Ovav.; Kaṇpas.; Kk.); AMg. *sehanti=*śaikṣanti* (Sūyag. 115), *sehāvei=*śaikṣā-payati*³ (Vivāhap. 797; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). *sehāviya* (Vivāhap. 1246). — The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. *suhuma, suhama=sūkṣma* (§ 82.131.140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JM. *dāhiṇa=dakṣiṇa*; AMg. *dāhiṇilla, āyāhiṇa, payāhiṇa, pāyāhiṇa* (§ 65) and AMg. *dehāi, dehae=*drkṣati, *drkṣate*, A. *drehi* (§ 66.554).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*ihā* by JACOBI, *Kalpas. s. v.* and STEINTHAL, *Specimen s. v.* — 2. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*lūṣita* by JACOBI and STEINTHAL l. c. — 3. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely STEINTHAL l. c.=*sedhayati*.

§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 *kṣa* becomes *ska* : *laskāse=rākṣasaḥ*; *daske=dakṣaḥ*. Hc. 4,297 and Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for *prekṣ* (that is to say *īkṣ* with *pra*) and *ācakṣ* (i. e. *cakṣ* with *ā*): *pēskadi=prekṣate*; *ācaskadi=ācāṣte*. In all other words, according to them (Hc. 4,296) *kṣa* becomes *ḥka*¹ in the anlaut; *yahke=yakṣaḥ*; *lahkase=rākṣasaḥ*; *pahka=pakṣa* (Hc. 4,302). In the anlaut *kṣa* is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: *khaayalahalā=kṣayajaladharāḥ*. Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report p. 344 teaches *ska* : *paska=pakṣa*; *laṣkā=lakṣā*; *paskāladu=prakṣā-layatu*, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have *pakkhāladu* in the same verse with *kṣa* treated as in the anlaut. Lalitav. has throughout *śka*: *alaṣkiyyamāṇa=alaksyāmāṇa* (565,7); *laṣikidam=lakṣitam* (566,4); *bhiṣkam=bhikṣām* (566,8); *yujjhaṣkamāṇam=yuddhaṣkamāṇam* (566,11); *laṣkam, laṣkāim=lakṣam, lakṣāṇi* (566,11). Likewise also *pēskiyyamdi, pēskiyyaṣi* [so to be read], *pēskidum=prekṣyante, prekṣyase, prekṣitum* (569,13.15.19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends *pac[c]akkhikadam—pratyakṣikṛtam* (566,1). The MSS. of the dramas and the editions based on them treat *kṣa* in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as *khaṇa=kṣaṇa* (Mṛcch. 136,15.16; 160,11; Prab. 50,9), but also throughout in the anlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS., like that of Mṛcch. 13,6 *peṣa, peṭṭha*, 21,15, *pēṣcha*, 132,20. *laṣcide, laṣchide*, 132, 21 *pēṣcāmi, peccāmi*, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For *jeṇa attapo pakḥham ujjhia parapakḥho pamāṇikariadi* (Mudrār. 178,6)³ Hc. 4,302 read *ye appaṇo pakḥkam ujjhia palaśśa pakḥham pamāṇikaleśi*⁴ and for *amaccarakḥhasam pēkkhidum ido*

eva āacchadi (Mudrār. 154,3)⁵ he read *amaccalahkaśam peśkidum idō yyeva āacchadi*. Hence, for example in Mṛcch. 120,3 instead of *akkhihim bhakkhiadi dantehim pekkhiadi*=*akṣibhyām bhakṣyate dantaiḥ prekṣyate* we should read *aḥkihim bhakḥkiadi dantehim peśkiadi*. The MSS. give no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 14,2 they have printed *kṣasya śko nādaul yathā yaśke laśkase yakṣo rākṣasa iti*. The best MS. (KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads *ḥko, yaḥke, laḥkase* [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṛṣṇapāṇḍita: *jihvā-mūliyaśca kvacicchaurasenyādau vakṣyate* [taksah taḥko] *śakāraśca māgadhyām vakṣyate* [paksah paśko] [sic] *lāksā lāśkā* [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported *taḥka* for Ś., at times the manuscript gives *o* in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that *taḥka* cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So TELANG. From the manuscripts it is not possible to ascertain whether *pala* or *palaśa*, and *kaliadi* or *kaleśi* are to be inserted here rightly. — 4. Correctly there would be *uyyia* (§ 296). — 5. So TELANG. The MS. E correctly has *yyeva*, elsewhere quite false *eva* or *jīeva* and *rakkhasam*, as also the edd. Calc.

§ 325. As in Pāli, in AMg. JM. also *kṣulla*, with loss of the aspiration, becomes *culla* (Deśin. 3,22; Pāiyāl. 58); JM. *cullatāya*=*kṣullatāta* (uncle; Erz.); AMg. JM. *cullapiu*=*kṣullapitr* (uncle; Dasav. 628,5; Erz.); AMg. *cullamāyā* (aunt; Antag. 70; Nāyādh. §84-87.95 96; Nirayāv.); AMg. *cullasāyāya*, °ga=*kṣullaśataka* (Uvās.), *cullahimavanta*=*kṣuliahimavat* (Thān. 72.74.176.177); *culloḍaa* (the eldest brother; Deśin. 3,17). *cullaka* has been taken also into Skt. of the Jaina (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v. *cullo*).

§ 326. If *kṣa* goes back to early *z'za*, through *z'zha*, *z'jha*, it becomes *jja*¹ in Pkt.: *jharai*=*kṣarati* (Hc. 4,173); JM. *jharei* (Erz.); *nijjharai*=*nih-kṣarati* (Hc. 4,20); M. *ōjjhara*=**avakṣara* (Hc. 1,98; Deśin. 1,160; Pāiyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as=*nirjhara*, which itself arises from Pkt.², and becomes M. Ś. *nijjhara* (G. H.; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text °jja°]), AMg. JM. *nijjhara* (Pāiyāl. 216). Beside one another stand *ōjjhara* and *nijjhara* in AMg. (Paṇṇav. 80.84 ff. 94 [text *ujjhara* and several times *nijjara*]). A. *pajjharai*=*prakṣarati* (Hc. 4,173; Piṅgala 1,102); *pajjharia* (Kī. 2,84); Ś. *pajjharāvedī* (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also *jharaa* (goldsmith; Deśin. 3,54). — AMg. *jhiyāi* for **jhāi*=**kṣāti*=*kṣāyati*³ (burns [intransitive]; Sūyag. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Thān. 478), *jhiyāyanti* (Thān. 478); M. *viijhāi* (Hc. 2,28; H.), *viijhānta* (H.); M. *viijhāa* (G. H. R.), AMg. JM. *viijhāya* (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Āv. 25,3); M. *viijhavaī* (G.), *viijhavei* (H. R.), *viijhavia* (H. R.); AMg. *viijhavējja*, *viijhaventu* (Āyār. 2,2,1,10), *viijhaviya* (Uttar. 709). *samiijhāi* (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with *vindhā*⁴. — AMg. *jhāma*=*kṣāma* (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,10,22), *jhāmei* (Sūyag. 722; Vivāhap. 1257), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 1251), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmiya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 321.1251; Āv. 25,1; 26,17); JM. *nijjhāmemo* (Dvār. 505,9), beside M. Ś. *khāma* (meagre; G.; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMg. *jhiijai*=*kṣiyate* (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3,4,20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. *jhiijae*, *jhiijāmo* [so to be read], *jhiijihisi* (H.), *jhiijanti* (G. H.); JM. *jhiijāmi* (Rṣabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bomb.]); A. *jhiijai* (Hc. 4,425,1); M. JM. *jhiijanta* (G. H. R.; Kk. III, 68); Ś. *jhiijanti* (Viddhaś. 99,2); M. Ś. A. *jhīna*=*kṣīna* (Hc. 2,3; Kī. 2,84; Pāiyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 29,5; 69,23; 74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMg. Ś. *khīna* (Hc. 2,3; H.; Anug. 282 ff.; Sūyag. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas.; Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has *jhīna*), and *chīna* (Hc. 2,3). — *jhoḍai*=*kṣoḍayati* (throws; hurls; Dhātupāṭha 35,23) in *jhoḍia* (hunter; Deśin. 3,60); *nijjhoḍai*=**nihkṣoḍayati* (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in *jhoḍaliā* (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Deśin. 3,60). — Apparently *jhampai* (wanders about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from *kṣap* (to send off; Dhātupāṭha 35,84c), a root which occurs also in AMg.

jhampittā=*aniṣṭavacanāvakāśam kṛtvā* (having blamed; Samav. 83) and *jhampia*, JM. *jhampiya* (torn; shaken; Deśin. 3,61; Erz. 85,28) and *jhampanī* (eye-brow; Deśin. 3,54; Pāīyal. 250)⁵. — *jharua* (midge; Deśin. 3,54), will be derived from the root *kṣar* with the suffix *-uka* (§ 118. 596), to which belongs *kṣāra* (sharp; pricking; biting) which forms AMg. A. *chāra*, AMg. JM. *khāra* in the meaning "saltpetre", "potash" (§ 321). — Hc. 4,181 mentions also *avaajjhaī* beside *avacchāī*=**avacakṣati* (§ 499).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie 3,54; Altind. Gr. § 209. — 2. JACOBI in ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 59. — 3. Not to be interchanged with AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti* (§ 131.280.479). — 4. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,376.428; on H. 109.333.407; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 16 f. *vijjhāi* as *vidhyā* has entered also into Skt. of the Jainas (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekārthasamgraha, Wien, 1893 p. 1 ff. — 5. BÜHLER, Pāīyal., s. v. *jhampanū*.

§ 327. *tsa* becomes *ccha* (Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25), Mg. *śca* (§ 233), through *thsa*, *tsha*, *tcha* (§ 316): AMg. *kucchanijja*=*kutsaniya* (Pañhāv. 218); *kucchia*=*kutsita* (Ki. 2,92); *ciicchāi*=*cikitsati*, Ś. *cikicchidavva*, AMg. *tigicchāi*, *vitigicchāmi* (§ 215. 555); AMg. *tiicchā*, *tigicchā*=*cikitsā*, *vitigicchā*=*vikikitsā*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (§ 215), Ś. *ciicchaa* (Mālav. 27,12; o to be read with the Pengl MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of BOLLESEN for *cikissaa*, *ciissaa* ed. PANDIT 52,2); AMg. JM. Ś. *bibhaccha* (Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kk. 264,26; Mālatīm. 215,1), Ś. *bīhaccha* (Prab. 45,11; so to be read), Mg. *bīhaśca* (Mrcch. 40,5; so to be read)=*bībhatsa*; M. JM. Ś. A. *macchara*=*matsara* (C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5); JM. Ś. *vaccha*=*vatsa* (Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kk.; Mrcch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6.8.13; 87,17), Mg. *vaśca* (Hc. 4,302); AMg. JM. *sirivaccha*=*śrīvatsa* (Pañhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz.); M. JM. Ś. *vacchala*=*vatsala* (G. H.; Dvār. 501,3; 503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12), Mg. *vaścala* (Mrcch. 37,13; so to be read). — Beside AMg. *charu*=*tsaru* (Pāīyal. 121; Deśin. 5,24; Pañhāv. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh), dialectically was used also *tharu*=**staru* (Deśin. 5,24). In Pañhāv. 322, the text has *ccharu* and the commentary, *ttharu* —.

§ 327^a. In compounds, in which *t* stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with *śa* or *sa*, the phonetic groups **tsa*, *tsa* become *ssa*, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before *t* they become *sa*. *t+śa*: AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from **utśra-payata*, *ūsaviya*=*ucchrāpita*; AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrita*, AMg. also *ussiya*, *samussiya*, *ussaviya*; Ś. *ussāvedi* (§ 64); M. *ussūna*=*ucchūna* (G.); AMg. *ussumka*=*ucchulka* (§ 74); M. *ūsasāi*=*ucchvasii*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūśaśadu*; AMg. also *ussasāi* (§ 64.496); AMg. *ussāsa*=*ucchvāsa* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.), M. A. *ūsāsa* (G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2); *ūsasira*=**ucchvasira* (Hc. 2,145); M. *ūsasira*, JM. *ūsasiya*, Ś. *ūsasida*=*ucchvasita* (G. H. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. III, 513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12); *sūsāsa*=*socchvāsa* (Hc. 1,157); *ūsisa* (Pāīyal. 118, JM. *ūsisa* (Āv. 16,8)=*ucchīrśaka*; the synonymous *ūsaa* (Deśin. 1,140) is=**ucchaya* from *ud+śaya*; *ūsua*=**ucchuka* from *ud+śuka* (Hc. 1,114); AMg. *tassanīkīno*=*tacchanīkinaḥ* from *tad+śanīkinaḥ* (Sūyag. 936). — *t+sa*: AMg. *ussagga*=*utsarga* (Bhag.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *ussappiṇi*=*utsarpiṇi* (Kappas.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *usseha*=*utsedha* (Pāīyal. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *tassammi*=*tatsamjñin* (Āyār. 1,5, 4,2), *tassamdhicāri*=*tatsamdhicārin* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); *ūsaraī*=*utsarati* (Hc. 1,114), *ūsāra*=*utsārita* (Hc. 2,21), JM. *ussārītā* (Erz. 37,28; v. l. *ūsā°*); AMg. *ūsatta*=*utsakta* (Kappas.); *ūsitta*=*utsikta* (Hc. 1,114; Pāīyal. 187), but also *ussikkāi*=**utsiknati* (lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91.144). —

According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in *utsāha* and *utsanna* becomes *ccha* only: M.Ś. A. *ucchāha* (G. R.; Śak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be read with v. l.]; Piṅgala 1,96^a); *ucchanna* (Hc. 1,114); Dh. *ucchādida*=*utsādita* (Mṛcch. 38,18;39,1). In *utsuka* and *utsava*, according to Vr. 3,42; Kī. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *ccha* never appears: Hc. 2,22 permits it beside *s*. So M. *ucchua* (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. *ūsua* (Grr.; G. H. R.¹; Śak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2), Ś. also *ussua*, AMg. JM. *ussuya* (Śak. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1;37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *pajjussua*=*paryutsuka* (Śak. 19,6;57,11) and *pajjūsua* (Vikr. 21,19); Ś. *samūsua*=*samutsuka* (Śak. 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. *ūsua*=*utsukita* (H.); AMg. *osuya*=*autsuka* (Ovav.). — M. Ś. *ūsava*=*utsava* (G. H. R.; Śak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AMg. *ussava* (Vivāhap. 822) and *ūsa* (Nirayāv.); M. *gāmūsava*=*grāmotsava* (G.); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava*=*mahotsava*; Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (§ 158), beside M. Ś. *ucchava*= (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18), Ś. *nirucchava* (Śak. 118,13)². — *utsaṅga* always becomes M. AMg. JM. A. *ucchaṅga* (G. H. [read 422] R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. *ucchallaī* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), JM. *ucchalliya* (Erz.) beside *ūsalaī* (Hc. 4,202), *ūsalia* (Deśin. 1,141), *ūsaliya* (Pāiyāl. 79) from *śal* with *ud* than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE³ from **śal* with *ud*. — *utthallaī* (Hc. 4,174; cf. Kī. 4,46), *utthalliya* (Pāiyāl. 179) *utthalia* (Deśin. 1,107) is with BÜHLER⁴ to be derived from *sthala*+*ud*. Like *t+śa* is treated *t+śa* too in AMg. *chassaya*=*śaśata* (Kappas.).

1. The v. l. to H. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to *ūsua* than to *ussua*.
— 2. Wrongly doubted by LASSEN, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 77,6. — 3. KZ. 33,444 ff. — 4. Pāiyāl. s. v. *utthalliṃ*,

§ 328. *psa* through *phsa*, *psha*, *pcha* becomes *ccha* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25)¹: *chāa*=Pāli *chāta*=*psāta* (hungry; Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 183). In the meaning "meagre" (Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 87), *chāa* is = **kṣāta*². — *accharā*, *accharasā* = Old Hindi *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*³=*apsarā*, *apsarāh* (§ 410), from *chara*=*paras* (form) in M. *samaccharehiṇ*=*samarūpaih* (R. 7,62) and AMg. *uttarakurumāṇusaccharāo*=*uttarakurumāṇusarūpāh* (Paṇhāv. 288)⁴. — *jugucchā*=*jugupsā*; M. *juucchāi*, AMg. *dugucchāi*, Ś. *jugucchedi*=*jugupsati* (§ 215.515). — JM. *ghēcchāmo*=**ghṛpsyāmaḥ* (Āv. 23,6). — *licchāi*=*lipsati* (Hc. 2,21); *licchā*=*lipsā* (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AMg. *licchu*=*lipsu* (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *ppa* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *ppha* by FISCHER, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v. *chāyam*, FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,96. As *chāta* (the word has entered into Skt. too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasaṃgraha, Wien 1893, p. 15 note 2). — 3. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,309. The form *abbharā*, which LASSEN, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 262 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by FISCHER, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka*, *hḱha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka*, *hḱha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kha* (in compounds), *kkha*, *ppa* (in compounds), *ppha*; Ś. *antaḱkaraṇa*=*antaḥkaraṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. *nikkha-ttikada*=*nihkṣatrikṛta* (Mahāv. 27,6); M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. Mg. D. A. *dukkha*=*duḥkha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6;10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14. 20; 383,75; 385,67. 69; Mṛcch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mṛcch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. *niddukha*=*nirduḥkha* (Śak. 76,8); Ś. *dukkhida*=*duḥkhita* (Vikr. 16,6;34,1).

—In AMg. JM. JŚ. is found beside *dukkha* also *duha* (Sūyag. 126.156.259.406; Uttar. 505.574.599.626; Paṇḍāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646.6.14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401.349). Likewise M. *duhia* (Hc. 1.13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2.113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. JM. *duhiya* (Uttar. 599; Vivāhap. 116; T. 6.10; Dvār. 501.10; Kk.), JŚ. *duhida* (Pav. 383.75) = *duhkhita*; M. *duhāvia* (G.); AMg. *duhi* = *duhkhin* (Sūyag. 71; Uttar. 577). The forms with *h* are found almost exclusively in verses, and *duha* often stands directly beside or in parallel with *suha* = *sukha*, which has influenced its form¹. Conversely *sugga* (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8.56) is formed according to *dugga* = *durga* (pain; Deśin. 5.53; Triv. 1.3.105)². — *punapuna-kkaraṇa* = *punaḥpunaḥkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1.32); *antappāa* = *antahpāta* (Hc. 2.77). Whether in Mg. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342.347. *ḥṣa*, *ḥṣa*, *ḥṣa* become *ssa*, Mg. *śśa*, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel *sa*, Mg. *śa* (§ 64): Ś. *cadussāla catuḥśāla* (Mallikām. 209.19; 215.5; text *cau*°), *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśāla* (Mrcch. 6.6; 16.11; 45.25; 93.16.18; Dhūrtas. 6.5); Ś. *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mrcch. 55.16; 78.3; 147.17); Mg. *niśśalida* = *niḥśṛta* (Lalitav. 566.15); M. *niśaṅka* = *niḥśaṅka*, JM. *nissāṅka* (§ 64); M. Ś. *niśaha* = *niḥśaha*, beside *nissaha* (§ 64); JM. *niśesa* = *niḥśeṣa* (KI. 1); Ś. *dussanta* = *duḥśanta* (Śak. 16.12; 76.10), Mg. *duśśanta* (Śak. 160.10); *dussamcara* and *dūsamcara* = *duḥsamcara* (Ki. 2.113); Ś. *dussiliṭṭha* = *duḥśliṣṭa* (Mahāv. 23.19); M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha* beside Ś. *dussaha* = *duḥśaha* (§ 64); Ś. *suṇasseha* = *śunaḥśeṣa* (Anarghar. 58.5; 59.12); *dussīla* = *duḥśīla* (Deśin. 6.67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOBI, KZ. 25.438 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 6.95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations *hṇa*, *hna*, *hma*, *hla* become *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha* (Vr. 3.8; Hc. 2.74.75.76; Ki. 2.95.96.99; Mk. fol. 21) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *avarāṇha* = *aparāṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; G.H.; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; 403.373; Vṛṣabh. 41.2); AMg. JŚ. *puvvaṇha* = *pūrvāṇha* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.75; Mk. fol. 21; Thāṇ. 244; Aṇuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402.354); AMg. *puvvaṇha* (Nāyādh. 332.481; Thāṇ. 244; Kappas. § 212.227; Nirayāv. 53.55; Vivāgas. 124 [text *paccā*°]); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhaṇha* = *madhyāṇha* (Hc. 2.84; H. 494; Karp. 94.6; 96.2; Thāṇ. 243; Āv. 46.6; Erz.; Kattig. 402.354; Ratn. 321.32; Dhūrtas. 7.20; Karp. 59.4; Viddhaś. 40.5; Cait. 92.13; Jivān. 46.10.17). On *majjhaṇṇi* = *madhyamāṇa* see § 148.214. — M. AMg. JM. A. *geṇhaṇi*, JŚ. *giṇhadi*, Ś. Mg. *geṇhadi* = *grhṇāti* (§ 512). — M. Ś. Mg. A. *ciṇha* = *cihna*, beside M. AMg. JM. *cindha* (§ 267). — *jaṇhu* = *jahnu* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75). — *niṇhavaṇi* = *niḥnute*, AMg. *niṇhavaṇja*, *niṇhava*, *aṇiṇha* = *vamāṇa*, M. *niṇhuvijjanti*, Ś. *niṇhuvīdi*, *niṇhuvīda* (§ 473). — AMg. JM. Ś. *vaṇhi* = *vahni* (Bh. 3.33; Hc. 2.75; Ki. 2.99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Mudrār. 253.8). — M. D. *bamha* = *brahman* (Hc. 2.74; H.; Mrcch. 105.21; PG. Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 287); Ś. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 282); *bamhacera* = *brahmacyara* (§ 176); beside dialectical *bambha*, *bambhaṇa*, *bambhacera* (§ 250.267). — *sumhā* = *suhmāḥ* (Hc. 2.74). — *alhāda* = *āhlāda* (Bh. 3.8); AMg. *kahlāra* = *kahlāra* (Bh. 3.8; Hc. 2.76; Ki. 2.95; Mk. fol. 21; Paṇṇav. 35; Sūyag. 813); *palhāa* = *prahlāda* (Hc. 2.76); AMg. *palhāyaṇija* = *prahlādaniya* (Jiv. 821; Nāyādh. § 23), AMg. *palhāyaṇa* = *prahlādana* (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. *palhattha* = **prahlasta*, M. *palhatthai*, AMg. *palhatthiya* (§ 285); AMg. JM. *palhava* = *pahlava* (Paṇḍāv. 42 [text °*hla*°]); Dvār. 498.17), AMg. *pahlavi* (Nāyādh. § 117), *palhaviyā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav. § 55); *lhasai*, *parilhasai* = *hlasati*, *parihlasati* (Hc. 4.197), A. *lhasi* (Hc. 4.445.3).

§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, *hya* may become *yha*: *guyha*=*guhya*; *sayha*=*sahya*. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person: *tuyha*, *uyha* (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been authenticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg.P CP. in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write *jjha* in Mg.; yet in Mr̥ch. 170,18=463,8 ed. GOḌBOLE, the MSS. have *sahya*, *sattha*, *śattha*, *ssattha* for *saijha* of the text, so that *sayha* will have to be written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, *ya* after its transposition has become *ja*, so that *hya* appears as *jha*, and in the inlaut, as *jjha* (Vr.3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Kī. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). Ś. *anugējjhā*=*anugrāhyā* (Mr̥ch. 24,11); AMg. *abhirujjha*=*abhiruhyā* (§ 590), *abhinigijjha*=*abhinigrhya*, *parigijjha*=*parigrhya* (§ 591); *najjha*=*nahyate* (Hc. 2,26), M. *sam̐nājja* (R.); JM. *gujjha*=*guhya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); *gujjha*=*guhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); *dujjha*=*dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); *vajja*=*vāhya* (C. 3,20; Kī. 2,87), *vajjha*=*vāhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); Ś. *saijha*=*sahya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Śak. 51,15); M. *saijha*=*sahya* (R.). On *hijjo*, Ś. *hio*=*hyas* see § 134.

§ 332. *hra* and *rha* are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140). *daśārha* becomes AMg. *dasāra* (Hc. 2,85; Antag. 3; Thān. 80.133; Nāyādh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirāyāv. 78 ff.; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671). *hrada* becomes AMg. *haraya* (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. *draha*, AMg. *daha* (§268.354). — *hva*, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as *vha*, which becomes *bha*, in the inlaut -*bbha*- (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Kī. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). *gabbhara*=*gahvara* (Kī. 2,97). — AMg. JM. *jibbhā*=*jihvā* (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk. fol. 26; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. *jibbhindiya* (Vivāhap. 32.531; Thān. 300; Paṇhāv. 529), A. *jibhīndiu* (Hc. 4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *jihā*, Mg. *yihā* (§ 65). — *vibbhala*=*vihvala* (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Kī. 2,72), AMg. *vēbbhala* (Bh. 3,47; Paṇhāv. 165), beside M. JM. *vihala* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JM. *vihālīya*=*vihvalita* (Erz.). On *bhibbhala*, *bimbhala*, M. *bhēmbhala*, Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* see § 209

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there cerebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — *tta*=*ṭṭa*: Ś. *maṭṭiā*, AMg. JM. *maṭṭijā*=*myṭṭikā* (§49). — AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṭṭa* (round; §49); AMg. *oṇiṇyaṭṭa*=*avanivṛṭṭa* (Kappas.), *viyaṭṭa*=*vivṛṭṭa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. *vatta* (Ovav.), *nivvatta* (Ovav.); JM. *jahāvatta*=*yathāvṛṭṭa* (Erz.), and throughout *tt* in the rest of the dialects — From both *pattana* and *paṭṭana*, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only *paṭṭana* (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thān. 347; Paṇhāv. 175.246.406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,407) — *ttha*=*ṭṭha*: AMg. JM. *utthei*, A. *utthāi* **utthāi*, M. *utthia*, AMg. JM. *utthiya*, beside Ś. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthida*; AMg. *kaviṭṭha* beside AMg. Mg. *kaviṭṭha*=*kapittha* (§309). — *ddha*=*ḍḍha*: AMg. JM. *iddhi* beside usual *iddhi* (§57). — AMg. *vaddhi*, *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi*, M. *parivaddhi*=*parivṛddhi*; M. AMg. JM. S. Mg. *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi* (§ 53). — AMg. *saddhā*=*śraddhā* (Hc. 2,41; Sūyag. 603.611.620; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *jāyasa-ddha* (Vivāhap. 11.101.115.191), *uppannasaddha*, *samjāyasa-ddha* (Vivāhap. 11.12); AMg. JM. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,2,2,8.10: Erz.); AMg. *saddhi*=*śraddhin* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 71; Kappas.); AMg. *mahāsaddhi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), *saddhiya*=*śraddhika* (Thān. 152), *saddhāi*=*śraddhakīn* (Ovav.), beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *saddhā* (Hc. 1,12; 2,41; Hc.

Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 2; Uvās.; Erz.; Śak. 38, 5; Prab. 42, 2, 8; 44, 11; 46, 8; 48, 1, 2 etc.), Mg. *saddhā* (Prab. 47, 2; 63, 4), M. *saddhālua* (H.) and always AMg. *saddahāi* (Vr. 8, 33; Hc. 4, 9; Ki. 4, 46; Mk. fol. 54; Vivāhap. 845, 1215; Uttar. 805), *saddahā* (Uttar. 804), JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kaṭtig. 399, 311); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134; Nāyādh. § 133); M. *saddahimo* (G. 990); AMg. *saddahanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), *saddahe* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 24; Uttar. 170), *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151), *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *asaddahanta* (Āv. 35, 4); AMg. *saddahāna* (Hc. 4, 238; Sūyag. 322), *asaddahāna* (Sūyag. 504); AMg. JŚ. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4, 9; Sūyag. 596, 625; Pav. 388, 6); AMg. *asaddahamāna* (Vivāhap. 1215); M. *saddahia* (Bh. 8, 33; R. 1, 38); JŚ. *saddahāna* (Pav. 388, 6). — *nta*=*ṇṭa*: AMg. *viṇṭa*, *tālavīṇṭa*, M. *veṇṭa*, M. AMg. Ś. *tālavēṇṭa*, AMg. *tāliyaṇṭa*=*vrnta*, *tālavrnta* (§ 53). — *ntha*=*ṇṭha*: *gaṇṭhāi*=*grathnāti* (Hc. 4, 120), beside *ganthōi* (Mk. fol. 54); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. *gaṇṭhi*=*granthi* (Hc. 4, 120; G. H.; Karp. 10, 2; 76, 4; Sūyag. 719; Vivāhap. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 385, 69; Śak. 144, 12; Prab. 18, 1; Bālar. 36, 3; 130, 6; 148, 16; 297, 16; 299, 1; Viddhaś. 71, 1; 83, 1; Karp. 23, 2; 76, 10; 112, 5; Kārṇas. 11, 1; D. Mṛcch. 104, 7); AMg. *gaṇṭhilla* (Vivāhap. 1308); AMg. *gaṇṭhiga*=*granthika* (Sūyag. 869); AMg. *gaṇṭhibheya* (Vivāgas. 100; Uttar. 289; Paṇḥāv. 151 [°da]); but *gaṇṭhibheya* (Paṇḥāv. 121); *gaṇṭhicchea*=*granthiccheda* (Deśin. 2, 86; 3, 9); AMg. *gaṇṭhicchedaya* (Sūyag. 714), *gaṇṭhiccheda* (Sūyag. 719); Mg. *gaṇṭhiścedaa* (Śak. 115, 4, 12; so to be read); Ś. *niggaṇṭhidagaṇṭhira* (Bālar. 131, 14); JŚ. *duggaṇṭhi* (Pav. 385, 68); AMg. *niyaṇṭha*=*nirgrantha* (Sūyag. 962, 986, 989, 992; Vivāhap. 149 ff.), *mahāniyaṇṭha* (Uttar. 635), but AMg. *ganthima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Paṇḥāv. 519; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561, 10; Anuog. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [so to be read]), seldom *gaṇṭhima* (Nāyādh. 269); AMg. JŚ. *gantha*=*grantha* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 11; Paṇḥāv. 506; Kappas.; Kattig. 399, 317, 318; 404, 386, 387); AMg. *saṃgantha* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1); AMg. JŚ. *niggantha*=*nirgrantha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 1; 2, 6, 1, 1; 2, 15, 29; p. 132, 4 ff.; Sūyag. 938, 958, 964, 992; Vivāhap. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404, 386); AMg. *nigganthi* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 1). — *nda*=*ṇḍa*: *kaṇḍaliā*=*kandarikā* (Hc. 2, 38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. *kaṇḍali vva* as v.l. for *visalaa vva*=*viśalateva* at H. 410. — AMg. *bhiṇḍimāla* beside usual *bhiṇḍivāla*=*bhindipāla* (§ 248). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group *gdha* in *thaddha* (Pāiyāl. 75), M. *thaddha* (Hc. 2, 39; H. 537)=**stagdha* from **vstagh*, to which belong Pāli *ṭhahati* (stands), Pkt. *thāha* (ground; bottom), *thaha* (residence), *thaggha* (deep), *atthāha*, *atthaggha* (bottomless, deep; § 88), and *utthaṅghāi* (throws up), M. *utthaṅghia* (§ 505), *utthaṅghaṇa*, *utthaṅghi* (G.). — *chūḍha* with its compounds=*kṣubdha*, is a formation of analogy (§ 66).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. *upphāvēi*=*utplāvayati* (Hc. 2, 106); M. *uppuā*=*utpluta* (H.); *utthala*=*utsthalā* (R.); M. *ucchevaṇa*=*utk-sepaṇa* (R.); AMg. *niṭṭhāṇa*=*niṭṭsthāṇa* (Vivāgas. 102); AMg. *kajasāvattā*=*kṛtasāpatnyā* (Deśin. 1, 25); M. *māhappa*=*māhātmya* (G. R.); M. AMg. Ś. *maccha*=*matsya* (R.; Sūyag. 71, 166, 274; Uttar. 442, 595, 944; Vivāgas. 136; Vivāhap. 248, 483); Mg. *maśca* (§ 233); AMg. *macchattāe* (Vivāgas. 148); *macchabanda* (Erz.); M. *ujjoa*=*uddya* (G. H. R.); M. Ś. *aggha*=*arghya* (H.; Śak. 18, 3; 72, 3); M. *sāmagga*=*sāmagryaka* (R.); M. AMg. *taṃsa*=*tryasra* (§ 74); JM. *vaṭṭā*=*vartman* (path; Deśin. 7, 31; Erz.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṃti*=*paṅkti* (§ 269); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vimjha*=*vinḍhya* (§ 269); M. *attha*=*astra* (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-

priate places. *jyotsnā* forms M. AMg. JM. Ś. D. A. *jōnhā* (Hc. 2,75; G. H. R.; Karp. 1,4; 2,5; 29,1; 88,2; Mallikām. 29,3; Jiv. 787; Kk.; Śak. 55,2; Mālav. 28,10; Bālar. 292,15; Anarghar. 277,3; Mallikām. 124,7; 243,15; 252,3; Karnas. 16,8; D. Mrcch. 101,9; A. Hc. 4,376,1), *jōnhāla* = **jyotsnāla* (Hc. 2,159), Ś. *jōñhiā* = *jyautsnikā* (Mallikām. 238,9), or AMg. *dosinā* (§ 215), Ś. *dosinī* = *jyautsnī* (§ 215). M. JM. *sāmattha* (Hc. 2,22; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); presupposes one **sāmartha* (§ 281); *sāmarthya* regularly becomes *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22). — Pāli *disvā* makes it apparent that in AMg. *dissā* (Sūyag. 728; Vivāhap. 1414), *padissā* = **pradiṣṭvā* (Vivāhap. 1415) too the long is original and the short is metrical. There-to points also AMg. *dissam āgajam* = *drṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695), where *dissam* stands, according to § 349 for *dissam*, and this again stands for *dissā* according to § 114. The regular form from *drṣṭvā* would be **diṭṭhā*. On the loss of aspiration in conjunct consonants see § 213.

III. DROPPING OFF AND ENTRY OF CONSONANTS IN THE ANLAUT.

§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of enclitics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: *ūā* = Pāli *ūkā* = *yūkā* (Deśin. 1,139; Triv. 1,3,105) beside *jūā* (Deśin. 1,159), AMg. *jūyā* (Āyār. 2,13,18; Anuog. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), *jūva* (§ 230)¹; *ōkkanī* = **yūkanī* (louse; Deśin. 1,159). — AMg. *ahā°* = *yathā°* (Hc. 1,245); pro ex. *ahāsujaṃ* = *yathāśrutam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); *ahāsuttaṃ ahā-kappaṃ ahāmaggaṃ* = *yathāśrutam yathākalpaṃ yathāmārgam* (Āyār. p. 137,26 [°*sujaṃ*]; Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhap. 165; Uvās.; Kappas.); *ahārāṇi yāe* = **yathāratnikāya* (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thān. 355 f.); *ahānupuvvīe* = *yathānupūryā* (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.; *ahārīhaṃ* = *yathārtham* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās.); *ahāsaṃthaḍaṃ* = *yathāsaṃstṛtam* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); *ahāsuḥuma* = *yathāśukṣma* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhap. 213); *āhattahīyaṃ* = **yāthātathīyam* (Sūyag. 484,506) *āhākaḍaṃ* = **yāthākṛtam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405,408); *āhāpariggahīya* = **yāthāparigrhīta* (Ovav.). — AMg. *āva-* = *yāvat* in *āvakahā°* = **yāvatkathā°* (Sūyag. 120); *āvakahāe* = **yāvatkathāyai* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thān. 274); *āvakaham* = **yāvatkathām* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); *āvakahīya* = **yāvat-kathika*, all in the meaning "continuously", "for life". — AMg. *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial *t* or *y* occurs also in *uyha*, *ujjha*, *ubbha*, *umha* (§ 420, ff.). Cf. *yāim* § 427.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,241.

§ 336. *y*, as in Pāli, is put before *eva* in Mg. P. *yeva*, behind short or shortened vowels *yyeva*. Mg. *idō yyeva*, *mama yyeva* (Hc. 4,302), false *eva* (Lalitav. 567,1); P. *savvassa yyeva* = *sarvasyaiva*; *tūrātō yyeva* = *durād eva* (Hc. 4,316,323). As in the case of original *y* (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas do not authenticate the rule, but they write *jeva*, *jjeva*, *jēvva*, *jṇēvva*, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in Ś. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. *jēvva*, Hc. 4,280 *yyeva*, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts¹. In A. *jeva* with the dropping off of the syllable *va* (§ 150) and transition of *e* to *i* (§ 85) becomes *ji* (C. 2,27^b; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form *je* is found in M. (H.

524 v. l. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Āv. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,27^a p. 46; Kī. 4,83) as an expletive. The v. l. *cia* in H. 524 points to the correct reading, *ya* enters in A. before *iva* also, which becomes *jīva*, *jeva* = **yiva* (§261). A. *jīva* seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli *viya* from **yiva* through transposition². But Pāli *viya* cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, and these from AMg. JM. *viva*, *piva* and dialectical *miva*. Hence Pāli *viya*, M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya* are to be derived from *viva*, which is to be equated as = *v*+*iva* according to § 337. *via* is the single prevailing form in Ś. Mg. (Vr. 12,24; Mṛcch. 2,16.19.21.22.25; 3,17.20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 10,1; 133,12.24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. (Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kaṇp. 1,4; 16,4; 64,8), yet more rarely *viya* in AMg. JM. (C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use *va*, *vva*, *iva* (§ 92.143). *viva* is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83; Paṇhāv. 505,6.7.10; Nāyādh. §35.92; p.349.1450; Uttar. 593.596.634; Vivāgas. 83.239; Vivāhap. 171; Nirayāv.; Kaṇpas.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. (H. R.). After anusvāra *viva* becomes in M. AMg. JM. *piva* (C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83), where on the analogy of *vi*, *pi*=*api* might have had a hand. The derivation of *piva* from *pi*=*api*+*iva*³ makes the meaning improbable. So *piva* M. (G. s. v. *iva*; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Paṇhāv. 231.340.508; Nāyādh. § 23.122; p. 269.271.289.354.439.740.1045.1433; Vivāgas. 112; Rāyap. 255; Vivāhap. 794.807.823.943; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts *piva* to P. — *miva* (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,27i; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH⁴ to be doubted⁵, will have originated either from *viva* or *piva*, through assimilation with the preceding *m*⁶, as we find also *mi* for *vi*, *pi*=*api*⁷. Cf. *heṃ meva*, *hevaṃ meva* in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART S. V.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,280. — 2. CHILDERS s. v. *iva*; E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; WINDISH, BKSGW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH Vr. und Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDISH, l.c. p.234 f.; KONOW, GGA, 1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H.¹ p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 69; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDISH, l.c. p. 234. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read *piva* for *mmiva*. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,459; WEBER, H. s. v. *mi*. Also inscriptionally in JM. (Kī. 10; beside *vi* and *pi*).

§ 337. *v* is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, AMg. JM. *viva*=*iva* (§ 336); AMg. *vuccaī*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi*=*ucyate* (§544); AMg. JM. *vutta*=*ukta* (Sūyag. 74. 844. 921. 974. 986. 993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; T. 4,19;5,2; Āv. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. *vubbhāi*=*uhyate* (§ 266.541). *vuccaī*, *vutta*, *vubbhāi* may be derived also from the present stem¹=**vacyate*, **vakta*, **vabhyate* with transition of *a* to *u* according to § 104, as it is certain for M. *vuttha*=**vasta*=*uṣita*, from *Vvas* (to live; § 303.564)², and for AMg. *parivusiya* from *Vvas* (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2,3,1;1,7,4,1,5,1). JŚ. Ś. Mg. have *utta* (Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleyāk. 23,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. *paccutta*=*pratyukta* (H. 918); AMg. *nirutta*=*nirukta* (Paṇhāv. 406); M. Ś. *puṇarutta* (G. H.R.; Mṛcch. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3), AMg. *apūnarutta* (Jīv. 612; Kappas.). — A. *vutthae*=*uttiṣṭhanti* (Piṅgala 1,125^a); M. JM. *vūḍha*=*ūḍha* (R.; Erz.), beside M. *ūḍha* (G.)³; JM. *vuppanta*=*upya-māna* (Āv. 25,29); *vōccattha* (inverted cohabitation; Deśin. 7,58)=

*uccastha from *ucca*, as AMg. *vuccattha* (= *paryasta*; *bhraṣṭa*; Uttar. 245) points.

1. WINDISCH, BKS GW, 1893, 230, note 1. — 2. Cf E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not *vūḍha* in R., as otherwise often, is = *vyūḍha*. *vu*, *vo* often is = *vi* + *ud*.

§ 338. Prothesis of *h* is found in *hare* (Hc. 2,202; Ki. 4,83), *hire* (Vr. 9,15), beside *are*¹; *hira* (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. *ira* = *kira* (§ 184); AMg. *huttha* = *oṣṭha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. *havyāe*, dative from **arvāka* = *arvāñc* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575.578.601.616.625 f.). The adverb AMg. *havyam* "quickly", which the commentators explain with *śighram* or *arvāk* and with WARREN² and LEUMANN³ they trace back to *arvāk*, also supports this. JACOBI⁴ doubtfully equates it as = *bhavyam*, WEBER⁵ earlier, likewise doubtfully = *savvam* = *sarvam*, later⁶ = *havyam* = "at call" (Thāṇ. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 f. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620.624 f. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyap. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Aṇuog. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. FISCHER, KB. 7,462; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 474. — 2. Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's p. 52 ff. — 3. Aup. S. s. v. — 4. Kalpas. s. v. — 5. Bhag. 1,416, note 1. — 6. Verzeichniss 2. 2, 423, note 3.

IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: *maṇā* = *manāḥ* (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tāva* = *tāvat* (§ 185); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā* = *paścāt* (§ 301); AMg. *abhū* = *abhūt*; *akāsi* = *akārsit* (§ 516); AMg. *akarimsu* = *akārṣuḥ* (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lengthened (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the *a*-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. *uamahihara* = *udak* + *mahādhara* (G. 631); *uasindhu* = *udak* + *sindhu* (395); M. *eagunā* = *etadguṇaḥ* (Hc. 1,11); *jaarakkhaya* = *jagadrakṣaya* (G. 50), and several times in *jagat* in G. R.; AMg. *taḍṭaḍṭiḍṭa* = *taḍṭitaḍṭita* (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. *taḍṭibhāva* = *taḍṭidbhāva* (G. 316); M. *viasia* = *viyat* + *śrita* in rhyme with *viasia* = *vikasita* (R. 6,48); M. *vijjuvilasia* = *vidyudvilasita* (4,40), and more often in *vidyut* in G. R.; M. *sarisamkula* = *saritsamkula* in rhyme with *sarisam kulam* = *sadrṣam kulam* (R. 2,46); M. *saṁrisa* = *saṁpurusa* (G. 992), beside frequent *sappurisa*; *sabhikkhu* = *sadbhikṣu* (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of *s* of *dus*, in dependence upon the compounds with *su*, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. JM. *dulaha* = *durlabha* (Ki. 2.114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp. 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with *sulaha* 14; Kk. 271,33). M. *dulahattaya* = *durlabhata* (G. 503); AMg. *ducinna* = *duścirṇa* (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to *sucinna* = *sucirṇa* standing before it; AMg. *dumuha* = *durmukha* (Paṇhāv. 244), beside *sumuha*; AMg. *durūva* = *dūrūpa* (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Thāṇ. 20), mostly beside *surūva* = *surūpa*; AMg. *duvanna* = *durvanna* (Sūyag. 628.669.738; Vivāhap. 480[*ṇṇa*]), beside *suvaṇṇa*; M. *duṣaḥa*

=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1,115; G. 158,511; H. 486); *duhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115; cf. §231); M. *dohagga*=*daurbhāgya* (H.).

§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. *chac ca*=*ṣaṭ ca*, *chac ceva*=*ṣaḍ eva*, *chap pi*=*ṣaḍ api* (§ 441); AMg. *asiṇād i vā avahārād i vā*=*aśanād iti vā opahārād iti vā* (Āyār. 2,1,5, 1); AMg. *sucirād avi*=*sucirād api* (Uttar. 235); AMg. *tamhād avi ikkha*=*tasmād apikṣasva* (Sūyag. 117); AMg. *jad atthi*=*yad asti* (Thān. 33); AMg. *aṇusaraṇād uvaṭṭhāṇā*=*anusmaraṇād upasthānāt* (Dasav. N. 656,1); Mg. *yad iṣaṣe*=*yad icchase*; *mahad antalam*=*mahad antaram* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 136,18). In compounds: AMg. *tadāvaraṇijja*=*tadāvaraṇiya* (Uvās. § 74); AMg. *tadajjhavaṣiṇā*, *tadaḍḍijjakkarāṇā*, *tadaḍḍihovaiṭṭā*=*tadadhyavasitāḥ*, *tadarpitakaraṇāḥ*, *tadarthopayuktāḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 50,31 ff.); AMg. *tadubhaṇya* (Ovav. § 117,122); JM. *taduvikkhākāriṇo*=*tadupekṣākāriṇaḥ* (Kk. 261,27), beside the cases like M. *eāvattā*=*etadavasthā* (R. 11,132), AMg. *eyānurūva*=*etadanurūpa* (Kappas. § 91,107). In AMg. *tārūvattāe tāvannattāe tāphāsattāe*=*tadrūpatvāya tadvarṇatvāya tatsparśatvāya* (Paṇṇav. 523 ff. 540), *tāgan-dhattāe tārasattāe*=*tadgandhatvāya tadrāsattvāya* (Paṇṇav. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. *ejārūva*=*etadrūpa* (Āyār. 2,15,23,24; Sūyag. 992; Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *a* is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. *saḍaṅgavi*=*ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Ovav.; Kappas.). *r*, originating from *s* in *dus* and *nis*, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1,14; Ki. 2,124): *duravagāha* (Hc. 1,14); AMg. *duraikkama*=*duratikrama* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); M. *durāroha* (H.); JM. *duraṇucara*, *duranta*, *durappa*=*durātman* (Erz.); AMg. *durahiṇiṣā*=*duradhiṇiṣā* (Uvās.); Ś. *durāgada*=*durāgata* (Vikr. 32,11); M. JM. *duria*=*durita* (G.; Ki. 1,22); *duruttara* (Hc. 1,14); M. Ś. *nirantara*, JM. *nirantara* (Hc. 1,14; G. H.; Erz. Mṛcch. 68,19; 73,8; Prab. 4,4); M. *niravēkkha*=*nirapekṣa* (R.); M. *nirālamba* (H.); M. *nirikkhāṇa*=*nirikṣaṇa* (H.); A. *niruvama*, JM. *niruvama*=*nirupama* (Hc. 4,401,3; Erz.); *nirūsua*=*nirutsuka* (G.). The rule holds good also for *prāduṣ*: AMg. *pāduresae*=*prāduṣeṣayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *pādura-kāsi*=*prādurakāṣit* (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. *pāubbhūya*=*prādurbhūta* (Vivāgas. 4,38; Vivāhap. 190; Kappas.), *pāubbhavittā* (Vivāhap. 1201) and *pāukujjā*=*prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474), *pāukarissāmi*=*prāduṣkarissāmi* (Uttar. 1), against *karissāmi pāum* (Sūyag. 484), *karēnti pāum* [text *pāu*], *karemi pāum* (Sūyag. 912,914). Cf. § 181. So also M. *bāhir uphāim*=*bāhir uphāni* (H. 186). On original *r* see § 342 ff., on *m* § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects *aḥ*, arising from the original *ar*, mostly becomes *o*: M. AMg. *anto*=*antaḥ* from *antar* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 2,1,2,7; 3, 10; 2,7,2,1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.); AMg. *aho*=*ahaḥ* from *ahar* (§ 386); AMg. *pāo*=*prātaḥ* from *prātur* (Kappas.). *puṇaḥ* from *puṇar* becomes M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. Dh. Ā. *puṇo* in the meaning "again", "afresh" (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,5,3; 1,2,1,1 2,2; 1,4,1,3,2,2; 1,6,4,2; Sūyag. 45,151.178.277.433. 468.497; Uttar. 202; Āv. 28,14; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 383,24; 384,49; 386,10; 388,8; Kattig. 403,375; Mṛcch. 29,11; 58,8,13); Mg. Mṛcch. 176,5,9; Prab. 58,8; Dh. Mṛcch. 39,17; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,3), especially in the compounds M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. D. *puṇo vi* (Ki. 2,126; G.H.; Āv. 8,34.52; 12, 35; Erz. 27,6; 33,37; Kattig. 402,367; Mṛcch. 20,24; 21,7,41,6; 45,16; 81,9; 94,19; Śak. 22,2; 68,2; Vikr. 11,2; 13,18; 28,1; 82,17; Mahāv. 65,2; Caṇḍak. 93,14; Mg. Mṛcch. 80,5; 115,9; 117,3; 132,22; 148,14; 162,9; D. Mṛcch. 103,17), for which AMg. prefers *puṇar avi* (Ki. 2,126; Āyār. 1,8,2,6; 2,1,7,3; Sūyag. 100,643.842; Vivāhap. 1038.1496; Jīv. 287.288.296; Paṇṇav. 848;

Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26; 498,14; Erz.); according to Ki. 2,126 one says also *puṇa vi*. For *puṇo* M. has after vowels and anusvāra also *uṇo*, with dropping off of *p* according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning "but", "now" *puṇaḥ* becomes in AMg. JM. JŚ. *puṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhap. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,33; 652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50; 12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. too sometimes *puṇa* after anusvāra (G. H.), but mostly *uṇa*, as in Ś.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. *kiṃ puṇa* (Mṛcch. 169,4) we should read with GODABOLE (458,9), *kiṃ uṇa*. In M. are found in the meaning "but", "now" also *puṇo*, *uṇo*. In A. *puṇaḥ*, in both the meanings, becomes *puṇu* (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Piṅgala 1,33.34.37.42 ff. 77. 84.90.95.100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final *r* the words sometimes go over to the *a*-stem and are inflected. So AMg. *antaṃ* (Āyār. 2,10,6), *anteṇa* in the combination *anto anteṇa* (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11), *antāo* (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. *pāyaṃ=prātar* (Sūyag. 337.341); *na uṇā=na *puṇāt* (Hc. 1,65); AMg. *puṇāṃ* (Paṇhāv. 389; Uvās. §119. 174), *puṇāi* (Hc. 1,65; Paṇhāv. 414), *na uṇāi* (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From *anto* AMg. forms also *antohimto*, that is to say, an ablative="from within" (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāp. 408; Rāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343.365.

§ 343. Original *r*, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic initial of the second member in a compound: *antarappa=antarātman* (Hc. 1,14); M. *antaria*, AMg. JM. *antariya*, Ś. *antarida=antarita* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 67,2; 73,10; Vikr. 31,1; 41,17; 43,7); M. Ś. *puṇarutta=puṇarukta*, AMg. *apuṇarutta* (§ 337); AMg. *apuṇarāvatti=apuṇarāvartin* (Uttar. 859; Kappas.), *apuṇarāvattaga* (Ovav.). So also AMg. JM. *puṇar avi* (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. *puṇar ei*, *puṇar eṃti=puṇareti*, *puṇar yanti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3.2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. *antomuḥa=antarmukha* (G. 94); *antovīsambha=antarvisrambha* (Hc. 1,60); M. *antohutta* (Deśin. 1,21; H. 373), *antosindūria* (H. 300); AMg. *antojala* (Nāyādh. 764), *antōjjhusira=antaḥsuṣira* (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), *antoduṭṭha=antarduṣṭa* (Thāp. 314), *antomāsa* (Thāp. 364); AMg. JM. *antomuhutta* (Vivāhap. 180.273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49.322; Uttar. 977 f. 997.1003.1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rṣabhap. 43); AMg. *antomuhuttiya* (Vivāhap. 30), *antomuhuttūna* (Samav. 215), *antosālā=antaḥsālā* (Uvās.), *antosalla=antaḥsalya* (Sūyag. 695; Thāp. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhap. 159; Ovav.); JM. *antonikkhanta=antarniṣkrānta* (Rṣabhap. 45); AMg. *pāosiṇāna=prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. *antouvarim=antarupari* (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands *antovarim*, which with P (cf. J) is to be read as *anto avarim ca pariṭṭhiṇa*; AMg. *antoanteura* (§ 344). In M. *antovāsa=antaravakāsa* we should add *anta* (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. *antabhamara=antarbhramara* (Kappas.), *antarāyalehā=*antarrājallekhā* (Kappas.); *puṇapūṇakkaraṇa=puṇaḥpuṇaḥkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); AMg. *puṇapāsaṇayāe=*puṇaḥpāṣyanatāyāi* (Vivāhap. 1128). Before consonants there takes place also assimilation: Ś. *antakkarāṇa=antaḥkaraṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); *antaggaa=antargata* (Hc. 2,60); *antappāa=antaḥpāta* (Hc. 2,77); JM. Ś. *puṇaṇṇava=puṇarnava* (Dvār. 504, 5; Karp. 83,3); JŚ. *apuṇabbhava=apuṇarbhava* (Pav. 386,5); *puṇapūṇakkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1,32). The ablative *puṇā=*puṇāt* (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. *apuṇāgamaṇāa* (G. 1183); AMg. *apuṇāgama* (Dasav. 640,22); likewise *antā* should be viewed in *antāvei=antarvedi* (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in *ā* can be explained also according to § 70.

§ 344. In *antahpura* and its derivatives *aḥ* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. *ānteura* (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūyag. 771; Paṇḥāv. 262; Nāyādh. § 19.102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327. 1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Śak. 38,5;57,11;70,7;137,8;138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3;74,7;84,16;85,6; Bālar. 243,12; Viddhaś. 83,7; Karp. 35,3;45,10;99,4; Pras. 45,4.13; Jivān. 42,16; Kāmsav. 55,11; Karṇas. 18,22;37,16 etc.); M. *anteuraa* (at H. 980); AMg. JM. *anteuriyā*, Ś. *anteuriā*=*antahpurikā* (Nāyādh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaś. 11,1). Against it there appears *anto* in AMg. *antoanteura* (Nāyādh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), *antoante-puriya* (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 *antapuriyaṃsi* is edited. *e* appears for *aḥ* also in *anteāri*=*antaścārin* (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the *a*-stems in AMg. Mg. and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes *e*, *aḥ* arising from *as* becomes *o*. AMg. JM. *aggao*, Ś. Mg. *aggado*=*agrataḥ* (§69); AMg. *piṭṭhāo*=*prṣṭhāt*, AMg. JM. *piṭṭhao*, Ś. D. *piṭṭhādo*=*prṣṭhataḥ* (§69); in the nom. sing. PG. *patibhāgo*=*pratibhāgaḥ* (§363); M. *rāo*=*rāgaḥ* (H. 12); JM. *putto*=*putraḥ* (Erz. 1,2); JS. *dhmmo*=*dharmaḥ* (Pav. 380,7); Ś. *niio*=*niyogaḥ* (Mrcch. 3,7); Dh. *puliso*=*puruṣaḥ* (Mrcch. 34,12); Ā. D. *govāladārao*=*govāladāraḥ* (Mrcch. 99,16;102,15); P. *tāmoto*=*dāmodaraḥ* (Hc. 4,307); CP. *mekho*=*meghaḥ* (Hc. 4,325); A. *kāmo*=*kāmaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,4); but AMg. *purise*, Mg. *puliṣe*=*puruṣaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6; Mrcch. 113,21). Likewise *maṇo*=*manaḥ*, *saro*=*saraḥ*, *jaso*=*yaśaḥ* (§356). In AMg. there is found *-o* also, instead of *-e*, for *-aḥ* of the nominative in verses (§17), and before *iva* in prose: *khuro iva*=*kṣura iva*, *vālujākavalo iva*=*vālukākabala iva*=*vālukākabala iva*, *mahāsamuddo iva*=*mahāsamudra iva* (Nāyādh. §144); *kummo iva*=*kūrma iva*, *kuñjaro iva*=*kuñjara iva*, *vasabho iva*=*vṛṣabha iva*, *siho iva*=*simha iva*, *mandaro iva*, *sāgaro iva*, *cando iva*, *sūro iva* (Sūyag. 758=Kappas. §118). Beside Kappas. *saṅkha iva* at the place cited, Sūyag. has *saṅkha* [sic] *iva*; Kappas. has *jīve* [sic] *iva*, Sūyag. *jīva* [sic] *iva*; both of them have *viḥaga* [sic] *iva*, and the adjectives always end in *-e* beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that *-e* has to be written throughout and that perhaps *va* is to be written for *iva*, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. *-aḥ* goes back to *as*, as in the ablative singular in *-tas*: M. *koḍarāo*, JM. *kōṭṭarāo*=**koṭarātaḥ*=**koṭarāt* (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. *āgārāo*=*āgārāt* (Uvās. §12); JS. *carittādo*=*caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6); Ś. *mūlādo*=*mūlāt* (Śak. 14,6); Mg. *haḍakkādo*=*hṛdakāt* (Mrcch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in *-maḥ*=*mas*: M. *lajjāmo*; AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo*; JM. *tālemo*; Ś. *pavisāmo* (§455); AMg. *bhavissāmo*; JM. *peccissāmo*; AMg. Ś. *jāṇissāmo* (§521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says *bahave*=*bahavaḥ* and *bahūn* (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. *ne*=*naḥ* (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts. *adhaḥ* becomes M. JM. *aho* (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rṣabhap. 30), AMg., however, mostly *ahe* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2;1,6,4,2;1,8,4,14;2,1,1,2,3,2,10,6;2,15,8; Sūyag. 52.215.222. 271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410. 753; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *ahedisāo*=*adhodisaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); *ahebhāga* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4), *ahebhāgi*=*adhobhāgin* (Sūyag. 829), *ahacara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), *ahegāmini* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), *ahavāya*=*adhovāta* (Sūyag. 829), *ahesiram*=*adhaḥśiraḥ* (Sūyag. 288), but *ahosiram* (Sūyag. 268; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), *aheloga* beside *adhologa* (Thāp. 61 f.) and *ahe ahologe* (Thāp. 189), also independently standing, probably falsely, *aho* (Sūyag. 476; Uttar. 513); *pure*=*purah* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), *purekamma*=**puraskarman* (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,

6,4,5; Paṇhāv. 492); *purekaḍa*, *purēkkhaḍa* and *purakkḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§ 49. 306), *porekacca*=**paurahkṛtya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *porevacca*=**paurovṛtṭya* Paṇnav. 98,100,103; Vivāgas. 28,57; Samav.134; Ovav.; Kappas.), everywhere beside *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (§ 77); *rahe*=*rahaḥ* (Uttar. 331,333), but *rahokamma*- (Ovav.); Ś. *suvo*=*svaḥ*, but AMg. *suve*, *sue* (§ 139), beside AMg. *suṇarāe*=*svorātre* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). As in *suṇarāe* so in AMg. *adham*=*adhaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *aham* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4; 1,7,1,5) and *puram*=*poraḥ* (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the *a*-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read *ahe°*, *rahe°*. On AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā* and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. *o* from *aḥ* mostly becomes *u* (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); *janu*=*janaḥ* (Hc. 4,336); *lou*=*lokaḥ* (Hc. 4,366,420,4), *sihu*=*siṃhaḥ* (Hc. 4,418,3); *bhamaru*=*bhramaraḥ*, *makkadu*=*markaṭaḥ*, *vānaru*=*vānaraḥ* (Piṅgala 1,67); *ṇisiaru*=**ṇisicaraḥ*, *dhārādharu*=*dhārādharah* beside *sāmalo*=*śyāmalah* (Vikr. 55,1,2); *tavu*=*taṇaḥ*, *siṇu*=*śiraḥ* (Hc. 4,441,2,445,3); *aṅguli*=*jajjariāu aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4,333); *vilāsiṇu*=*vilāsinih* (Hc. 4,348); *sallaṇu*=*sallakih* (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dh.: *luddhu jūḍialu papalīṇu*=*ruddho dyūtakaraḥ prapalāyitaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,1); *viṇṇaḍu pādu*=*vipratipāḥ pādah* (Mṛcch. 30,11); *esu viḥavu*=*esa viḥavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,17) beside nominatives in *o* (§ 25.345). Further in the abl.sing. in P. *tūrātu*, *tumātu*, *mamātu*, beside *tūrāto*, *tumāto*, *mamāto*=*dūrāt*, *tvāt*, *mat* (Hc. 4,321); M. *ṇahaalāu*=*nabhastalāt*, *raṇṇāu*=*araṇyāt* (§ 365); JŚ. *udayādu* (Pav.383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§ 365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. *icchāmu*, *accemu*, *dāhāmu*, *vuccāmu*, A. *lahimu* (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound *o* may enter for Skt. *as*, *aḥ* before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M.AMg. JM. in the stem in *-a* (§ 407): M. *jasavamma*=*yaśovarman* (G.), JM. *jasavaddhana*=*yaśovardhana* (Ki.4), beside *jasoā*=*yaśodā* (G.H.); AMg. JM. *namōkkāra*, beside *namojāra*, *navajāra* M. *ṇamakkāra* (§ 306); *ṇahaara*=*nabhaścara* (§ 301); M. *ṇahaala*=*nabhastala* (G. H. R.); *ṇahavaṭṭha*=*nabhaḥprṣṭha* (G.), *tamaraaṇiara*=*tamoraṇonikara* (R. 3,34); AMg. *tavalova*=*tapolopa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. JM. *tavokamma*=*taṇaḥkarman* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *tavovana*=*tapovana* (Śak. 16,13;18,10;19,7;90,14; Vikr.84,20); JM.Ś. *tavaccaraṇa*=*taṇaścaraṇa* (§ 301); M. A. *avarōppara*=*oparaspara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspara* (§ 195. 311); M. AMg. JM. *maṇahara*=*manohara* (Hc. 1,156; G. H.; Rāyap. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMg. JM. A. *maṇohara* (Hc. 1,156; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 66,15); M. *maṇaharaṇa* (Karp. 51,6;55,4); AMg. *maṇapaoga*=*maṇaḥprayoga*, *maṇakaraṇa* (Thāṇ. 114) beside *maṇojoga* (Thāṇ.113); *uraada*=*urastaṭa* (Ki 2,110); AMg. *uraparisaṇṇa*=*uraḥparisaṇṇa* (Thāṇ.121); AMg. *mihokahā*=*mūṭhahkathā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMg. *maṇosilā* (Hc. 1,26; Ki. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūyag. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṇnav. 25; Uttar. 1041), beside *maṇasilā* (Hc. 1,26;4,286; Ki. 2,153), *maṇāsīlā* (Hc. 1,26,43; cf. § 64) and *maṇamsīlā* (Hc. 1,26; cf. § 74); M. *siraviḥatta*=*śirovibhaktā* (G. 51), beside *siracchea*=*śiraśccheda* (G. 322), *sirakamala*=*śiraḥkamala* (G. 342), *siralagga*=*śirolagna* (H. 529); but Ś. *sirodhara* (Śak. 144,12), Mg. *siloluha*=*śīroruḥa* (Mṛcch. 17,2). The stem *accharā* (§ 97.410) is from *apsaras* (§ 97.410). On AMg. *ahe°*, *pure°* see § 345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the *a*-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sandhi (§ 156 ff.): M. *mahiraantaria*=*mahirajontarita* (R. 13,52), *mahiraūṭṭhāna*=*mahirajauṭṭhāna*, *mahiraūḍghāna*=*mahirajauḍghāna* (R. 13,37,49), *asuroraṭṭhi*=*asurorosthi*=*asura*+*uras*+*asthi* (G. 7), *ṇahaṇṇa*=*nabhoṇṇa* (G. 139,231).

235 etc.), *ṇahāhoa* = *nabhaābhoga* (G.416), *ṇahuddeso* = *nabhaūddeśa* (G.558), *tamānubandha* = *tamonubandha* (G. 506), *tamugghāa* = *tamāūdghāta* (G. 1179) etc.

§ 348. Final *n* and *m* become anusvāra (Vr. 4,12; G. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34); Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taśsim* = *tasmin*; *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, = *etasmin*; Ś. *jassim*, Mg. *yaśsim* = *yasmin*; Ś. *kassim*, Mg. *kaśsim* = *kasmin*; AMg. Ś. *assim* = *asmin*; Ś. *imassim*, Mg. *imaśsim* = **imasmin* (§ 425 ff.); AMg. P. *bhagavam*, Ś. Mg. *bhaavam* = *bhagavān*; Ś. Mg. *bhavam* = *bhavān*; AMg. *āyavam* = *ātmavān*, *nāṇavam* = *jñānavān*, *bambhavam* = *brahmavān*; AMg. *cittam* = *tiṣṭhan*, *paṇam* = *pacan*, *kuvam* = *kurvan*, *hanam* = *ghnan* (§ 396); AMg. *rāyam*, Ś. *rām*, P. *rājam*, Mg. *lām* = *rājan* (§ 399); A. *vām* = *vātena*, *koheṃ* = *krodhena*, *daivem* = *daivena*, after dropping off of the final *a* (§ 146). — *aham* = *aham*; *tumam* = *tvam*; M. Ś. *aam*, AMg. JM. *ayam* = *ayam*; Ś. *iam* = *iyam* (§ 417 ff.); AMg. JM. JŚ. *iyānim*, *idānim*, Ś. Mg. *dānim* = *idānim* (§144); Ś. *sādam*, Mg. *śādam* = *svāgatam* (§203); M. *jalām*, *jalahim*, *vahum* = *jalām*, *jaladhim*, *vadhūm* (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); Ś. *aṅgānam* = *aṅgānām*, *devīnam* = *devīnām*, *vadhūnam* = *va dhūnām* (Śak. 32,8; 43,11; 89,6); Mg. *devadānam* *bamhaṇānam* *ca* = *devatānām* *brāhmaṇānām* *ca* (Mṛcch. 121,10); M. AMg. JM. *kām*, Ś. Mg. *kāduṃ* = *kartum* (§ 574). Cf. also §75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old *m* remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34)¹: M. *surahim* *iha* *gandham* *āsisirabālamai-luggamāna* *jambūna* *maarandam* *āravindam* *ca* = *surabhim* *iha* *gandham* *āsisirabāla-mukulodgamānām* *jambūnām* *makarandam* *āravindam* *ca* (§ G. 516); M. *tam* *aṅgam* *eṇhim* = *tad aṅgam* *idānim* (H.67); AMg. *aṇiccam* *āvāsam* *uēnti* *jantuṇo* = *anityam* *āvāsam* *upayanti* *jantavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *cittamantam* *acittam* *vā* (Suṃyag.1); JM. *kāraviam* *acalam* *imam* *bhavaṇam* (KI.22); *appiam* *eam* *bhavanam* (KI. 23); *vissariyam* *tuham* *egam* *akkharam* = *vismṛtam* *tvayaikam* *akṣaram* (Āv. 7.33); JM. *tavassinim* *eyam* = *tapasvinim* *etām* (Kk. 262,19); JŚ *adisayam* *ādasamuttham* *visajjādidam* *aṇovamam* *aṇantam* = *atisayam* *ātmāsamuttham* *viṣayā-titam* *anupamam* *anantam* (Pav. 380,13); Mg. *maanam* *aṇaṅgam* = *madanam* *anaṅgam*, *saṃkalam* *iṣalam* *vā* = *saṃkaram* *iṣaram* *vā* (Mṛcch. 10,13;17,4)².

1. WEBER, H¹. p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the nasal instead of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (KI. 10.11.12; PG. 7.45.49). False is also *vanso* (KI. 2), *rohīnsakūa* (KI. 20,21). Cf. § 10.

§ 349. In AMg. JM. JŚ. *m* remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in *m* is to be strongly emphasized, especially before *eva*, before which in this case a small vowel is often lengthened, and against §83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMg. *evam* *eyam* *bhante* *taham* *eyam* *bhante* *avitaham* *eyam* *bhante* *icchiyam* *eyam* *bhante* *paḍicchiyam* *eyam* *bhante* *icchiyapaḍicchiyam* *eyam* *bhante* (Uvās. § 12; Cf. Vivāhap. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. §13.83, and above § 114); AMg. *evam* *akkhāyam* = *evam* *ākhyātam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMg. *evam* *egesim* *no* *nāyam* *bhavaḥ* = *evam* *ekeṣām* *no* *jñātam* *bhavaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMg. *jam* *eyam* *bhagavajā* *paveiyam* *tam* *eva* *abhisamēccā* = *yad* *etad* *bhagavatā* *praveditam* *tad* *evābhisametya* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMg. *ayam* *teṇe* *ayam* *uvacarāe* *ayam* *hantā* *ayam* *e'ttham* *akāsī* = *ayam* *steno* *'yam* *upacarako* *'yam* *hantāyam* *i'ttham* *akārṣit* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMg. *aham* *avi* = *aham* *api* (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JM. *amhānam* *eva* *kule* *samuppannā* *paramabandhavā* = *asmākam* *eva* *kule* *samutpannāḥ* *paramabāndavāḥ* (Dvār. 500,1); JM. *evam* *imam* *kajjam* = *evam* *idam* *kāryam* (Erz. 5,35); JM. *evam* *avi* *bhanie* = *evam* *api* *bhanite* (Āv. 16,24); JŚ. *pattegam* *eva* *pattegam* = *pratyekam* *eva* *praty-*

kam (Pav. 379,3); *sayam evādā=svayam evātmā* (Pav.381,15). Sometimes even secondary anusvāra (§181) is transformed into *m* under this condition: AMg. *iham egesim āhiyam=ihaikeśam āhitam* (Sūyag. 18); *so'ccam idam=śrutvedam* (Āyār. 2,16,1; cf. §587), *dissam āgayām=dr̥ṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695; cf. §334), under the pressure of metre; AMg. *iham āgae=ihāgatah* (Ovav. §38), *iham āgacchējjā=ihāgacchet* (Ovav. §21), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on *iha*. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write *m* instead of *ṁ*, which is considered as correct by JACOBI¹, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt., very often write *m* for *ṁ*, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. (Karp. 6,4) writes *dhuvāgīdam ālavīadi*, KONOW 3,3, however, correctly has *dhuvāgīdam ālavīadi*; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has *cāruttanām avalambedi*, but KONOW 17,7 *caṅgattanām avalambedi*; ed. Bomb. 25,2 *āsanām āsanām*, but KONOW 23,9 *āsanām āsanām* etc. As here, so in AMg. JM. too, we should review the writing *m* for *ṁ*, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether *m* is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous words as admitted by JACOBI. The MSS. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in *uparilikhitam ajātāye = uparilikhitam *adyatvāya* (PG.7,45) and in *sayam ānatam=svayam ājñaptam* (PG.7,49), whilst *evamādīkehi=evamādīkaiḥ* (PG. 6,34) may be interpreted as a compound. On *m* for *ṁ* HOFER's² opinion is more correct than that of LASSEN³.

1. ZDMG. 35,677; Erz. §24, xxx. Among the examples quoted by JACOBI, good many are from verses, hence incapable of verification, as *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1, 2,1,3); *īnam eva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4); *attānam eva* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), where *eva* should be deleted, as also after *saccam*, so that the verse reads : *saccam samabhiyānāhi mehāvi mārām tarāi; satthāram evam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1) etc. A thoroughly doubtless Sanskritism is *tenam iti* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4). The same holds goods for *m* as for *t* (§203).—2. De Prakrita dialecto §66.—3. Inst. §53.

§ 350. An anvsvāra, that originated from original *n*, *m*, disappears often before vowels and consonants. M.AMg.JM. JŚ. *tammi, jammi, kammi*, AMg. *taṁsi, jaṁsi, kaṁsi=tasmin, yasmin, kasmin* (§425 ff.); M. *jōvvanammi = *yauvanasmin=yauvane*; AMg. *logaṁsi=loke*; JM. *tihuyānammi=tribhuvane*; JŚ. *nānammi=jñāne* (§366^a): in the first person singular optative: M. *kuppejja=kuppeyam*, in AMg. with lengthening of the final *hanējjā=hanyām*; even S. *kuppe*, from **kupyem=kuppeyam*, has the dropping off, (§460); in the absolute in **tvānam*: AMg. *cittihittāna* (§583), *kāuāna* (§584); M. AMg. JM. *gantūna* (§586); JŚ. *kādūna* (§21.584); likewise for AMg. *-ccāna, -jāna* beside *-ccānam, -jānam* (§587.592). In the genitive plural the forms without anusvāra are dominant in M. (§370). They are found also in AMg. (§370), especially before enclitics, as *duhāna ja suhāna ja=duhkhānām ca sukhānām ca* (Uttar. 626); *subhaddappamuhāna ja devīnam=subhadrāpramukhānām ca devīnam* (Ovav. §40.47.56) against *subhaddappamuhānam devīnam* = (Ovav. §43); *dasāna vi vaṭṭamānānam=daśānām api vartamānānam* (Uvās. §275). Further in JM., as *°purisāna atthārasapagaibbhanāna=°purusaṇām aṣṭādaśaprakṛtyabhyantarānām* (Āv. 12,44.45); *doṇha °viruddhāna naravarindāna=°dvayor °viruddhayor naravarendrayoḥ* (Āv. 26,7); *savaṇāna=śravāṇayoḥ* (Erz. 2,13); *puttāna=putrānām* (Erz. 29,8), and in JŚ., as *saṅgāsattāna tadha* [text *taha*] *asaṅgānam=sangāsaktānām tathāsaṅgānām* (Kattig. 398,304), *radānāna* [text *raja*] *savvaḥḥa riddhīna=ratinām, sarvadyotānām, riddhīnām* (Kattig. 400,325); *disāna savvaṇa suppasiddhānam=disām sarvāsām suprasiddhānam* (Kattig. 401.342). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anusvāra stand beside one another (§370), as in

other analogous cases (§ 180), the forms will have to be written with ardhacandra in place of denasalization. To me it appears necessary, especially in places where in the texts at present there stands a denasalized form in the nominative and accusative singular on account of metre. Thus M. *ṇisasia varāia=niḥśvasitaṃ varākya* (H. 141) which is to be read as *ṇisasiā varāiā*, since the ardhacandra does not make position; AMg. *taṇṇa saṃ ca jahā; serayaṃ=tvacaṃ svām ca jahāti svairakaṃ* (Sūyag. 118); *pāṇehi ṇaṃ pāvā vīojayanti=prāṇair nūnaṃ pāpaṃ vīojayanti* (Sūyag. 278); *appege vaṇṇaṃ juṇṇanti=*apyeke *vāciṃ [=vācaṃ] juṇṇanti* (Sūyag. 169); *vāsaṃ vayaṃ vittī pakappayāmo=varsaṃ vayaṃ vrttiṃ prakappayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 948); *taṃ isi tālayanti=tam ṛṣiṃ tādayanti* (Uttar. 360); *taṃ jaṇṇa tālayanti* (Uttar. 365); *aṇṇaṃ vā pupphā saccittaṃ=anyad vā puṣpaṃ sacittaṃ* (Dasav. 622,39); *tilapiṭṭhā pūṇṇāgaṃ=tilapiṭṭhaṃ pūṇṇāgāṃ* (Dasav. 623,7); Mg. *gaṇṇa gācanta=gaganāṃ gacchan* (Mṛch. 113,11); *khaṇṇa yūlake=kṣaṇaṃ jūṭakaḥ* (Mṛch. 136,15); *khaṇṇa uddhacūde=kṣaṇaṃ ūrdhvacūdaḥ* (Mṛch. 136,16); A. *māṃ jāṇṇa mialoṇṇa=mayā jñātāṃ mīgalocaṇṇaṃ*; *navataḷi=navataditaṃ*; *puhavi, piā=prthivīm, priyāṃ* (Vikr. 55,1.2.18). Likewise in all cases, where at present *m* is printed, but the metre requires a short syllable, as AMg. *abhirujja kāyā viharimsu ārusiṇṇā tatha himsimsu=abhiruḥya kāyāṃ vyahārsur āruṣya tatrāhimsiṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); AMg. *saṃvaccharā sāhiyaṃ māsaṃ=saṃvatsaram sādhiḥkaṃ māsaṃ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3); AMg. *na vijjā bandhanaṃ jassa kimci vi=na vidyate bandhanaṃ soṣya kiñcid api* (Āyār. 2,16,12). The same rules hold good also for the nasal vowel marked with bindu. So are found in M. AMg JM. JŚ. A. in the instrumental plural the form *s* in *-him, -hī, -hi* beside one another (§ 180.368), and in AMg. Mf. the denasalized form is used before enclitics. So AMg. *kāmehi* [text **him*] *ja saṃthavehi ja=kāmaḥ sa saṃstavaiṣ ca* (Sūyag. 105); AMg. *hatthehiṃ pāehi ja=hastābhyāṃ pādābhyāṃ ca* (Sūyag. 292); AMg. *bahūhiṃ dimbhaehi ja dimbhīyāhi ja dāraehi ja dāriyāhi ja kumārehi ja kumāriyāhi ja saddhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 431.1407); AMg. *pariyaṇaṇaṇaṇamahilīyāhiṃ saddhiṃ=pariyananagaramahilikābhiḥ sadhrim* (Nāyādh. 449), but *pariyaṇamahilāhi ja saddhiṃ* (Nāyādh. 426); AMg. *bahūhiṃ āghavaṇāhi ja paṇṇavaṇāhi ja viṇṇavaṇāhi ja saṇṇavaṇāhi ja bahūbhīr ākhyāpanābhiḥ ca prajñāpanābhiḥ ca vijñāpanābhiḥ ca saṃjñāpanābhiḥ ca* (Nāyādh. 539; cf. Nāyādh. § 143; Uvās. § 222).

§ 351. A final *-am*=Pkt. *-am* becomes *u* in A. So in the accusative singular of the masculine and the nominative, accusative singular of the neuter of *a*-stems, in the genitive singular of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first person singular of the future of Parasmaipada, in the absolutive in original *-tvīnam* and in isolated adverbs: *vaasu=vāyasam* (Hc. 4,352); *bharu=bharam* (Hc. 4,340,2); *hatthu=hastam* (Hc. 4,422,9); *vaṇavāsu=vanavāsam* (Erz. 3,22); *aṇṇu=aṇṇam* (Hc. 4,332,2); *dhaṇu=dhanam* (Kk. 272,35); *phalu=phalam* (Hc. 4,341,2); *mahu, majjhu=mahyam* (Hc. s. v. *ma*; *mahu* pro ex. also Vikr. 58,9; 59,13.14) *tujjhu=*tuhyam* (Hc. s. v. *tu*); *pāvīsu, karīsu, paīsīsu*=Pkt. *pāvissam karissam pavissam=prāpsyāmi, karīsyāmi, praveksyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4); *gampiṇu, gameḥpiṇu=*gantvīnam, gamītvīnam; karēḥpiṇu=*karītvīnam; brōḥpiṇu=*brūtvīnam* (§ 588); *ṇiccu=nityam* (Erz. 3,23); *ṇisaṇku=niḥśaṃkam* (Hc. 4,396,1) *paramatthu=paramārtham* (Hc. 4,422,9); *saṃāṇu=samānam* (Hc. 4,418,3). So also *viṇu* (Hc. 426 and s. v.; Vikr. 71,7) from **vīnaṃ=vinā* (§ 114). Also in Dh. *-am* becomes *u*: *paḍimāṣuṇṇu deulu=pratimāṣuṇṇaṃ devakulam; ganthu=grantham; daṣasuvaṇṇu kallavattu=daṣasuvaṇṇaṃ kalyavartam* (Mṛch. 30,11; 31,16; 34,17); but very often beside it stands the accusative in *-am*: *saṃavisamaṃ=samaviśamam; kulam; deulam; jūḍam; savvaṃ suvaṇṇam; daṣasuvaṇṇam kallavattam* etc. (Mṛch.

30,8.9.12.18;32,8;34,12). Also in A. of Piṅgala and Kālidāsa the form in *-am* and *-ā* is dominant.

§ 352. Final *-kam* of Skt. becomes *-um*, *-ū* in A. So in the nom. acc. sing. neuter of the *a*-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres. and in certain adverbs; *hiṇḍaū=hrdayakam* (Hc.4,350.2 and s. v.); *rūḍaū=rūpakam*; *kuḍambāū=kuṭumbakam* (Hc.4,419.1.422,14); *haū=*ahakam* (Hc.4,375 and s. v.); *tuhū=tvakam* (§ 206); *jāṇaū=*jānakam=jānāmi*; *jīvaū=jīvāmi*; *cajaū=tyajāmi* (§ 454); *maṇāū=JM. maṇāgam* (§ 114)=Skt. **manākam=manāk* Hc. 4,418.426); *sahū=sākhām* (§ 206). Further in the infinitively used nouns in original *-kam*, as *akkhaṇaū=ākhyānakam* (§ 579) and in *chaū=*eṣakam* in the meaning of *etad* (Hc. 4,362).

V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§ 353. The consonants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pālī¹, whereby the cases mentioned in § 341. 343.348.349 spring forth. Especially frequently *m* is so employed: AMg. *anna-m-anna°*, *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa°=anyonya°* (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhap. 105 106), *anna-m-anno* (Āyār. 2,14,1), *anna-m-annaṁ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 630; Paṇhāv. 231; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇeṇaṁ* (Vivāhap. 123; Kappas. § 72; Nirāyāv. § 11), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇāe* (Vivāhap. 931), *anna-m-annassa* (Āyār. 2,5,2,2.3.5; 2,8, 6,2; Vivāhap. 187.508.928; Uvās § 79; Thāp. 287; Nirāyāv. § 18; Ovav. § 38.89), *anna-m-annehim* (Sūyag. 633.635; Nirāyāv. § 27), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇāṇaṁ* (Vivāgas. 74); JŚ. *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇehim* (Pav. 384,47). Whilst in Vedic *anyānya*, M. *aṇṇaṇṇa*, JM. *annanna* (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member, in Skt. *anyonya*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *aṇṇoṇṇa* (§ 84) the nominative is benumbed, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that *m* is here originally authorized. The same holds good for M. AMg. A. *ēkka-m-ēkka*, AMg. *ega-m-ega=ekaika*, M. *ēkka-m-ēkka°* (R. 5,85.87; 13,87); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkam* (Hc. 3,1; R.5,48; 8,32); AMg. *ega-m-egam* (Sūyag. 948.950; Nāyādh. § 125); A. *ēkka-m-ēkkaū* (Hc. 4,422,6); *ēkka-m-ēkkeṇa* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *ega-m-egāe* (Vivāhap. 224; Nāyādh. § 125); M. AMg. *ēkka-m-ēkkassa* (H.416.517; Śak. 101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. *ega-m-egassa* (Thāp. 456; Vivāhap. 215.222); M. *ēkka-m-ēkke* (R.3,56); AMg. *ega-m-egasi* (Vivāgas.50; Vivāhap.1043ff. 1191); AMg. *ega-m-ege* (Vivāhap. 214); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkā* (R 7,59; 10,41).—Sandhi-consonant is *m* in: *aṅga-m-aṅgami=aṅge 'nge* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *virāyāṅga-m-aṅge=virājitāṅgāṅgāh.ujjorīyaṅga-m-aṅge=uddiyotitāṅgāṅgāh* (Ovav. § 11.16), *hatthathuttacitta-m-aṇandīya=hr̥statuṣṭacittānandita* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 17; Kappas. § 5.15; Bhag. 2,260), beside *°cittē ānandīye* (Kappas. 50). Often before *ādi*: AMg. *haya-m-āi goṇa-m-āi gaja-m-āi siha-m-āi no=hayādayo gavādayo gajādayaḥ siṁhādayaḥ* (Uttar. 1075); AMg. *sugandhatēlla-m-āiehim=sugandhatailādīkaiḥ* (Kappas. § 60); AMg. *°candana-m-ādiehim* (Uvās. § 29); AMg. *°rayaṇa-m-āieṇaṁ=°raṇādikena* (Kappas. § 90; cf. § 112; Ovav. § 23); AMg. *āhāra-m-āiṇi* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *palāṇḍulasuṇa-m-āihim* (Āv. 40,18); JM. *kāmadheṇu-m-āiṇa*, *logapāla-m-āiṇaṁ* (Kk 270,29; 275,37); JŚ. *rūva-m-ādiṇi=rūpādiṇi* (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. *āriya-m-aṇāriyāṇaṁ* (Samav.98; Ovav. § 56); AMg. *sārassaya-m-āicā=sārasvatādityau* (Thāp.516); AMg. *esa-m-aṭṭhe=eso'rthaḥ* (Vivāhap.193; Nāyādh. § 29; Ovav. § 90; Kappas. § 13), *esa-m-āghāo=esa āghātāḥ* (Dasav. 625,39), *esa-m-aggi=eso 'gniḥ* (Uttar. 282), *eṇa-m-aṭṭhassa* (Nirāyāv. § 8), *āyāre-m-aṭṭhā=ācārārthāt* (Dasav.636,9),

lābha-m-aṭṭhio = *lā* 'hārthikah' (Dasav. 641,42); AMg. *sarvajña-m-aṇuṇṇā* = *sarvajñānujñāta* (Paṇhāv. 469,539); AMg. *vatthagandha-m-alamkāraṃ* (Sūyag. 183; Thāṇ. 450; Dasav. 613,17); AMg. *tiyāṇṇa-m-aṇagayāim* = *atito-ṭhannānāgatāni* (Sūyag. 470; cf. Vivāhap. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. *dīha-m-addha* = *dirghādhvan* (Thāṇ. 41.129.370 570; Sūyag. 787, 789; Vivāhap. 38.39.848.1128.1225 f. 1290; Paṇhāv. 302,326; Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 464.1137); AMg. *atthāha-m-atāra-m-aporisīyāmsi udayāmsi* = **astāghātārāpauruṣīya udake* (Nāyādh. 1113); AMg. *āukkhemassa-m-appaṇo* = *āyuhkṣemasyātmanaḥ* (Āyār. 1,7,8,6); JM. *aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu* = *aṭṭhādaśārgaleṣu* (Kī. 19), *ūru-m-antare* (Āv.15,18); AMg. *purao-m-aggao ya* = *purato 'grataś ca* (Vivāhap.830). *y* and *r* are employed more rarely as saṃdhi-consonants. In AMg. *egāheṇa vā dujāheṇa vā tiyāheṇa vā caūjāheṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,5,2,3,4) — cf. *egāham vā dujāham vā tiyāham vā* (Jiv. 261.286.295). — *caūjāheṇa* = *caturāheṇa* might have been influenced by *dujāheṇa* = *dvyahena* and *tiyāheṇa* = *tryahena*, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after *egāheṇa*, *egāham*. AMg. *kim aṇeṇa bho-y-aṇeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3); AMg. *su-y-akkhāya* = *svākhyāta* (Sūyag. 590.594), beside *suakkhāya* (Sūyag. 603.620); AMg. *vejavi-y-āyarakkhi* = *vedavid ātmarakṣitaḥ* (Uttar. 453); *bahu-y-aṭṭhiya* = *bahuvasthika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting *y*); AMg. *mahu-y-āsava* = *madhvāsra* (Ovav. § 24); JM. *rāyā-j-u* = *rājā + u* (Āv. 8,1); JM. *du-y-āṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* (Erz. 59,13). *r* is established etymologically in AMg. *vāhi-r-ivosahem* = *vyādhir ivasadhah* (Uttar. 918), *sihi-r-iva* (Dasav. 633, 34), *vāyu-r-iva* (Sūyag. 758; Kappas. § 118), where *r* is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, *vahir ivo*, *sihir iva* (so LEUMANN), *vājur iva* (so JACOBI may be written. *r* is the saṃdhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. *aṇu-r-āgajam* = *anvāgatam* (Vivāhap. 154)³; AMg. *du-r-āṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* (Uttar. 767; commentary *duaṅgula*; cf. above JM. *dujāṅgula*); AMg. JM. *dhi-r-atthu* = *dhig astu* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3.105; Nāyādh. 1152.1170 ff.; Uttar. 672.677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21). AMg. *su-r-aṇucara* = *svanucara* (Thāṇ. 350) is built according to *duranucara*, already cited above⁴, and reversely *duāikkham* (Thāṇ. 349) would have been formed according to *suāikkham*, if the reading is correct.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 63; WINDISCH, BKS GW. 1893, 228, ff.—2. The texts oscillate also in the following examples from AMg. between *nna*, and *ṇṇa*. — 3. Abhayadeva says: *rephasyāgamikatvād anvāgatam anurūpam āgamanam he skandaka taveti dīyam*. — 4. Ayyha adeva: *rephaḥ prākṛtatvāt*. Cf. BEZZENBERGER, BB. 4,340, note 2.

VI. TRANSPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground: *airāhā* = *acirābhā* and *āihārā* (lightening; Deśin. 1,34). — *alacapura* = *acalapura* (Hc. 2,118). — *āṇāla* = *ālāna* (Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kī. 2,117), *āṇālakhambha*, *āṇālakkhambha* = *ālānastambha* (Hc. 2,97). — *kaṇeru* = *kareṇu* (Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Kī. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli¹. In AMg. *kareṇu* is used in the feminine (Nāyādh. 327.328.337.338; Uttar. 337.954), and in Ś. in the masculine (Pāiyāl. 9; Mālatim. 203,4). So also JM. *kareṇuyā* = *kareṇukā* (Pāiyāl. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. *ṇāḍāla*, M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* = *lalāṭa*, beside *ṇalāḍa*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*, Ś. *lalāḍa* (§ 260). — JM. A. *draha* = *hrada* (Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1), AMg. *daha* (Hc. 2,80.120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,2; Aṇuog. 386; Paṇnav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vivāhap. 119.361.659; Thāṇ. 94), frequently also in compounds, as

kesariddaha, *tigicchaddaha* (Thān. 75.76), *paṇṇamaddaha*, *puṇḍarīyaddaha* (Thān. 75 ff.; Jiv. 582 f.); M. AMg. *mahaddaha* (H. 186; Thān. 75.382); AMg. A. *mahādaha* (Thān. 176; Hc. 4,444,3), beside AMg. *haraya* with a separation vowel (§ 132). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *dihara* for **dīraha* (§ 132)² = *dirgha* (Hc. 2,171; G. H. R.; Karp. 43,11; Nandis. 377; Erz.; Uttarar. 125,6; Bālar. 235,15; Mallikām. 81,9; 123,15; 161,8; 198,17; 223,9; Hc. 4,414,4). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau*, *aṇovāhaṇaga*, *ja*, AMg. *chattovāhaṇa*, beside Ś. *uvāṇaha* (§141). — JM. Ś. A. *marahattṭha*=*mahārāṣṭra* (Hc. 1,69; 2,119; Kk.44; Bālar. 72,19; Piṅg. 1,91.116^a.140^a), M. *marahattṭhi* (Viddhaś. 25,2), beside *maradhī* (§ 67). — AMg. *rahassa* for **harassa*=*hrasva* (Thān. 20.40.445.452), beside *hassa* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,4,2,10; Vivāhap. 38.39), *hassikarēnti* (Vivāhap. 126). The MSS. and texts more often have *hrassa* (Thān. 119; Nandis. 377; WEBER, Bhag. 1,415). According to Bh. 4,15 one says *hamśa* as well (§ 74). — AMg. JM. A. *vāṇārasī*=*vārāṇasī* (Hc. 2,116; Antag. 63; Nāyādh. 508.787.791.1516.1528 [text *vārāṇasī*]; Nirayāv. 43 ff.; Paṇṇav. 60; Thān. 544; Uttar. 742; Vivāgas. 136.148 f.; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Erz.; Piṅgala 1.73 [*vaṇarasī*; GOLDSCHMIDT *varaṇasī*]; Hc. 4,442,1). In Ś. stands *vārāṇasī* (Bālar. 307,13; Mallikām. 156,24; 161,17; 224,10), likewise in Mg. (Prab. 32,9), for which the ed. Bomb. 78,11 rightly reads *vālāṇasī*, which is to be corrected as *vālāṇasī*. — *haliāra* beside *hariāla*=*haritāla* (Hc. 2,121). — *halua* beside *lahua*=*laghuka* (Hc. 2,122). — *hulāi* beside *luhāi* (wipes off; Hc. 4,105). For *luhāi* Vr. 8,67; Kī. 4,53 have *lubhāi*. Through this it becomes probable that *hulāi* may be equated as **bhulāi*, and that it is identical with *hulāi* (throws; Hc. 4,143), to which might be connected *bhullāi* (falls down; Hc. 4,177), the passive, and JM. Ś. *bhulla* (forgotten; forgetfully; bewildered; Āv. 46,5; Karp. 113,1) the past passive participle³. — It is phonetically impossible to equate M. *iharā* (Pāiṇal. 241; G.), with the grammarians (Hc. 2,212; Mk. fol. 38) as **itarathā*, and to explain it through transposition from **iarahā* with Mk. and WEBER⁴. Since in M. the MSS. mostly have *iarā* (H. 711; R. 11,26), *iharā*, as stated in § 212, will have originated from **itharatā*. According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *idaradhā*.

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 2,116. — 2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. — 3. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 4. On Hāla 711.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

A. THE NOUN.

§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in *t*, *n*, *ś*, *s*, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. *vivaā*=*vipadā* (Śukas. 33,7); AMg. *dharmavio*=*dharmavidah* (nom. plur.; Sūyag. 43); AMg. *vāyā*=*vācā* (Dasav. 630.32; Uttar. 28); AMg. *vejāvido*=*vedavidah* (nom. plur. Uttar. 425). *āo* (water)=*āpaḥ* (Triv. in BB. 3,239) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter *āpas*, which is quoted by Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be traced back to the nom. plural². In AMg. *āo* has become one masculine *āu* (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 1,61), likewise *teo*=*tejah* has become *teu*, however, in the formular combination *āu teū vāu*=*āpas tejo vāyuh* the vowel has been arranged according to *u* of *vāu*=*vāyu*. Likewise *kāyasā* is said for *kāyeṇa*, beside *maṇasā vayasā*, and *balasā* for *balena* beside *sahasā* (§ 364) and others in details (§ 358. 364. 367. 375. 379. 386). So *āu teū vāu*

(Sūyag. 606; Samav. 228 [text *teo*]; Dasav. 614,40 [text *u] Āyār. 2,2,2,13 [text *āo teo vāu*]); also *vāu teū āū* (Vivāgas. 50); *āu teū vā vāu* (Sūyag. 19); *āu teū ja tahā vāu ja* (Sūyag. 37); *āū agaṇi ja vāu* (Sūyag. 325); *puḍhavi āu gaṇi vāu* (Sūyag. 378); *āuteuvāuvaṇassaisarira* (Sūyag. 803); *āuteuvāuvaṇassainānavihānam* (Sūyag. 806); *āusarira teusarira vāusarira* (Sūyag. 792); *āuteuvaṇassai°* (Vivāhap. 430); *teuvāuvaṇassai* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,11; Samav. 17); *āukāya* (Vivāhap. 1439); *āukāiya teukāiya vāukāiya* (Vivāhap. 1438 f. [text mostly °ū°]); *Ānuog. 260*; *Dasav. 614,38*), *āukkāiya* (Jiv. 41); *āulēsse* (Vivāhap. 10); *āubahula* (Jiv. 226); *āujivā tahāgaṇi vāujivā* (Sūyag. 425; cf. Uttar. 1045. 1047); *teuphāsa=tejahsparśa* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 1,8,3,1); *teujiva* (Uttar. 1053); *teū vāu ya* (Uttar. 1052). The two words are used as wholly independent *u*-stems as well: nom. sing. *āū* (Sūyag. 332; Paṇṇav. 369³); nom. plur. *āū* (Thān. 82); gen. plur. *āūnam* (Uttar. 1047), *teūnam* (Uttar. 1055). In a non-technical sense *tejas* is treated in AMg. as the remnant of a neuter noun in -as.—From the nom. plur. *sarao=saradaḥ* of *śarad* (autumn), in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A., a masc. sing. *saraa*, AMg. JM. *saraya*=Pāli *sarada*⁴ has been inferred (Vr. 4,10. 18; Hc. 1,18,31; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 34; G.H.R.; Thān. 238.527; Nāyadh. 916; Kk. 264,6; Bālar. 127,14; Hc. 4,357,2); likewise *diso* from *disaḥ* (Ki. 2,131; in case the word is not to be read as *disā*). In other respects the treatment of the consonantal stem is a twofold one. In a small number of cases the word, after loss of the final consonant, is made end in the vowel preceding it and crosses over the vocalic declension corresponding to the gender, and in majority of words the stem is augmented by insertion of -a in the masculine and neuter, and of -ā or -ī in the feminine. See § 395 ff.

1. STENZLER, BB. 6,84. — 2. So with WEBER, Bhag. 1,397, note 2 and E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 67, more correctly than BB. 3,240. — 3. Malayagiri on Paṇṇav. 369 remarks: *āū iti puṁlingatā prākṛtalakṣaṇavaśāt saṁskṛte tu strītvam eva*. — 4. So with CHILDERS, Dictionary s. v. more correctly than BB. 3,240.

§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been partly produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. JM. the neuter in -as, in pursuance of the nomin. in -o (§ 345), is used in the masculine (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35): M. *tuṅgo ccia hoi maṇo=tuṅgam eva bhavati manah* (Hc. 284); *esa saro=etat saraḥ* (G. 513); *khudio maheṇḍassa jaso=*kṣuditaṁ mahandrasya yaśaḥ* (R. 1,4); *aṇṇo aṇṇassa maṇo=anyad anyasya manah* (R. 3,44); *māṛulad-dhatthāmo mahirao=māṛutalabdhasthāma mahirajaḥ* (R. 4,25); *tamālakasaṇo tamo=tamālakṣṇam tamaḥ* (R. 10,25); *tāriso a uro=tādyasāṁ coraḥ* (Subhadrāh. 8,3); JM. *bārasāiccodayāhio teo=dvādaśādityodayāhitaṁ tejaḥ* (Erz. 26,33); *tavo kao=tapaḥ kṛtam* (Erz. 26,35). *nabhas* and *śiras*, according to the grammarians (Vr. 4,19; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,134; Mk. fol. 35), only as neuter, are used according to the *a*-declension: M. *ṇaṇam* (G. 451.495.1036; R. 4, 54; 5,2.6.35.43.74 etc.); M. *siraṁ* (R. 4,56; 11,36.56.132 etc.). In AMg. too the neuter nouns in -as, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in -e (§ 345): *māuṇye=mātrojaḥ* (Thān. 159); *tame=tamaḥ* (Thān. 248); *tave=tapaḥ* (Samav. 26); *maṇe=manah* (Vivāhap. 1135 f.); *pējje=preyaḥ* (Ovav. § 56); *vacche=vakṣaḥ* (Uvās. § 94); *ee soyā=etāni srotāmsi* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2). AMg. *ayam=ayas* (Sūyag. 286); AMg. *seyaṁ=sreyas* (Hc. 1,32; § 409); *vajam=vayas* (Hc. 1,32), beside AMg. *vao* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3 in the verse); *sumanam=sumanaḥ* (Hc. 1,32). Ś. Mg. so form

almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. *manu* (Hc. 4,350.422,9) and *siru* (Hc. 4,445.3), phonetically rather=*manah*, *śirah* (§ 346), may be equated as =**nanam*, **śīram* (§ 351). The voc. *ceu*=*ceṭah* (Piṅgala 1,4^b; text *ceja*; v. l. *ceḍa*; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of -*aḥ*.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in -*as*, many neuter nouns in -*a* have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings -*āṇi*, -*āīm*, as in the Veda, have also the ending -*ā*, which is like that of the masculine (§ 367). So one says AMg. *tao thāṇāṇi* (Thāṇ. 143), *tao thāṇāīm* (Thāṇ. 158) and *tao thāṇā* (Thāṇ. 163.165)=*trīṇi sthānāni*. The nomin. sing. *thāṇe* may be inferred from the last form: AMg. *esa thāṇe aṇārie*=*etat sthānam anāryam* (Sūyag. 736). Examples in AMg. are numerous beyond measure: *esa udagarajane*=*etad udakarānam* (Nāyādh. 1011); *uṭṭhāṇe kamme bale vīrie*=*utthānam karma balam vīryam* (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); *duvihe dāmsane pannatte*=*dvividham darśanam prajñaptam* (Thāṇ. 44); *marane*=*maranam* (Samav. 51.52); *mattae*=*mātrakam*, beside the plural *mattagāīm* (Kappas. S. § 56), and many others¹. In Āyār. at 1,2,1,3 stand in the verse beside one another: *vao accēi jōvvanam ca jīvie*=*vayo 'tyeti yauvanam ca jīvitam*. In AMg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMg. *ejāvanti savvāvanti logaṁsi kammamārambhā*=*etāvantaḥ sarve karmasamārambhāḥ* Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); *āvanti ke jāvanti logaṁsi samaṇā ja māhaṇā ja*=*yāvantaḥ ke ca yāvanto loka śramaṇās ca brāhmaṇās ca* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1.4); *yāīm tumāīm jāīm te janagā*=*yas tvam yau te janakau* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8); *yāīm* [§ 335.353] *bhikkhū*=*ye bhikṣavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); *jāvanti vijjāpuriṣā savve te dukkhasambhavā*=*yāvanto 'vidyā puruṣāḥ sarve te duḥkhasambhavāḥ* (Uttar. 215); *je garahijā saṇijānappaogā na tāṇi sevanti sudhīradhammā*=*ye garhitāḥ sanidānaprayogā na tān sevante sudhīradharammāḥ* (Sūyag. 504). So is explained *no in' atṭhe*, *no inam atṭhe* (§ 173) too; cf. also *se*, Mg. *se*=*tad* § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders: *tao sāgaracando kamalāmelā ja*.....*gahijāṇuvvayāṇi sāvagāṇi saṁvuttāṇi*=*tataḥ sāgaracandrah kamalāpīḍa ca*.....*grhitānūvratāu śrāvakau saṁvṛttau* (Āv. 31,22), and previously (31,21) it is said about the same: *pacchā imāṇi bhoge bhuñjamāṇāṇi viharanti*=*paścād imau bhogān bhuñjānau viharataḥ*; *tāni* is used (Āv. 38,1) with reference to *māyāpiṇṇam*=*mātāpitroḥ*; *tāṇi ammāpiyaro pucchijāṇi*=*tau ambāpitarau pṛṣṭau* (Erz. 37,29); *tāhe rājā sā ja jāyahatthimmi ārūdhāīm*=*tadā rājā sā ca jāyahastiny ārūdhau* (Erz. 34,29); [*mayamañjarijā kumaro ca*] *niyajābhavane gāyāī sānandahijayāīm*=*[madanamañjarikā kumārā ca] nijakabhavane gatau sānandahṛdayau* (Erz. 84,6). More exmples in JACOBI, Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter *a*-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. *eṣe ṣe daṣaṇāmake maī kaḷe*=*etat tad daṣaṇāmakam mayā kṛtam* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *āmalanāntike vele*=*āmaraṇāṭikam vāiram* (Mṛcch. 21,14); *duālae*=*duārakam* (Mṛcch. 79,17); *pavahane*=*pravahanam* (Mṛcch. 96,22; 97,19.20; 99,2; 100,20 etc.); *eṣe cīvale*=*etac cīvaram* (Mṛcch. 112,10); *śohide*=*sauhṛdam* (Śak. 118,6); *bhoṇe saṁcīde*=*bhojanam saṁcītam* (Venis. 33,3); *uṣṇe luhile*=*uṣṇam rudhiram* (Venis. 33,12); *bhatte*=*bhaktam*, *eṣe ṣe ṣuvaṇṇake*=*etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 163,19; 165,7). In Ś. D. we find the following used in the masculine: *pavahaṇo* (Mṛcch. 97,7; D.100,15) beside the more frequent *pavahanam*; in Ś. *pabhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,7) beside *pabhādam*=*prabhātam* (Mṛcch. 93.5.6); more often Ś. *hiāo*=*hṛdayam*, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]; 23,10; cf. 46,17.19; Ratn. 298,11.12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read; Viddhaś. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,

13.15)². The dialect is not determined in *catto*=*cāttram* (spindel; Deśin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.

1. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 55. — 2. PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 5.

§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc.1,32; Kī. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in *-an* becomes masculine in *-a*: *kammo*=*karma*; *jammo*=*janma*; *ṇammo*=*ṇarma*; *mammo*=*marma*; *vammo*=*varma*. Thus we have found PG *sammo*=*śarma* (7,46); AMg. *kamme*=*karma* (Sūyag. 838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 51.73.166); Mg. *camme*=*carma* (Mṛcch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *a*-stems¹, what is commanded by Mk. for *preman* and by Hc. for *dāman*. So M. *kammaṃ* (R. 14,46); M. Ś. *ṇāmaṃ* (H. 452.905; Vikr. 30,9); M. *dāmaṃ* (H. 172); M. *ṇemmaṃ* (R. 11,88; Ratn. 299,18); M. *romaṃ* (R. 9,87); *cammaṃ sammaṃ* (Hc. 1,32). The masculine in *-iman* may become feminine, to which the nomin. in *-ā* gave rise: *eśā garimā*, *mahimā*, *nillajjimā*, *dhuttimā* (Hc. 1,35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. *candimā*=**candriman* (§103); AMg. *mahimāsu* (Thāp. 288). In the same way AMg. *addhā*=*adhvā* from *adhvan* (Ovav.); M. *umhā*=*ūsmā* from *ūśman* (Bh. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; G. R.); JM. *vaṭṭā*=*vartmā* from *vartman* (Deśin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34.35; cf. § 334); *sēmbhā*=*śleṣmā* from *śleṣman* (Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine. AMg. *sakahā*=*sakthini* (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem *sakthan* with a separation-vowel according to § 132, therefore, from **sakathan*, nomin. sing. **sakahā*. The Jainas divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons *grīṣma*, *varṣāḥ* and *hemanta*². As in other cases (§ 355.364.367.375.379.386), the gender and the number of *grīṣma* and *hemanta* have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural *varṣāḥ*, as a sequence to the formular combination. One says: *gimhāhi*=**grīṣmābhiḥ* (Sūyag. 166); *gimhāsu*=**grīṣmāsu* (Vivāhap. 465); *hemantagimhāsu*...*vāsāsu* (Kappas. S. § 55); *gimhāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2,96.120.150.159 etc.); *hemantāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neutral forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well (cf. § 357), by the similarity of the ending *-ā*, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin. accus. plur. from the masculine in *-a*. So M. AMg. Ś. *guṇāim*=*guṇān* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Sūyag. 157; Vivāhap. 508; Mṛcch. 37,14); M. *kaṇṇāim*=*kaṇṇau* (H. 805); M. *pavaāi*, *gaāim*, *turaāi*, *rakkhasāi*=*plavagān*, *gajān*, *turagān*, *rākṣasān* (R. 15,17)³; AMg. *paśiṇāni*=*praśnān* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *paśiṇāim* (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāhap. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvās. § 58.121.176), as already in Skt. *praśna* is neuter (Maitryupaniṣad 1,2); AMg. *māsāim*=*māsān* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *pāṇāim* (Āyār. 1,6 5,4; 1,7,2,1 ff.; 2,1,1,11; p. 132,6.22), *pāṇāni* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132,28) beside usual *pāṇe* (e. g. Āyār. 1,1,6 3; 1,3,1,3; 1,6,1,4)=*prāṇān*; AMg. *phāsāim* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 1,8,2,10.3,1; Sūyag. 297) beside *phāse* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3,3,2.5,1; 1,7,8,18)=*sparśān*. AMg. *rukkhāim* (Hc. 1,34), AMg. *rukkhāni*=*rukṣān* (trees; Āyār. 2 3,2,15; cf. § 320); *devāim* (Hc. 1,34), *devāni* (C. 1,4)=*devāḥ*; JŚ. *ñibandhāni*=*nibandhān* (Pav. 387,12); Mg. *dantāim*=*dantān* (Śak. 154,6), *goṇāim*=*gāḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual mascul. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too *khaggaṃ* beside *khaggo*=*khaggaḥ*; *maṇḍalaggaṃ* beside *maṇḍalaggo*=*maṇḍalāgrah*; *kararuhaṃ* beside *kararuho*=*kararuhah*, as reversely Mk. fol. 35 has *vaano* beside *vaanaṃ*=*vadanam*; *naano* beside *naanaṃ*=*nayanam*. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from *i*- and *u*-stems too: AMg. *sālīni vā vihiṇi vā*=*śālīn vā vṛhiṇ vā* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682), in dependence upon the following neuter: AMg. *uūim*=*ṛtūn*

(Kappas. § 114); *bindūm* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *hetūm*=*hetūn* beside *paṣiṇāim* (Vivāhap. 151). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldomer. So AMg. *taṇṇi* (Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhap. 908) from the singular *taṇṇā* (Paṇṇav. 32; Vivāhap. 1308. 1529); cf. *taṇṇā-pāṇae* (Vivāhap. 1255) and *taṇṇāsuḥāe* (Kappas. § 60)=**tvacā*=*tvak*; AMg. *pāuṇāim*=*pādukāh* (Nāyādh. 1484); Ś. *ricāim* from **ricā*=*rk* (Ratn. 302,11); AMg. *paṇṇiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5) beside *paṇṇiṇiāo* (Vivāhap. 361; Āṇuog. 386)=**paṇṇikāh*; AMg. *bhamuhāim* (Āyār. 2,13,17) beside *bhamuhāu* (Jiv. 563)=**bhrūwuke* (§ 124. 206); even AMg. *itthiṇi vā purisāni vā*=*striyo vā puruṣā vā* (Āyār. 2,11,18), probably to be comprehended in the meaning "something womanish", "something manly". *akṣi* may be used as feminine (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33. 35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine nouns *añjali*, *kukṣi*, *granthi*, *nidhi*, *raṣmi*, *vali*, *vidhi*, which have been included by him in the *gaṇa añjaliyādi*, may become feminine. So is explained AMg. *ayaṇ atthi*, *ayaṇ dahi*=*idam asthi*, *idam dahi* (Sūyag. 594), the dative *atthie* (§ 361), and so the nomin. *sappi*=*sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291) and the nomin. *havi*=*haviḥ* (Dasav. N. 648,9) too must be comprehended, in which the *s*-stems, after dropping off of *s*, have gone over to the *i*-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside *paṇho*=*praśnah* Pkt. has *paṇhā* too (Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14), which occurs in AMg. *paṇhāvāgarāṇāim* (Nandis. 471; Samav.), the name of the 10. aṅga. In the v. l. to C. 3,6 *paṇham* too occurs; the plural AMg. *paṣiṇāim*, *paṣiṇāni* have been mentioned above. In the sense of *arśāmsi* AMg. has *amsiṇiāo*=**arśikāh* (Vivāhap. 1306). Beside *paṭṭha*, *piṭṭha*, *putṭha*=*prṣṭha* frequent are *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *putṭhi* (§ 53). The feminine *āsaṃsā* becomes M.Ś. *āsaṃgho* (§ 267); *prāvṛṣ* becomes in M. AMg. JM. Ś. a masculine *pāusa*=Pāli *pāvusa* (Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,31; Kī. 2,131; Mk. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81.638 f. 644.192; Vivāhap. 798; Erz.; Vikr. 33,14); *tarāṇi*, according to Hc. 1,31,2 used only as masculine⁴. On *diso*=*dik*, *sarao*=*śarad* see § 355, on the numerals 2—4 see § 436. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 151, note 2.—2. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 15,16. 17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT R. p. 318, note 9.—4. Cf. in general already FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5 f.

§ 359. In A. the gender is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: *jo pāhasi so lehi*=*yat prārthayase tal labhasva* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. Vikr. p. 530 f.); *mattāim*=*mātrāḥ* (P. 1,51. 60. 83.127); *rehāim*=*rekḥāḥ* (P. 1,52); *vikkamaṇ*=*vikramaḥ* (P. 1,56); *bhuane*=*bhuvanāni* (accus.; P. 1,62^b); *gāhassa*=*gāthāyāḥ* (P. 1,128); *sagaṇāi*=*sagaṇān* (P. 1,152); *kumbhaṇ*=*kumbhān* (Hc. 4,345); *antraḍi*=*antram* (Hc. 4,445,3); *dālaṇ* (Hc. 4,445,4), plural of *dāla* (branch; Pāṇal. 136; Deśin. 4,9, where *dāli*); however, AMg. too has *dāla* in *egamsi rukḥadālayamsi thiccā* (Nāyādh. 492), and *dālaḡa* (Āyār. 2,7,2,5); *khalāim*=*khalān* in rhyme with *raṇāim* (Hc. 4,334); *viguttāim*=**viguptāḥ*=*vigopitāḥ* (Hc. 4,421,1); *niścintāṇ* *hariṇāṇ*=*niścintā hariṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,20); *amhāim* beside *amhe*=*asme* (Hc. 4,376).

§ 360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals *do*=*dvau* and *duve*, *be*=*dve*, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb (Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Kī. 3,5; Āv. 6,12), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 (§ 436.437). M. *balakeṣa-vāṇam*=*balakeṣavayoh* (G. 26), *hatthā tharatharanti*=*hastau tharatharāyete* (H. 165), *kaṇṇesu*=*karṇayoh* (R. 5,65), *achaiim*=*akṣiṇi* (G. 44); AMg. *janagā*=*janakau* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau* (Thāp. 359), *bhumagāo* *acchīni*, *kaṇṇā*, *uṭṭhā*, *aggahatthā*, *hatthesu*, *thaṇayā*, *jāṇūim*, *jaṇḡhāo*,

pāyā, *pāesu* = *bhruvau*, *akṣiṇī*, *karnau*, *oṣṭhau*, *agrahastau*, *hastayoh*, *stanakau*, *jānūnī*, *jaṅghe*, *pāḍau*, *pāḍayoh* (U.ās. § 94); JM. *hatthā*, *pāyā* = *hastau*, *pāḍau* (Āv. 6,14), *taṇhāchuhāo* = *trṣṇāksudhau* (Dvār. 500,7), *do vi puttā jamalagā* = *dvāv api putrau yamalakau* (Erz. 1,8) *cittasambhūhehim* = *cittasambhūtābhyām* (Erz. 1, 26); Ś. *māhavamaarandā āacchanti* = *mādhavamakarandāv āgacchatah* (Mālatīm. 293,4), *rāmarāvāṇāṇam* = *rāmārāvāṇayoh* (Bālar. 260, 21), *sīdārāmehim* = *sītārāmābhyām* (Pras. 64,5), *sirīsarassadiṇam* = *śrīsarasvatyoh* (Viddhaś. 108,5); Mg. *lāmakapḥāṇam* = *rāmakṛṣṇayoh* (Kāmsav. 48, 20), *amhe vi . . . lukilam pīvamha* = *āvām api rudhiram pibāva* (Venīs. 35, 21), *kalēmha* = *karavāva* (Caṇḍak. 68, 15; 71,10); D. *candaṇaavīraehim* = *candanakavīrakābhyām* (Mṛcch. 105,8), *sumbhanisumbhe* = *sumbhaniśumbhau* (Mṛcch. 105,22); A. *rāvaṇarāmāḥā*, *paṭṭaṇagāmāḥā* = *rāvaṇarāmayoh*, *paṭṭanagrāmayoh* (Hc. 4,407). In cases like Ś. *duve rukkhaseaṇake* = *dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1) there is no dual, but the accus. plur. (§ 367^a) with a change of gender according to § 357¹.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto. p. 136 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 309; BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 347; WEBER, IS. 14,280 f.

§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Kī. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Āv.6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found almost only in PG. M. AMg. JM., mostly in the case of the *a*-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. *ajātāe* = **adyatvāya* (7,45); *vāsasatasahasāya* = *varśasatasahasrāya* (7,48); M. *nivāraṇā* = *nivāraṇāya*, *āśā* = *āyāsāya*, *marāṇā* = *marāṇāya*, *harārāhaṇā* = *harārādhanāya*, *hāsā* = *hāsāya*, *gārāvā* = *gauravāya*, *mohā* = *mohāya*, *apunāgamāṇā* = *apunarāgamāyā* (G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183); M. *vaṇā* = *vanāya* (Bālar. 156,14), *tāvaparikkhaṇā* = *tāpāparikṣaṇāya* (Karp. 52,3). H. and R. do not have the dative. AMg. *ahīyāya* = *ahitāya* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *garbhāya* = *garbhāya* (Sūyag. 108); *aiyāyāya* = *aiyāyāya* (Sūyag. 356); *tāṇāya* = *trāṇāya* (Sūyag. 377); *kūḍāya* = *kūḍāya* (Uttar. 201), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AMg. JM. in *-āe* (§ 364) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AMg.: *parivandaṇamāṇaṇapūjāṇāe jāmarāṇamojāṇāe* = *parivandanamāṇanapūjāyā jātamarāṇamocanāya* (Āyār. 1,1,1,7); beside *tāṇāya* in verse, there stands in prose *tāṇāe* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4), and likewise in verse (Uttar. 217); *mūlattāe kandattāe kandhattāe tayāttāe sālattāe pavālattāe pattattāe pupphattāe phalattāe biyāttāe viutṭanti* = *mūlatvāya kandatvāya skandhatvāya tvaktvāya śālatvāya pravālatvāya puṣpatvāya phalatvāya biyāttvāya vivartante* (Sūyag. 806); *eyam ne peccabhava ihabhave jā hiyāe suhāe khamāe nisseyasāe āṇugāmiyāttāe bhavissāi* = *etan naḥ pretyabhava ihabhave ca hītāya sukhāya kṣamāyai niḥsreyasāyāṇugāmikāttvāya bhaviṣyati* (Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162) etc.; AMg. JM. *vahāe* = *vadhāya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vivāhap. 1254; Āv. 14,16; so to be read); *vahatṭhāyāe* = *vadhārthāyā* (Erz. 1,21); *hiyāttāe* = *hīrthāyā* (Āv. 25,26); *mam' atthāe* = *mamārthāya* (Erz. 63,12). The dative is correct in Ś. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the *a*-stems: Mg. *cārudattaviṇāśā* = *cārudattaviṇāśāya* (Mṛcch. 133,4). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgarī, Dravidian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Śak. 115,7; *śāmiṇaśādā* = *svāmiprasādāya*, where the Bengal recension has *śāmiṇaśādattam*. In Ś. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the parapsing with *attham* = *artham* and *nimittam* = *nimittam*¹. The dative stands in Ś. in prose falsely: *nivvudilāhā* = *nirvṛtilābhāya* (Mālav. 33,14); *āsīsā* (!) = *āśiṣe* (Mālav. 70,13); *suhā* = *sukhāya* (Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1); *asusamrakha-*

nāa=*asusamrakṣaṇāya* (Vṛṣabh. 51,11); *vibudhaviṣāa*=*vibudhaviṣayāya* (Vikr. 6,20); *tilodaadānāa*=*tilodakadānāya* (Mṛcch. 327,4) *ceḍiāaccaṇāa* [text °āya=*ceḍikārcanāya* (Mukund. 17,12)]. Other examples from bad texts have been collected by BÖHTLINGK² and BOLLENSSEN³. In Rājasekhara the scribe is not responsible for this (§ 22). Datives of even stems other than *a-* are found. So AMg. *appege accāe haṇanti appege ajiṇāe vahanti appege maṁsāe vahanti appege soṇijāe vahanti evaṁ hidaṇjāe pittāe vasāe picchāe pucchāe vālāe siṅgāe visāṇāe dantāe dādhāe nahāe ṇhāruṇīe aṭṭhīe aṭṭhimimjāe aṭṭhāe aṇaṭṭhāe* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where *accāe* from *accā* (body; bulk; commentary=śarīram), *vasāe*=*vasāyai*, *dādhāe*=*daṁṣṭrāyai*, *aṭṭhimimjāe*=*asthimajjāyai* are dative from the feminine in *-ā*, *ṇhāruṇīe* is from a feminine **snāyuntī* (§ 255), and *aṭṭhīe* is from the neuter *asthi*, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: *se na haṣṣāe na kiḍḍāe na raṇīe na vibhūṣāe*=*sa na hāsyāya na krīḍāyai na ratyai na vibhūṣāyai* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JM. *kittividdhīe*=*kirtivṛddhaye* (KI. 20). So also falsely in Ś. *kajjasiddhīe*=*kāryasiddhaye* (Mālav. 56,13; Jivān. 21,7); *jadhāsamīhidāsiddhīe*=*yathāsamīhitasiddhaye* (Viddhaś. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative *bhavade* in the "solemn greeting formula"⁴ *sōtthi bhavade*=*svasti bhavate* (Mṛcch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as *bhavado*, as CAPPELER, Rata 319,17 has done; cf. *sōtthi savvāṇaṁ* (Vikr. 83,8) and the v. l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in *-ttae*, *-ittae* (§ 578) too are old dative.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 299; FISCHER, BB. 1,111 ff.; on Hc. 3,132. Falsely HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 126 f.; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 168 and Mālav. p. 233; WEBER, IS. 14, 290 ff.; BB. 1, 343 f.—2. On Śak. 40, 18, p. 203.—3. On Mālav. p. 233.—4. WEBER, BB. 1,343.

§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further KIELHORN, EI., 3,313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg. °*samdhivālasaddhim samparivude* (Ovav. §48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with *saddhim*, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyādh. 574. 724. 1068. 1074.1273.1290.1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like Ā. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) STEMS IN *-a*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 363. Mascul. *putta*=*putra*.

Singular.

N. *putto*; AMg. Mg. *putte*; AMg. in verses also *putto*; A. mostly *puttu*.

Acc. *puttaṁ*; A. *puttu*.

I. M. AMg. JM. *putteṇa*, *putteṇaṁ*; JS. Ś. Mg. P. CP. *putteṇa*; A. *putteṇa*, *puttiṇa*, *puttem*, *putte*.

Dat. M. *puttāa*; AMg. *puttāya* in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. *puttāe*; Mg. *puttāa* in verses.

Abl. M. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*, *puttāhi*, *puttāhimto*, [*puttatto*]; AMg. JM. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*; JS. *puttādo*, *puttādu*, *puttā*; Ś. Mg. *puttādo*; P. CP. *puttāto*, *puttātu*; A. *puttāhe*, *puttāhu*.

- G. *puttassa*; Mg. *puttaśśa*, *puttāha*; A. *puttassu*, [*puttasu*], *puttaho*, °*ho*, *puttaha*.
 L. M. JM. JŚ. *puttammi*, *putte*; AMg. *puttamsi*, *puttammi*, *puttarimmi*, *putte*; Ś. P. CP. *putte*; Mg. *putte*, *puttāhim*; A. *putte*, *puttē*, *putti*, *puttahi*.
 V. *putta*; M. also *puttā*; AMg. *putta*, *puttā*, *putto*; Mg. *putta*, *putte*.

Plural.

- N. *puttā*; AMg. also *puttāo*; A. also *putta*.
 Acc. *putte*; M. AMg. A. also *puttā*; A. also *putta*.
 I. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttehi*, °*him*, °*hū*; Ś. Mg. *puttehim*; A. *puttahim*, °*hū*, °*hi*, *puttehim*, °*hi*, °*hi*.
 Abl. [*puttāsumto*, *puttesumto*, *puttāhimto*, *puttāhi*, *puttehi*, *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttatto*]; AMg. *puttehimto*, *puttehim*; JM. *puttehim*; A. *puttahū*.
 G. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttāna*, °*nam*, °*nā*; Ś. Mg. *puttāṇam*; Mg. also [*puttāhā*]; A. *puttāha*, *puttāhā*, *puttāṇam*.
 L. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttesu*, °*sum*, °*sū*; Ś. Mg. *puttesum*, (*puttesu*); A. *puttahi* (*puttehi*, *puttahi*).
 V. *puttā*; Mg. also *puttāho*; A. *puttaho*, °*ho*.

The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as *phala*, only nom. acc. sing. *phalam*, A. *phalu*;

- Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. *phalāim*, °*i*, °*i*; AMg. JM. also *phalāṇi*, *phalā*; JŚ *phalāṇi*; Ś. Mg. *phalāim*; A. as M., however, also *phalāi*.

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

Singular.

- N. *mahārājādhirājo* 5,1; *bhāraddāyo* 5,2; *patibhāgo* 6,12; and so still nom. in -o; 6,14. 19-26. 29. 40; 7,44. 47.
 Acc. *parihāram* 5,7; *vāṭaka[m]* *puvvaḍattam* 6,12. 28. 30-34. 36. 37 [may be also neuter].
 I. *madena* 6,40; *likhiteṇa* 7,51.
 D. *ajātāye* 7,45; *vāsasatasahassāya* 7,48.
 Abl. *kāmcāpurā* 5,1.
 G. *kulagōtassa* 6,9; *sāsaṇassa* 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -ssa; 6,12-26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [*devakulassa*]. 8.
 L. *visaye* 5,3; *cillarekakodumke* 6,12; and so also: 7,42.44.
 Neuter: Acc. *nivataṇam* 6,38; *vāraṇa[m]* 7,41; *uparilikhitam* 7,44; *ānataṇam* 7,49.

Plural

- N. *patibhāgā* 6,13-18. 20-22: *addhikā*, *kolikā* 6,39; *gāmeyikā* *āyuttā* VG. 101,10.
 Acc. °*desādhikatādike*, *bhojake* 5,4; *vallave* *govallave* *amacce* *ārakhādhikate* *gumike* *tūthike* 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.
 I. *evamādhikehi* 6,34; *parihārehi* 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently °*him* is meant.
 G. *pallavāṇam* VG. 101,2; *pallavāṇa* 5,2; *maṇṣāṇa* 5,7; *vatthavāṇa* °*bamhaṇāṇam* 6,8; *bhātukāṇa* 6,18; *bamhaṇāṇam* 6,27. 30. 38; *ṣamukhāṇam* 6,27. 38 (where °*ṇa*). Perhaps everywhere °*nam* is meant.

§ 364. On the declension of *a*-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3. 5. 7. 8. 13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Ki.3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28-34. 78; Mk. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69. 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A. the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur., and in others too as *a*-stems (Hc.4,344.345; Ki.5,21). Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and

rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So *phāṇihārā*, *visā*, *kandā*, *candā*, *kantā*=*phaṇihārāḥ*, *viśaḥ*, *kandaḥ*, *candraḥ*, *kāntaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,81^a); *sīlā*=*śītalāḥ*, *daḍḍhā*=*dagdhaḥ* in relation with *gharu*=*gr̥haḥ* (Hc. 4,343); *gaa*=*gajāḥ*, *gajān*, *gajānām* (Hc. 4,335. 418.3. 345); *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ* (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So AMg. *buddhaputta*=*buddhaputra* for *buddhaputto* (Uttar. 13); *pāṇajāi*=*prāṇajātayaḥ* for *pāṇajāo* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *pāvaya*=*pāvaka* for *pāvao* (Dasav. 634,5); Mg. *pañcayyaṇa*=*pañcayanāḥ*, *gāma*=*grāmaḥ*; *caṇḍāla*=*caṇḍalāḥ*; *ṇala*=*naraḥ*; *śīla*=*śiraḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6—9). Instead of *śīla* Mk. fol. 75 reads *śīli* and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in *-e* and *-i*. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. *śīli* stands for *śīle* according to § 85; likewise *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 43,6—9). On the ending *-o*, *-e*=*-aḥ* see § 345, on *-u*=*-aḥ* § 346, on A. *-u*=*-am* § 351. According to Bhāgīrathivardhamāna, in Cāṇḍālī, the nom. sing. may end in *-o* too, beside in *-e*, *-i*: *eso puliṣo* (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpabbharaṁsa he teaches nom. sing. in *-o* too, beside that in *-u* (Mk fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in AMg. several forms in *-sā* are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the *s*-stems. Thus particularly *kājasā* from *kāya* in the combination *maṇasā vajasā kājasā*=*maṇasā vacasā kāyena* (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūyag. 358. 428. 546; Vivāhap. 603 ff.; Thāp. 118. 119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvās. § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), *kājasā vajasā* (Uttar. 204); rarer is *maṇasā vajasā kāṇa* (Sūyag. 257) and *maṇasā kājavakkenam* (Sūyag. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Further *sahasā balasā*=*sahasā balena* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Thāp. 368); *paṅgasā*=*prayogeṇa*, parallel with *visrasā* from *visra* (Vivāhap. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: *niṇamasā*=*niyamaṇa* (Ovav. § 177); *jogasā*=*yogena* (Dasav. 631,1; Sūriyapannatti in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); *bhajasā*=*bhayaṇa* (Dasav. 629,37), except that a *s*-stem stands beside it. Cf. § 355. 358. 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. AMg. JM. *putteṇam* see § 182, on A. *putteṇa* § 128, *putteṇ* § 146. The dative in *-āe* in PG. AMg. JM. (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. *-āya*, which remains in PG. and becomes *āya* in AMg. and *-āa* in M. (§ 361). AMg. *sāgapāgāe* (Sūyag. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one **śākapākāyai*, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In AMg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in *-tta*=*-tva*, as *itthittāe purisattāe napumsagattāe* (Sūyag. 817); *devattāe*=*devatvāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Samav. 8. 10. 16; Uvās.; Ovav.); *rukhattāe*=*rukṣatvāya* (Sūyag. 792. 803); *goṇattāe*=*gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51); *haṁsattāe*=*haṁsatvāya* (Vivāgas. 241); *neriṇyattāe*, *dāriṇyattāe*, *maṇyūratvāe*=*nairayikatvāya*, *dārikātvāya*, *mayūratvāya* (Vivāgas. 244); *aṭṭhicammacchirattāe*=*asthicarmaśīratvāya* (Aṇutt. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the datives of abstract feminine in *-tā*, like *paḍibūhaṇajāe*=*pratibūhaṇatāyai*, *poṣaṇajāe*=*poṣaṇatāyai* (Sūyag. 676); *karaṇajāe*=*karaṇatāyai* (Vivāhap. 817. 1254; Uvās. § 113); *savaṇajāe*=*śravaṇatāyai* (Nāyādh. § 77. 137; Ovav. § 18.38). *puṇapāsaṇajāe*=**puṇapāsyantāyai* (Vivāhap. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the datives from fem. nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the AMg. *devattāe* may have its *tt* of the neuter *devatva* and the ending of the feminine *devatā* wrongly used with it. But the datives in *-āe*, even otherwise, from mascul. and neut. are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically *-āi* too could be used as the ending of the mascul. and neut. *vahāi*=*vadhāya* (Hc. 3,132) should either be traced back to AMg. JM. *vahāe* (§ 361) according to § 85 in

case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā *yasnāi*, Greek $\iota\pi\pi\omega\iota=\iota\pi\pi\omega-$.

§ 365. Hc. 3,8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in *-ādo*, *-ādu*, like *vacchādo*, *vacchādu*, which Ki 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5,6. The author of R. who at R. 8,87 writes *rāmādo*, openly follows Bhāmaha, as in *udu=ṛdu* (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in *-āo*=**ātah* (§ 69. 345). Beside it is found metri causa *-āu* too: M. *sisāu=śīrṣāt* (G. 37); *ṇāhaalāu=nabhastalāt* (H. 75); *raṇṇāu=aranyāt* (H. 287); AMg. *pāvāu=pāpāt* (Sūyag. 415) beside *pāvāo* (Sūyag. 110. 117); *dukkhāu=duḥkhāt* (Uttar. 218). The abl. in *-du*, taught by Hc. 4,276 for Ś., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where *udayādu=udayāt* (Pav. 383,27), beside *añauḍayādo* (Kattig. 399,309) and forms like *caritādo=caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6), *ṇāpādo=jñānāt* (Pav. 382,5), *visayādo=viṣayāt* (Pav. 382,6), *vasādo=vaśāt* (Kattig. 399, 311) are found. In Ś. Mg. the abl. always ends in *-do* (Kī. 5,79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69. 345). On forms with short *a*, as AMg. *thāṇao* see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMg. JM. is also the abl. in *-ā*=Skt. *-āt*. So M.: *vasā=vaśāt*, *bhāā=bhayāt*, *guṇā=guṇāt*, *veā=vegāt*, *bhavaṇā=bhavanāt*, *dehattaṇā=dehutvanāt*, *bhāruvahaṇāārā=bhārodvahanādarāt* (G. 24. 42. 84. 125. 242. 390.716.848.854.924.); *gharā=grhāt*, *balā=balāt* (H. 497.498); *airā=acirāt* (R. 3,15); *ṇacirā* (Bālar. 179,2); *miśā=miśāt*, *nivesā=niveśāt* (Karp. 12,8; 75,2); AMg. *marañā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3 2.1); *dukkhā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Uttar. 220); *kohā*, *māṇā*, *lobhā=krodhāt*, *mānāt*, *lobhāt* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1); *balā* (Sūyag. 287. 293; Uttar. 593); *ārambhā* (Sūyag. 104); *nāyaputtā* (Sūyag. 318); *bhayā=bhayāt*, *lābhā*, *mohā*, *pamāyā=pramādāt* (Uttar. 207. 251. 434. 627); *kohā*, *hāsā*, *lobhā*, *bhayā* (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615,28), mostly in verses; JM. *niyamā* (Kk. 259,6,18); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Dasav. 620,20; Erz.); JŚ. *niyamā* (Kattig. 400,328; 401,341). I have noted only *balā* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,22), only *kālanā* in Mg (Mṛcch. 152,7; cf. 145,17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have *kālanāe* for *kālanā*, the ed. Cal. Śak. 1792 p.324, 11 and GoḍBOLE, 413,1 correctly *kālanado*, as STENZLER too elsewhere reads (133,1; 140,14; 158,21; 165,7). Mk. fol. 69 permits *-ā* too in Ś., in addition, and quotes *kāraṇā* as an example. Frequent in M. is the abl. sing. in *-hi*: *mūlāhi*, *kusumāhi*, *gaṇāhi*, *varāhi*, *bīāhi=bijāt* (G. 13 69.193.426.722; cf. yet 1094. 1131. 1164); *dūrāhi*, *hīāhi=hṛdayāt*, *aṇṇāhi*, *ṇikkammāhi vi cheṭṭāhi=niṣkarmaṇo pi kṣetrāt* (H. 50. 95. 120. 169; cf. vet 179. 429. 594. 665. 877. 934. 998); *raṇāhi*, *dhīrāhi=dhairiāt*, *dantujjōāhi=dantoddyotāt*, *paccakkhāhi=pratyakṣāt*, *ghaḍiāhi=ghaṭitāt*, *aṇuhūāhi=anubhūtāt* (R. 3,2; 4,27; cf. still 4,45. 56; 12,77; 7,57; 8,18; 11, 88; 12, 8. 11; 14, 20. 29; 15,50); *hīāhi* (Karp. 79, 12; v. 1. *hīāu*); *daṇḍāhi=daṇḍāt* (Bālar. 178, 20; text against the metre *°him*). In AMg. is found *piṭṭhāhi=prṣṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 958f), beside *piṭṭhāo* (938.964). Seldom is the abl. in *-hinto:kandalāhinto=kandalāt* (G. 5); *cheṭṭāhinto=śepāt*, *hīāhinto=hṛdayāt*, *raiharāhinto=ratigrhāt* (H. 240. 451. 553); *mūlāhinto=mūlāt* (Karp. 38, 3); *rūāhinto=rūpāt* (Mudrār. 37,4). Rājaśekhara employs the abl. in *-hi* and *-hinto* falsely in Ś. too: *candaseharāhi=candraśekharāt* (Bālar. 289,1; text *°him*); *pāmarāhinto=pāmarāt*, *candāhinto=candrāt*, *jalāhinto=jalāt*, *tumhārisāhinto=yuṣmādrṣāt* (Karp. 20,6; 53,6; 72,2; 93,9); *pādāhinto=pādāt*, *gamāgāmāhinto=gamāgamāt*, *thaṇaharāhinto=stanabharāt* (Viddhaś. 79,2; 82,4; 117,4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending *-hi* is present in adverbs M. AMg. JM. in *alāhi=alam¹* (Vr. 9,11; Hc. 2, 189; Kī. 4, 83 [text *añāhi*]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813.965. 1229. 1254; T. 5,6 [text *°him*]), *-hinto* in AMg. *antohinto=antarāt* (§ 342) and *bāhimhinto=bāhiṣṭāt* (Thāṇ. 408). *uttarāhi* and *ḍakṣiṇāhi* (WHITNEY § 1100 c), the forms in *-hi* serve,

as noted by E. MÜLLER², as adverbs. Hence one may in *-hi*, neither with LASSEN³, search for on old ending *-bhi*, nor with WEBER⁴, a plural ending, above all *-him* is never found beside it. The ending *-hinto* is, with LASSEN⁶, to be considered as having originated from *-bhis*, or more correctly from *-bhyas*, the ending of the abl. plur. + *tas*, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, *-hinto*, (Sr. fol 7) not *hinto* is to be written. The *a* of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. *vacchatto* (Hc. 3,8; Sr. fol.7), *rukhatto* corresponding to the form [*puttatto*] are double formations = *vrkṣāt + tas*, *rukṣāt + tas*. — For A. the forms found in the text are *vacchahē*, *vacchahu* = *vrkṣāt* (Hc. 4,336); *jalahu* = *jalāt* (Hc.4,415). Ki.5,30 has beside *rucchahē* also *rucchādu* [text °*dū*] = *vrkṣkāt*. With LASSEN⁷ it is to be read as *vacchahē*, *vacchādu*. The origin of the forms in *-hē*, *-hu* is obscure.

1. So rightly WEBER, H¹. p. 49, note 1.—2. Beiträge p. 22.—3. Inst. p. 303.—4. H¹.p.49.—5. At Bālar. 178,20 °*him*, as mentioned, is against the metre, 289,1 has also a false reading.—6. Inst. p. 310.—7. Inst. p. 451.

§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians (Vr. 11,12; Hc. 4,299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside *-śsa* = *-sya*, also *-ha* from *-sa* with lengthening of *a* of the stem (§ 63.264). In the examples with *-āha* quoted by Hc. from Śāk. and Veṇis, the printed editions and manuscripts have *-āśsa* or variant readings¹. The genitive forms in *-aha* are: *kāmāha* = *kāmasya* (Mṛcch. 10,24); *cāludattāha* = *cārudattasya* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 100,20; 154,10; 164,2 4), beside *cāludattaśsa* (Mṛcch. 79,15; 100,22); *niyyādamāṇāha*, *añiyādamāṇāha* = *niryātayamānasya*, *a°*; *ēkkāha* = *ekasya*; *avalāha* = *aparasya*; *ayyamitteāha* = *āryamaitreyasya*; *śālākāha* = *śyālakasya*, *śālilāha* = *śarirasya*; *cālittāha* = *cāritrasya* etc. (Mṛcch. 21,13.14; 24,3; 32,4.5; 45,1; 112,10; 124,21). To it corresponds the genitive in *-ha* in A., as *kaṇaaha* = *kanakasya*; *caṇḍālaha* = *caṇḍālasya*; *kavvaha* = *kāvyaasya*; *phaṇindaha* = *phaṇindrasya*; *kaṇṭhaha* = *kaṇṭhasya*; *paaha* = *padasya* (Piṅgala 1,62.70.88b.104.109.117). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in *-ho*, mostly in *-hō* (Hc. 4,338; Ki. 5,31); *dullahahō* = *durlabhasya*; *sāmiāhō* = *svāmikasya*, *kṛdantahō* = *kṛtāntasya*; *kantahō* = *kāntasya*; *sārahō* = *sāgarasya*; *tahō* *virahahō* *nāsantaahō* = *tasya virahasya naśyatah* (Hc. 4,338. 340. 370. 379. 395,7. 419,6. 432). One *kantahō* phonetically corresponds to one **kāntasyah*, that is to say a mixture of *a*- and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in *āo* (§ 367). Beside the genitive in *-ssu* from *-ssa* = *-sya* (§ 106), as *parassu* = *parasya*; *suṇassu* = *suṇajasya*; *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*; *tuttassu* = *tattvasya*; *kantassu* = *kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.440. 445,3), according to Hc. 4,338; Ki. 5,31 even the genitive in *-su* is used, as *rukhasu* (Ki. 3,31; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 451 *vacchasu*) in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,299.

§ 366^a. In the locative singular the forms in *-e* and those in *-mmi* = *-smin* (§ 313.350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313.350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. *mukke vi naramāindattaṇṇammi* = *mukke pi naramgendratte* (G.10); *diṭṭhe sarisammi guṇe* = *drṣṭe sadrṣe guṇe* (H. 44); *naipūrasacchahe jōvvaṇṇammi* = *nadipūrasadrṣe yauvane* (H. 45); *suṇaha paṇṇammi gāme* = *ṣuṇakaṇṇacure grāme* (H.138); *devāattammi phale* = *daivāyatte phale* (H. 279); *hantavvammi dahamuhe* = *hantavye daśamukhe* (R. 3,3); *apūramāṇammi bhare* = *apūryamāṇe bhare* (R. 6,67); *gaammi paose* = *gate pradose* (R. 11,1); *nihaammi pahatthe* = *nihate prahaste* (R. 15,1); JM. *pāḍaliputtammi puravare* (Āv. 8,1) and *pāḍaliputte nagarammi* (Āv. 12,40); *dullahalambhammi mānuse jamme* = *durlabhalambhe mānuṣe janmani* (Āv. 12,13); *kae kae vā vi kajjammi* = *kṛte kṛte vāpi kārye* (Āv. 12,18); *cettammi nakkhatte vihuhatthe* = *caitre nakṣatre viduhaste* (KI. 19); JS. *tivihe pattammi* = *trividhe*

prāpte (Kattig. 402, 360; text °mhi; *accudammi sagge* = *acyute sarge* (Kattig. 404, 391; text °mhi). All the examples stand in verses. In prose in JM. the locative mostly is used, as *gīrinagare nagaer* (Āv. 9, 12); *matthae* = *mastake* (Āv. 11, 1); *puratthime disibhāe ārāma-majjhe* = **purastime digbhāga ārāmamadhye* (Āv. 13, 24), more seldom that in -mmi, -m̐mi as *raṅgharammi* = *ratigrhe* (Āv. 11, 13); *komuimahū-savaṇṇi* = *kaumudimahotsave* (Erz. 2, 7); *majjhammi* (Erz. 9, 1); forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as *vijjāṇimmiyaṇṇi siyaṇṇatapaḍāyābhūsie pāsāe* = *vidyānirmite śitarakṭapātākābhū-ṣite prāsāde* (Erz. 8, 24). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as *bharahammi* = *bharate*, *tiḥyaṇammi* = *tribhuvane*, *śisammi* = *śirṣe* (Āv. 7, 22; 8, 17; 12, 24), and *guṇasilujjāne* = *guṇasilodyāne*, *avasāṇe*, *sihare* = *śikhare* (Āv. 7, 24. 26. 36). In JS. too both the locatives are current. In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -mhi instead of -mmi: *kālamhi* (399, 321) against *kālammi* (400, 322); *pattamhi* (402, 360); *accudamhi* (404, 391); also in pronouns: *tamhi* = *tasmin* (400, 322) beside *tammi* in the same line and *jammi* (399, 322). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav. has only -mmi: *dāṇammi* (383, 69); *suhammi*, *asuhhammi* (385, 61); *kāyacēṭṭhammi* (386, 10; 387, 18); *jiṇamadammī* (386, 11) etc. The same error occurs in Kattig. in *savvaṇṇū* for the correct *savvaṇṇū* (Pav. 381, 161) = *sarvajñah* (398. 302. 303). Cf. § 436. — In AMg. the most usual form is that in -m̐si = -smin (§ 74.313); *logam̐si* = *loke* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 5.7; 1, 3, 1, 1.2, 1; 1, 4, 2, 3; 1, 5, 4, 4; 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 3, 1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc.); *susāṇam̐si vā sunnāgāram̐si vā giriguham̐si vā rukkkhamūlam̐si vā kumbhārāya jaṇam̐si vā* = *śma-śāne vā śūnyāgāre vā giriguhāyāṇ vā rukṣamūle vā kumbhakārāyatane vā* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1); *imaṇsi dāragam̐si jāyam̐si samāṇam̐si* = *asmin dārake jāte sati* (Ṭhāṇ. 525; Vivāhap. 1275; cf. Vivāgas. 116). Forms in -mmi, -m̐mi are not rare: in verses: *samajaṇṇi* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 9; 2, 16, 9); *bambhammi ya kappammi ya* = *brāhṃe ca kalpe ca* (Āyār. p. 125, 34); *dāhiṇam̐mi pāsammi* [sic] = *dakṣiṇe pārṣve* (Āyār. p. 128, 20); *logam̐mi* = *loke* (Sūyag. 136. 410); *saṅgāmaṇṇi* = *saṅgrāme* (Sūyag. 161); *āyamaṇṇi* = *āyūṃsi* (Uttar. 196); *marañantammi* = *marañante* (Uttar. 207); *jalaṇammi* = *jvalane* (Nāyādh. 1394). Later such forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -e, hardly rightly, as *dāruṇammi gimhe* (Nāyādh. 340); *utthiyaṇṇi sūre sahasrassam̐mi diṇajare tejasā jalante* = *utthite sūrye sahasraraśmau dinakare tejasā jvalati* (Vivāhap. 169; Anuog. 60; Nāyāch. § 34; Kappas. § 59), and beside the loc. in -m̐si, as *gimhakālasama jaṇsi jēṭṭhāmūlamāsammi* = *grīsmakālasamaye jyeṭṭhāmūlamāse* (Ovav. § 82). The loc. in -e in the early prose, in comparison with that in -m̐si, is a little numerous: *harae* = *hrade* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 2); *viyāle* = *vikāle* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2); *lābhe sante* = *lābhe sati* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 1 ff.); *paḍipāhe* = *prati-pathe*, *parakkame* = *parākrame* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3), *sapaḍiduvāre* = *svapratiduvāre* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 5), more frequently in verses, as *loe* = *loke* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 14; 2, 16, 9; Uttar. 22.169); *laddhe piṇde* = *labdhe piṇde* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 13); *ārāmā-gāre*, *nagare*, *susāṇe*, *rukkhamūle* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 3); *marañante* (Uttar. 213); *dharanītale* (Sūyag. 296), also beside the loc. in -m̐si and -mmi, as *sisiraṇsi addhapaḍivanne* = *śiṣire ardhapratipanne* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 21); *saṃsāram̐mi añantage* (Uttar. 215. 222); *pattammi āese* = *prāpta āteṣe* (Uttar. 227). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -m̐si, as *taṇsi tārisagaṇsi vāsagharaṇsi abbhintaṇṇo sacittakamme bāhirao dūmiya-ghaṭṭhamatṭhe* is followed still by seven loc. in -e — *taṇsi tārisagaṇsi sayaññijaṇsi sālingaṇavattīe* is followed eight loc. in -e — *puvvarattāvarat-takālasama jaṇsi* (Kappas. § 32). Dialectically the loc. in -hiṃ from -ssim are also found (§ 65.264); Mg. *evamvadḍakāhiṃ gallakkappamāṇāhiṃ kulā-hiṃ* = *evamvadḍake galvarkapramāṇe kule* (Mṛcch. 126, 9); Mg. *pavahaṇā-*

*him*²=*pravahane* (Mṛcch. 119,23), are also found. In addition, the loc. is put also in *-hī* in A: *desahī*=*deśe*; *gharahī*=*gr̥he* (Hc. 4,386.422,15); *hradahī*=*hrade*; *padhamahī*=*prathame*, beside *tie pāe*=*trīye pāde*; *samapāhī*=*sama-pāde*; *sisahī*=*śirṣe*; *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *vamsahī*=*vamśe* (Piṅgala 1,4^b.70.71.81^a.120.155^a; 2,102). The loc. in prose ends in *-e* in Ś. and mostly in Mg., too, as for Ś. Mk. fol. 69 expressly remarks: Ś. *gehe*, *āvane*=*āpane* (Mṛcch. 3,9.14.15), *muhe*=*mukhe* (Śak. 35,10); Mg. *haste*; *vihave vihaḍide*=*vibhave vighaṭite* (Mṛcch. 21,12; 32,21); *śamale*=*samare* (Venīs. 33,8). In verses in Mg. the loc. in *-mmi* too is found, sometimes beside that in *-e*: *caṇḍālāṭṭammi*=*caṇḍālakule*; *kūvammi*=*kūpe* (Mṛcch. 161,14; 162,7); *śomammi gahammi*=*saumye grahe*; *śevide apaścammi*=*sevite* *pathye* (Mudrār. 177,5; 257,2; cf. ZDMG. 39,125.128). Rājasekhara errs here too against the dialect, since he uses the loc. in *-mmi* in prose also: *majjhammi* (Karp. 6,1), beside *majjhe* (Karp. 12,10; 22,9); *kavvammi*=*kāvyē* (Karp. 16,8); *rāmammi rāme*; *seduśimantammi*=*setuśimante* (Bālar. 96,3; 194,14). In Indian editions the loc. in *-mmi* is often found in Ś., which perhaps is not a fault of the MSS., but of the authors, who did not know to write Ś. correctly. Cf. e. g. Pras. 35,3; 39,2; 44,8.9; 45,5; 47,6; 113,8.12; 119,14.15; Karpas. 25, 3; 37, 6; Kāṁsav. 50,2.14; Mallikām. 87,4; 88,23. Naturally the writings, such as *cāṇakhammi akarūṇe* (Mudrār. 53,8); *hīaṇivvīsesammi jāne*=*hīdayanirvīśeṣe jāne* (Viddhaś. 42,3), *gacchatammi deve* (Cait. 134,10), too are wholly false. In A. the loc. usually ends in *-i* from *-e*: *tali*=*tale*, *paṭṭhari*=*prastare*; *andhāri*=*andhakāre*; *kari*=*kare*; *mūli viṇaṭṭhāi*=*mūle viṇaṣṭe*; *bāri*=*dvāre* (Hc. 4,334.344.349.354.427.436); sometimes it ends in *-e* too: *appiē diṭṭhāi*, *piē diṭṭhāi*=*apriye* **drṣṭake*, *priye* **drṣṭake*; *pie diṭṭhe*=*priye dṛṣṭe*; *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,365,1. 396,2).

1. So it is to be read; cf. Mṛcch. 139,23, the v.l. in GoḍABOLE 348,3 and in LASSEN, Inst. p. 430. — 2. So to be read with the ed. Calc. 1829 p. 227, 6 and ed. GoḍABOLE p. 331,8 according to the v. l.

§ 366b. In the voc. sing. of the *a*-stem *pluti* is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc. 3,38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine *mav* end in *-e* too, beside in *-a*, *-ā*: *ajjo*=*ārya*; *devo*=*deva*; *khamāsamaṇo*=*kṣamāśramaṇa* (Hc.); *rukkhho*=*rukṣa*; *vaccho*=*vr̥kṣa* (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for the vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in *-e* always. The examples are: AMg. *ajjo*=*ārya* (Sūyag 1016; Uttar. 415; Vivāhap. 132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.S. § 18.52); as plur. = *āryāḥ* (Thāṇ. 146. 147; Vivāhap. 132. 188 f. 193. 332; Uvās. § 119. 174); *tāo*=*tāta* (Nāyādh. § 83. 85. 98); *devo*=*deva* (Nāyādh. § 38); *puriso*=*puṛuṣa* (Sūyag. 108); *amma yāo*=*ambātātau*, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61. 62; Vivāhap. 804. 805. 808 ff. [oftener *ammatāo*]; Nāyādh. § 134. 138. 145; p. 260. 862. 887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg. *JM. ammo*=*amba* (Hc. 3,41; Uvās. § 140; Āv. 13,33; 14,27); also used as the plur. of parants (Nāyādh. § 138; Uttar. 574). The example given by Hc., *ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇie* is H. 676, where WEBER and the Bombay edition read *bhaṇie bhaṇāmi attā*; T. reads *attā bhaṇāmi bhaṇie*; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found *ammo* in M. too. Perhaps in the *o*, is inserted the particle *u*, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (*āmantraṇe*) and in calling from off (*sambodhaṇe*). Against this, in AMg. *bhante*=*bhadanta*¹ (§ 165); Mg. *bhāve*=*bhāva* (Mṛcch. 10,22; 11,24; 12,3; 13,6. 24; 14,10 etc.); *ceḍe*=*ceṭa* (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside *ceḍā* (Mṛcch.

118,1; 119,11. 21; 121,9; 122,9 etc.); *uvāśake*=*upāsaka* (Mṛcch. 114,7); *bhaṭṭake*=*bhaṭṭaka* (Śak. 114,5; 116,11); *lāutte*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 117,5); *putake*=*putraka* (Śak. 167,7)², the nomin. must be considered to have been used vocatively. Whether even in A. *bhamaru*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 368); *māhiharu*=*māhīdhara* (Vikr. 66,16) are to be taken as in the nomin. is doubtful, since in A. the final *a*, also elsewhere, becomes *u* (§ 106). The form in *-e* is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in *mama śīle śadakhaṇḍe kaleśi* = *mama śīraḥ śatakhaṇḍam karoṣi* (Mṛcch. 151,25). Other examples quoted by LASSEN³ have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367^a. In Venis. at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read *labbhadi* instead of *lambhai* in GRILL, so that *mamśae*, *unhe* (read *usne*), *luhile* are nom. according to § 357.

1. This is the right explanation. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,155, note 3; PISCHEL on Hc. 4,287. Wrongly E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, where further literature.—2. Misunderstood by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 28. See PISCHEL, GGA, 1880, p. 326.—3. Inst. p. 429.

§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ā*=*āḥ*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *devā*=*devāḥ* (H. 355; Ovav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mṛcch. 3,13); JŚ *aṭṭhā*=*arihāḥ* (Pav. 382,26); Mg. *puliśā*=*puruṣāḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13); CP. *samuddā*, *saṭṭā*=*samudrāḥ*, *ṣaṭṭāḥ* (Hc. 4,326); D. *dalakkhinattā*=*dākṣiṇātyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 103,5); Ā. *visaddhā*=*visrabdhāḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *ghoḍā*=*ghoṭāḥ* (Hc. 4,330,4). In AMg. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found in *-āo* too; *māṇavāo*=*mānavāḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Sūyag. 412); *tahāga yāo*=*tathāgatāḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3); *ha yāo*=*hatāḥ* (Sūyag. 295); *samattāo*=*samarthāḥ*; *omarattāo*=*avamarātrāḥ*; *sisāo*=*śiṣyāḥ*; *āujivāo*=*abivāḥ* (Uttar. 755.768.794. 1045); *virattāo* [so the commentary; text *āo*]=*viraktāḥ*; *sāgarāo*=*sāgarāḥ* (Uttar. 758. 1000). Other cases yet Uttar. 698. 895. 1048. 1049. 1053. 1059. 1061. 1062. 1064. 1066. 1071. 1084. So also in M. or JM. *vaṇṇāo* beside *vaṇṇā*=*vaṇṇāḥ* in a grammatical citation in Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala. 1,2(p.3,5). Indian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś. too, e.g. Dhamajayav. 11,7 ff.; 14,9f.; Cait. 43,18ff. A tracing of the plur. in *-āo*, which is the rule in the case of the feminine in *ā* (§ 376) back to Vedic *-āsas*, hence the derivation of Pkt. *janāo* from Vedic *janāsas* is linguistically impossible. V. Mg. *bhaṭṭalakāho*, A. *loahō* (§ 377) are in direct continuation (§ 372). Pkt. shows that *-āsas* is to be explained from *ās+as*, that is to say, the ending *-as* of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur. of the *a*-stem. Pkt. *mānavāo* is, therefore, a double form¹, like the abl. sing. *vacchatto* (§ 365). In A. the ending *-ā* appears often shortened (§ 364): *gaa*=*gajāḥ*; *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ*; *bahua*=*bahukāḥ*; *kāara*=*kātarāḥ*; *meha*=*meghāḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 367. 376. 395,5; 419,6).—In the nom. acc. plur. of the neuter the most usual form is in *-im*, before which *a* is lengthened; beside it, in verses *-ī* and *-i* are used (§ 180.182). On the forms *dhaṇṇānim*, *vaṇṇānim* taught by Ki. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. *-i* only, C. 1,3 only *-ni*; Hc. 3,26 and Sr. fol. 17 teach *-ī*, *-im*, *-ni*, Ki. 3,28; Mk. fol. 43 *-im* only. M. has *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*: *ṇaṇṇāim*=*nayanāni* (H. 5); *aṅgāi* vī *piāim* (H. 40); *raaṇāi* vā *garuaguṇasaāi*=*ratnānīva gurukaguṇasātāni* (R. 2, 14). In AMg., already in the oldest texts, *-ni* too, beside *-im*, is quite usual: *pāṇāim bhūyāim jīvāim sattāim*=*prāṇān bhūtāni jīvāni sattvāni* (Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1, 1,11), beside *pāṇāni vā bhūyāni vā jīvāni vā sattāni vā* (Āyār. p. 132,28); *udagapasūyāni kandāni vā mūlāni vā pattāni vā pupphāni vā phalāni vā bīyāni vā hariyāni vā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,5). Often both the forms stand beside one another: *śe jīāim puṇa kulāim jāṇē jīā tam jahā uggakulāni vā bhogakulāni vā rāinnakulāni vā*...still follow nine compounds with *kulāni* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2); *agārāim ceṇiāim tam jahā āesaṇāni vā āyajaṇāni vā devakulāni vā*—yet follow

eleven forms in *āni*—*tahappagārāim āesaṇāni vā...bhavaṇagihāni vā* (Āyār.2,2, 2,8); *aṇṇāni ya bahūni gabbhādāṇaṃ ammaṇa-m-āiyāim kouyāim* (Ovav. [§ 105]); *khēttāim* in the same verse with *khēttāni=kṣetrāni* (Uttar. 356). The form in *-ni*, as in JM.², especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg. too the choice between *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*. So in Uttar.357 we should read *tāim tu kkēttāi supāvayāim=tāni tu kṣetrāni supāpakāni*; Dasav. 619,17 stands *pupphāi biyāim vipphaṇṇāi*; 621,1 we should read *sattucunṇāim kolacunṇāi āvaṇe*. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg. : *pañca egūnāim addāgasāyāim...pakkhittāim = pañcaikonāny *ādarpaśatāni...prakṣiptāni*; *nicchiddāim dārāim=nischidrāni dvārāni* (Āv. 17,15. 19); *tāni vi pañca corasāyāni...saṃbohiyāni pavvaīyāni=tāny api pañca corasatāni...saṃbodhitāni pravrajitāni* (Āv.19,2); *bahūni vāsāni* (Erz.34,3), beside *bahūim vāsāim=bahūni varṣāni* (Erz. 34,17). Writings, like *vatthābharaṇāni rāyasantiyāim* (Erz. 52,8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in *poṭṭāim āṇehi tie rattagāni āṇiyāni* (Erz. 31,8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12,11; Kī. 5,78; Mk. fol. 69, *-ni* too may be used beside *-im*. So stands *suhāni=sukhāni* (Śak. 99,4) and *apaccanivvasesāni sattāni* (Śak. 154,7) in most of the MSS.; for *vaṇṇāni=vacanāni* (Vikr 87,22) the best MSS. have *vaṇṇāim*, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mg., elsewhere, *-im*³ only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in *-ā* are often found beside those in *-im* or in *-ni*: AMg. *udagapasūyāni kandā ni vā mūlāni vā tayā pattā pupphā phalā biyā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,9); *bahusaṃbhūyā vanaphalā* (Āyār.2,4,2,13,14); *pāṇā ya taṇā ya biyā ya paṇagā ya hariyāni ya* (Kappas. S. § 55). The form of the following words might have influenced *tayā* = **tvacāh=tvacah* in the second example (cf. however, *tayāni* too § 358), and *pāṇā* = *prāṇāh*, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: *māujāṅgā=mātraṅgāni* (Thāṇ. 187); *thāṇā=sthānāni* (Thāṇ. 163. 165); *pañca kumbhakārāvaṇasayā=pañca kumbhakārāpaṇasatāni* (Uvās. § 184); *nahā=nakhāni*, *aharōṭṭhā uttarōṭṭhā=adharoṣṭhe uttarōṣṭhe* (Kappas. S. § 43); *cattāri lakkhaṇā, ālambaṇā=catvāri lakṣaṇāni, ālambanāni* (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. *pañca sayā piṇḍiyā* (Āv. 17,1), beside *pañca pañca suvaṇṇasayāni* (Āv. 16,30); Ś. *midhūṇā* (Mṛcch. 71,22), beside *midhūṇāim* (Mṛcch. 71,14); *jāṇavattā=yānapātrāni* (Mṛcch. 72,23; 73,1); *viraḍḍā mae āsaṇā=vīracitāni mayāsanāni* (Mṛcch. 136,6), beside *āsaṇāim* (Mṛcch. 136,3), and in Mg. (Mṛcch.137,3); *duve piā uṇadā=dve priye upanate* (Vikr.10,3); *aṇurāsūā akkharā=anurāgasūcakāny akṣarāni* (Vikr. 26,2). Hc. 1,33 mentions *naaṇā=nayanāni*; *loaṇā=locanāni*; *vaṇṇā=vacanāni*; *dukkhā=duḥkhāni*; *bhāṇā=bhājanāni*. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to suggest that the form in *-ā* is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has given cause for change of the gender. Before the endings *-im*, *-ī*, a short vowel often appears in A.: *ahiulāi=ahikulāni*; *loaṇai=jāisarai=locanāni jātisaraṇāni*; *maṇorahai=manorathāh*; *niccintai=harināi=niscintā harināh* (Hc. 4,353. 365,1. 414,4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by LASSEN. Inst. p. 307.—2. JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxvi § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in *-ni*. — 3. PISCHEL, De Kālidāsa Śākuntali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8,142. Falsely BOLLENSSEN, Mālavikā, p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367^a. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending *-e*, that has been extended from the pronominal declension¹. M. *carāṇe=carāṇau*; *ṇiāame, garuāare=nīcatamān, gurukatarān*;

dose=*doṣān* (G. 24. 82. 887); *dosagūṇe*=*doṣagūṇau*; *pāe*=*pāda*; *sahatihe*=*svaḥastau* (H. 48.130.680); *dharāṇihare*=*dharāṇidharān*; *mahiḥare*=*mahidharān*; *bhinṇaade a garue taraṅgappahare*=*bhinnaṭaṭāṁs ca gurukāṁs taraṅgapraharān* (R. 6,85.90;9,53); AMg. *samaṇamāhaṇaāṭhikivāṇavāṇimage*=*śramaṇabrāhmaṇā tithikṛpāṇavāṇipakān* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9); *sāhie māse*=*sādhikān māsān* (Āyār. 1, 8,1,2.4,6); *ime ejārūve urāle kallāṇe sive dhanne maṅgalle sassirīe cōddasa mahāsumiṇe*=*imān etadrūpān udārān kalyāṇāṇśivān dhanyān māṅgalyān saśrīkāṁs caturdaśa mahāsvapnān* (Kappas. § 3); JM. *bhoē*=*bhogān* (Āv. 8,24; 12,14. 20; Dvār. 495,7); *te nagaraloe jalaṇasambhamubbhantalōyaṇe palāyamāṇe*=*tān nagaralokāṇ jvalanasambhramodbhrāntalocanān palāyamānān* (Āv. 19,10); *te ya samāgae*=*tāṁs ca samāgatān* (Kk 263,22); JS. *sese puṇa titthajare sasavvasiddhe viuddhasabhāve samaṇeja vīriyāyāre*=*śeṣaṇa puṇa tīrthakarān sasavvasiddhān viuddhasadbhāvāṇ śramaṇāṁs ca vīryācārān* (Pav. 379,2); *vividhe visae*=*vividhān viṣayān* (Pav. 384,49); Ś. *adikkantakusumasamāe vi rukkhāe*=*atīkrāntakusumasamayān api ruksakān* (Śak. 10,2); *purā paḍiṇṇāde duve vare*=*purā prati-jñātau dvau varau* (Mahāv. 65,5); *dārake*=*dārakau* (Uttarar. 191,5); Mg. *avale*=*aparān* (Mr̥ch. 118,14); *niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a*=*niṣapṛāṇān vibhāvān kulāṇi kalatrāṇi ca* (Mudrār. 256,5)²; D. *sumbhaṇisumbhe*=*śumbhāṇiśumbhau* (Mr̥ch. 105,22). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMg. *bahave jive*=*bahūni jivāni* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *duve rukkhaseaṇake*=*dve rukṣasecanake* (Śak. 24,1); A. *bhuāṇe*=*bhuvanāni* (Piṅgala 1,62^b), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in -ā=ān (§ 89; Sr. fol. 6); M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, *nīd-dhaṇā*=*nīrdhanān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6; Siṃhāsana dv. in IS. 15,355 [so to be read]; Vetālap. p. 219, No. 17 ed. UHLE; oṇ Hc. 2,72); *dosā*=*doṣān* (Śukas. 57,5. 6); AMg. *rukkhā mahallā*=*rukṣān mahallaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,11. 12)³; *purisā*, *āsā*=*puruṣān*, *aśvān* (Nāyādh. 1378. 1388 f.); *bandhavā*=*bāndhavān* (Uttar. 576); *saṃphāsā*=*saṃsparśān* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); *uvassayā*=*upāśrayān* (Kappas. S. § 60); prosodically *guṇa*=*guṇān* (Dasav. 637,4) too. The form in -ā, -a is usual in A.; *saralā sāsa*=*saralāṇi svāsān*; *nirakkhā gaa*=*nirakṣakān gajān*; *desaḍā*=*deśān*; *siddhatthā*=*siddhārthān* (Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3); *maṇḍa maṇḍakān*; *vipakkhā*=*vipakṣān*; *kuñjarā*=*kuñjarān*; *kavandhā*=*kabandhān* (Piṅgala 1,104^a. 117^a. 120^a; 2,230). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be *dālaṁ*=*dārān* (Prab. 47,1=55^a,5 P.=58,16 M.), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads *lisaṇaṁ dālāṇaṁ* against grammar and prosody.

1. WEBER, H¹ p. 51; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,438.—2. The verse is to be read: *yaṭ mahadha laḥkiduṁ niapāṇe vihave kule kalatte a* (HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,121). *kule* and *kalatte* may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366^b.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ehim=Vedic -ebhis (§ 72), which alternates with -ehi, -ehi in verses (§ 178) and with -ehi before enclitics in prose too in AMg. JM (§ 350): M. *amūlalahuehi sāsehim*=*amūlalahukaiḥ svāsaiḥ* (G. 23); *avahatthiasabbhāvehi dakkhiṇṇabhaṇiehim*=*apahastita-sadbhāvair dākṣiṇyabhaṇitair* (H. 353); *kañcaṇasilālehim chinṇāavamaṇḍalehi*=*kañcanasilātalaiś chinnātapamaṇḍalaiḥ* (R. 9,55). Apparently in such cases we should read -hi for -hi (§ 178; cf. § 370). AMg. *tilaehim laṭiehim chattovehim sirisehim sattavaṇṇehim*—still 19 instr. follow—=*tilakair lakucāis *chattropaiḥ sirisaiḥ saptapaṇṇaiḥ* (Ovav. § 6); *santehim taccehim tahiehim sabbhūehim aṇiṭṭhehim akantehim appiehim amanuṇṇehim amaṇāmehim vāgaranehim*=*sabbhis *iṭṭhvaṇi* (§ 281) *tathyaḥ saddbhūtair aṇiṣṭair akāntair apriyair amanojñair *amanāpāir*

vyākaraṇaiḥ (Uvās. § 259); JM. *māyandamahuavindehiṃ* = *mākandamadhuakavṛn-daiḥ* (KI. 18); *vatthābharanehiṃ* = *vastrābharaṇaiḥ* (Āv. 26,27); *tehiṃ kumārehiṃ* = *taiḥ kumārāiḥ* (Āv. 30,9); JŚ. *vihavehiṃ* = *vibhavaḥ*; *sahassehiṃ* = *sahasraiḥ* (Pav. 380,6. 12); *maṇavajākāhehiṃ* = *manovacāhikāyāiḥ* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *jānehiṃ* = *janaiḥ* (Lalitav. 568,6; Mṛcch. 25,14); *jādasāṅkehiṃ devehiṃ* = *jāta-sāṅkair devaiḥ* (Śak. 21,5); *bhamarasaṅghavihaḍidehiṃ kusumehiṃ* = *bhramara-saṅghaviḥḥatitaiḥ kusumaiḥ* (Vikr. 21,9); Mg. *tattastehiṃ* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,20); *attaṇakelakehiṃ pādehiṃ* = *ātmīyābhyām pādābhyām* (Mṛcch. 13,9); *maścabandhaṇovāhehiṃ* = *matsyabandhanopāyāiḥ* (Śak. 114,2); Dh. *vippadivehiṃ pādehiṃ* = *vipratipābhyām pādābhyām*; A. *lakkhehiṃ* = *lakṣaiḥ*; *sarehiṃ*, *saravarehiṃ*, *ujjānavanehiṃ*, *nivasantehiṃ*, *suanehiṃ* = *saraiḥ*, *sarovaraiḥ*, *udyanavanaiḥ*, *niva-sadbhiḥ*, *sujanaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 422,11). The inst. in *-ahiṃ* is frequent in A.: *guṇaḥi* = *guṇaiḥ*, *paāraḥi* = *prakāraiḥ*; *savvaḥi pānthiaḥi* = *sarvaiḥ pathikāiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 367,5. 429,1); *khaggahī* = *khaḍgaiḥ*; *gaahī*, *turaahī*, *rahaḥi* = *gajaiḥ*, *turagaiḥ*, *rathaiḥ* (Piṅgala 1,7.145^a). On this, as well on the instr. in *-ēhiṃ*, *-ihim* see § 128.

§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in *-ehimto*, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix *-tas*, while that in *-sumto* is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix *-tas*: *tilehimto* = *tilebhyah* (Sūyag. 594); *maṇussehimto vā pañcīndiyatirikkhajoṇiehimto vā puḍhavikāiehimto vā* = *manusye-bhyo vā pañcendriyatiryagyonikebheyo vā prthivikāyikebhyo vā* (Thāṇ. 58); *neraiehimto vā tirikkhajoṇiehimto vā maṇussehimto vā devehimto vā* (Thāṇ. § 336; cf. Vivāhap. 1534 and elsewhere often); *sarisaehimto rāyakulehimto* = *sadrśa-kebhyo rājakulebhyah* (Nāyādh. § 123); *kolaghariehimto vaehimto* = *kaulagrhikebhyo vrajebhyah* (Uvās. § 342.343). In cases like *therehimto naṃ godāsehimto kāsava-goṭtehimto*; *chaluehimto rohaḡuttehimto kosiḡjagōttehimto* etc. (Kappas.Th. § 5 ff.), the plural is to be considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. JM. have also an abl. in *-ehim* = Skt. *-ebhyah*, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. *°nāmadhējjhehiṃ vimānehiṃ oipṇā* = *°nāmadhe-yebhyo vimānebhyo vaṭīrṇāḥ* (Ovav § 37); *saehiṃ saehiṃ gehehimto niggaçchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo gr̥hebhyo nirgaçchanti* (Kappas. § 66; cf. Nāyādh. 1048; Vivāhap. 187. 950. 943); *saehiṃ saehiṃ nagarehimto niggaçchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo nagarebhyo nirgaçchanti* (Nāyādh. 826); *gāratthehi ya savvehiṃ sāvavo saṃjamuttarā* = *gr̥hasṭhebhyaḥ ca sarvebhyah sādhaveḥ saṃyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208); JM. *jharei romakūvehiṃ seo* = *kṣarati romakūpebhyah svedaḥ* (Erz. 4,23; cf. JACOBI § 95). Cf. § 376. In A. the abl. ends in *-akū*: *giriṅgaḥū* = *giriṅṅgebhyah*; *muhahū* = *mukhebhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,337. 422,20); *rukḡhahū* = *rukṣe-bhyah* (Ki. 5,29). *-hum*, *-hū* corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending *-bhyām* of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgement of *-sumto* (LASSEN, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-āṇam* = Skt. *-ānām*. In M., however, the denasalised form in *-āṇa*, which is found in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as *gaṇāṇa majjhe* = *gaṇānām madhye* (Kappas. § 61 = Ovav. 48, p. 55,13 = Nāyādh. § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as *kuḍilāṇa pēmmāṇam* = *kuṭi-lānām premṇām* (H. 10), *maṇāṇa oṇimillacchāṇam* = *mṛgāṇām avanimilitākṣāṇam* (R. 9,87), *sajjaṇāṇam pamhusiadasāṇa* = *sajjanānām viśmṛtadaśāṇam* (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur., we should for *-āṇa* read *-āṇa* (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. Ś. Mg., except in verses, have only the form

in *-āṇam*. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in *-ahā*. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitav. too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in *-āṇam* only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this *-āhā* and shortened *-ahā*, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending *-sām*: *ṇivattāhā* = *ṇivṛttānām*; *sōkkhahā* = *saukhyānām*; *taṇahā* = *trṇānām*; *muk-kāhā* = *muktānām*; *matāhā* *maḡalahā* = *matānām* *madakalānām*; *saūṇāhā* = *śaku-nānām* (Hc. 4,332.339.370.406.445,4); *vaṇkakaḡakkhahā* *loṇahā* = *vakrakaḡākṣa-yor locanayoh* (Vetālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); *mahabbhahāhā* = *mahābhaḡānām* (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 1.5, elsewhere the ending *-ham* too is found beside *-ṇam*: *devāham* beside *devāṇam*; *tāham* beside *tāṇam*. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from *-ā*, *-n* and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in *-esu* = *-eṣu*, beside which sometimes *-esum* is found, as M. *sacandaneṣum ārovīaroa-nesu* (read °sū; § 370) = *sacandaneṣu āropitarocaneṣu* (G. 211); *vapeṣum* = *vaneṣu* (H.77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, beside the more frequent forms in *-su*, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p.106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read °su. In Ś. the texts partly have *-su* (Lalitav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2; etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3.6), and partly *-sum* (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5.7¹; Śak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have *-su*). The Indian editions mostly have *-su*. In Mg. stands *pāeṣu* (Mṛcch. 19,6), but *pādeṣum* (121,20.22), beside *calāṇeṣu* (121,24) and *keṣeṣu* (122,22) in verses, Venis. has *keṣeṣu* (35,19), Mudrār. has *kammeṣu* = *karmasu* (191,9), and Prab. has *puliṣeṣu* (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in *-m*, for prose *-sum*, Mg. *-sum* will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: *saahū* = *śateṣu*; *maggahū* = *mārgeṣu*; *gaahū* = *gateṣu*; *kesahū* = *keṣeṣu*; *aṇṇahū* *taruarahū* = *anyeṣu* *taruwareṣu* (Hc. 4,345.347.370,3.422,9). In Hc. 4,423,4 for *gavakkhehim* we should read *gavakkhahū* and in 445,2 probably *ḡuṇḡarahū*. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. *jaganissiehū* *bhūehim* *tasanāmeḡhū* *thāvarehim* *ca* | *no tesim ārabhe daṇḡam* (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.

1. Cf. PISCHEL, De Kāl'dāsae ḡakuntali recensionibus p. 31.

§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. *ajjo* and *ammajō* are used as the voc. plur. too (§ 366^b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending *-hu* too, Mk. fol. 75 *-ho* with *a* of the stem lengthened before it: *bamhaṇāhu* = *brāhmaṇāh* (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in *bhaṣṭālākāho*, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of *bhaṣṭālākā ho* we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is *-hō*, without lengthening of *a* of the stem: *taruṇahō* = *taruṇāh*; *loahō* = *lokāh* (Hc. 4,346.350,2.365,1). In A. the ending *-hō* comes after all the stems: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyah* (Hc. 4,346); *aggihō* = *agnayah*; *mahilāhō* = *mahilāh* (Kī. 5,20); *cadummuhahō* = *caturmukhāh*, *harihō* = *harayah*, *taruhō* = *taravah* (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). LASSEN, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. *-āhu* (*-āho*) the Vedic ending *-āsas* has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in *ho* the particle *ho*, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165,1.5. In A. the endings of the *a*-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. *ghimsu-*, *pānu-*, *pīlāṇkhu-*, *manthu-mīlakkhu-*, the nouns that have become *u*-stems.

§ 373. The declension of *a*-stems in PG.VG. (§ 363) agrees most faithfully with that in Ś. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Ś., alone is deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in *-āye* is put in the dative in AMg. JM. (§ 361. 364), and the abl. sing., which ends in *-ā* here, but in Ś., almost always ends in *-ādo* (§ 365).

b) FEMININE IN *-ā*.

§ 374. *mālā* (garland).

Singular.

Nom.	<i>mālā</i> .
Acc.	<i>mālām</i> .
Ins.	M. <i>mālāe</i> , <i>mālāi</i> , <i>mālāa</i> , the other dialects only <i>mālāe</i> , A. <i>mālāē</i> .
Dat.	<i>mālāe</i> ; only in AMg.
Abl.	M. AMg. JM. <i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālāu</i> , [<i>mālāhimto</i> , <i>mālāi</i> , <i>mālāa</i> , <i>mālatto</i>]; Ś. Mg. <i>mālādo</i> and <i>mālāe</i> ; A. <i>mālāhē</i> .
Gen. Loc.	M. <i>mālāe</i> , <i>mālāi</i> , <i>mālāa</i> , the rest of the dialects only <i>mālāe</i> ; A.: gen. <i>mālāhē</i> , loc. [<i>mālāhi</i>].
Voc.	<i>māle</i> , <i>mālā</i> .

Plural.

Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM.	<i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālāu</i> , <i>mālā</i> ; Ś. Mg. <i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālā</i> .
Ins.	M. AMg. JM. <i>mālāhi</i> , <i>mālāhī</i> , <i>mālāhim</i> ; Ś. Mg. <i>mālāhim</i> .
Abl.	M. AMg. <i>mālāhimto</i> , [<i>mālāsuṃto</i> , <i>mālāo</i> , <i>mālāu</i>]; A. <i>mālāhu</i> .
Gen.	M. AMg. JM. <i>mālāṇa</i> , <i>mālāṇā</i> , <i>mālāṇam</i> ; Ś. Mg. <i>mālāṇam</i> ; A.: [<i>mālāhu</i>].
Loc.	M. AMg. JM. <i>mālāsu</i> , <i>mālāsū</i> , <i>mālāsuṃ</i> , Ś. Mg. <i>mālāsu</i> , <i>mālāsuṃ</i> . In PG. are found the nom. sing. <i>paṭṭikā</i> (7,48. 51), <i>kaḍa tti</i> = <i>kr̥teti</i> (7,51), and the acc. sing. (or plur.) <i>piḷā bādhā</i> = <i>piḍām bādhām</i> (or <i>piḍā bādhāh</i>) (6,40), as well as the acc. sing. <i>śimam</i> = <i>śimām</i> (6,28).

§ 375. On the declension of the *ā*-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3,9. 10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30. 4,34-8,352; Kī. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol. 14 f. On the shortening of *ā* in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also Mg. *śevīda*=*sevītā* (Mṛcch. 117,1). The instrumental, the genitive the locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have become identical. The com mon form is *mālāe*=Skt. *mālāyai*, that is to say=the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas and known in the Avestā too¹. Sometimes in verses the forms in *-āe* and *-āi* stand side by side, as *pucchiāi muddhāe* = *pr̥ṣṭāyā mugdhāyāh* (H. 15). On metrical grounds, in M. the form in *-āi*, which is to be brought in throughout, where in the texts *-āē* may have to be read, is prevalent. The v. l. mostly has the correct reading *-āi*, as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243. 290.453.474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians (Hc. 3,29; Kī. 3,27; Sr. fol. 14) teach a form in *-āa* too, which is forbidden by others (Vr. 5, 23; Mk. fol. 43). Such forms are found in M. as v. l. So: *jōṇhāa*=*jyotsnāyā*; *nevacchakalāa* = *nepathyakalayā*; *helāa* = *helayā*; *hariddāa*=*haridrāyāh*; *caṅgināa*=*caṅgimatvena* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1; 86,4; 53,9; 55,2; 71,4; 79,12). KONOW reads for them *jōṇhāi*, *nevacchakalāi*, *helāi*, *haliddāa*, *caṅgimāi* (29,1; 86,9; 51,2; 52,4; 69,3; 78,9). Some MSS. sometimes have *-āa*. Since G. H. R. does not otherwise know *-āa*, *tiadāa*=*trijaṭāyāh* (R. 11,100) and *ṇisaṇṇāa*=*ṇisaṇṇāyāh* (R. 10,101) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for *āi*, as C. has. This *-āa* goes back to the abl. gen. Skt. *-āyāh*, so that *jōṇhāa*=*jyotsnāyāh*, of which the strictly corresponding form **jōṇhāa* is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol. 14. In A. *-āe* has been shortened to *-āē*: *ṇiddāē*=*nīrdayā*; *candimāē*=*candri-*

mayā; *uddāvantiaē* = *uddāpayantyā*; *mañjīṭṭhaē* = *mañjīṭṭhayā* (Hc. 4,330,2,349. 352,438,2).—On the dative in *-āe* in AMg. see § 361. 364.—Of the forms of the abl. sing. mentioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in *-āo*, Ś. Mg. *-ādo* more often : AMg. *paratthimāo vā disāo āgao aham amsi dāhināo vā disāo. paccatthimāo. uttarāo...uddhāo* = **purastimāto vā disā āgato 'ham asmi dakṣiṇāto vā disāh...* **pratyastimātaḥ...uttarātaḥ...ūrdhvātaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 2); *jibbhāo* = *jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 1); *sijāo* = *śibikātaḥ* (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); *chāyāo* = *chāyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 639); *aṭṭanasālāo* = *aṭṭanasālātaḥ* (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); *māyāo* = *māyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *sūnāo* = *sūnātaḥ* (Nirayāv. § 10); Ś. *bubhukkādo* = *bubhukṣātaḥ*, *dakkhiṇādo*, *vāmādo* = *dakṣiṇātaḥ*, *vāmātaḥ*; *padolikādo* = *pratolikātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. *lacchādo* = *rathyātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 158,13). Ablative in *-āe* (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Sr. fol. 14) occurs in Ś. and Mg.: Ś. *imāe maatanhiāe* = *asyā mṛgatṛṣṇikāyāḥ* (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLENSSEN cannot be comprehended as instr.; Mg. *ṣeṇyāe* (text *ṣeṇjāe*) = *ṣaṇṇyāyāḥ* (Cait. 149,19).—The form *mālatto* follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending *-hē* corresponds to the pronominal ending *-syāḥ*, so that *taḥē dhaṇaḥē* (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = *tasyā *dhanyasyāḥ* = *tasyā dhanyāyāḥ*. Hc. 4,350 comprehends *bālāḥē*, so that *visamatthaṇa* is to be taken as *bahuvrihi*, is = “before the young woman with odd breasts”. Genitive are : *tucchamajjhaḥē*, *jampiraḥē*, *tucchaarahāsaḥē*, *alahantiaḥē*, *vammahanivāsaḥē*, *muddhaḍaḥē* = *tucchamadyāyāḥ*, *jalpanasīlāyāḥ*, *tucchatarahāsyāyāḥ*, *alabhamānāyāḥ*, *manmathanivāsyāyāḥ*, *mugdhāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,350); *tisaḥē* = *trṣāyāḥ*; *muṇāṭiaḥē* = *mṇāṭikāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,395,7. 444).—Examples for the loc. are: M. *dukkhuttarāi paavīe* = *dukkhottarāyāṃ padavyāṃ*; *gāmaracchāe* = *grāmarathyāyāṃ* (H. 107. 419); AMg. *suhammāe sabhāe* = *sudharmāyāṃ sabhāyāṃ* (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMg. JM. *campāe* = *campāyāṃ* (Ovav. § 2.11; Erz. 34,25); JM. *saṇḍalāe naṇḍarie* = *sakalāyāṃ nagaryāṃ* (Dvār. 497,21); *ikkikkāe mehalāe* = *ekaikasyāṃ mekhalāyāṃ* (T. 5,11); Ś. *susamiddhāe* = *susamiddhāyāṃ*; *edāe padosavelāe* = *etasyāṃ pradoṣavelāyāṃ*; *rukkhavādīāe* = *rukṣavāṭikāyāṃ* (Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); Mg. *andhaālapūlīdāe nāsīāe* = *andhakārapūritāyāṃ nāsikāyāṃ*; *padoliāe* = *pratolikāyāṃ*; *suvaṇṇacoliāe* = *suvaṇṇacarikāyāṃ* (Mṛcch. 14,22; 163,16; 165,2). AMg. *giriguhaṃsi* for *giriguhāe* = *giriguhāyāṃ* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1) has been determined through the loc. in *-ṃsi* of the mascul. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355. 358. 364. 367. 379. 386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in *-e*, a form that is known to Vr. 5, 28 alone; whilst Hc. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-ā* as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-ā* are : M. *attā* (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8, 469. 543. 553. 653. 676. 811); M. AMg. *piucchā* = *piṭṛṣvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299. 1348); M. *māuā* = *māṭṛke* (H.); *māucchā* = *māṭṛṣvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMg. *jāyā* (Uttar. 442), *puttā* = *putri* (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655. 658), and the frequent M. Ś. *halā* (Hc. 2, 195; H.), in Ś., mostly joined with the vocative in *-e* of a proper noun, as *halā saṃtāle* (Śak. 9, 10); *halā aṇusūe* (Śak. 10, 12); *halā ṇomālie* (Lalitav. 560, 9; text *no*); *halā cittālehe* (Vikr. 9, 3); *halā maṇṇie* (Ratn. 293, 29); *halā ṇiṇṇie* (Ratn. 297, 28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as *halā uvvasi* (Vikr. 7, 17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as *halā apāṇḍide* (Priyad. 22, 7), in M. Ś. used as plur. too (H. 893. 901; Śak. 16, 10; 58, 9; Vikr. 6, 13; 7, 1; 11, 1; Karp. 108, 5). JM. has *hale* too (Hc. 2, 195; Erz.), which Ki. 5, 19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.

as *hali* (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). *Ś. amba* (mother; Śak. ed. BURKHARD 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatīm. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anarghar. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to LANMAN³ and BECHTEL⁴. In A. the final -e is shortened, as *sahie* = **sakhike*; *ummie*; *bahine* = *bhaginike* (Hc. 4,358,1.367,1.396,2.422,14), or it becomes -i, as in *hali*, mentioned above, and in *ammi*, *muddhi* = *mugdhe* (Hc. 4,395,5. 376,1). On AMg. JM. *ammo* see § 366^b.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 6,281,⁵ note 3.—2. With LASSEN, Inst. p. 462, we may also consider it to be a case of transfer from the *a*-stems. — 3. Noun-Inflection p. 360. — 4. Hauptprobleme p. 265 f.

§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in -o (§ 367); nom. M. *mahilāo* = *mahilāḥ* (H. 397); AMg. JM. *devayāo*, *Ś. devadāo* = *devatāḥ* (Thān. 76; Erz. 29,3; Śak. 71,8); acc. AMg. *kalāo* = *kalāḥ* (Uttar. 642; Nāyādh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. *caūvviḥāo vaggāṇāo* = *caturvidhā vargaṇāḥ* (Āv. 7,4); *Ś. paḍivīāo* = *pradīpikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. *savvaṅgāo* = *sarvāṅgāḥ* (Hc. 4,348). In verses -o interchanges with -u, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. *dhaṇṇāu tāu* = *dhaṇyās tāḥ* (H. 147) against *Ś. dhaṇṇāo kkhū tāo kannaṇāo* [so to be read] *jāo* (Mālatīm. 80,1); AMg. *thiṇyāu* = *striḥkāḥ* (Sūyag. 225); acc. A. *anurattāu bhattāu* = *anuraktā bhaktāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. *dāraggalāu jāo* = *dvārāgalā jātāḥ* (H. 322); *raivirāmalajjiāo apattanīamsaṇāu* = *rativirāmalajjitā aprāptanivasanāḥ* (H. 459); *paḍigaṇṇāo disāo* = *pratigatā disāḥ* (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in -ā: M. *rehā* = *rekhāḥ* (G. 22; H. 206), beside *rehāu* (Hc. 474) and *rehāo* (G. 509. 682); *sariā sarantapavahā...vūdhā* = *saritaḥ saratpravāhāḥ...ūdhāḥ* (R. 6,50); *mehalā* = *mekhalāḥ* (Mṛcch. 41, 2); AMg. *ḍōjjhā* = *dohyāḥ*; *dammā* = *damyāḥ*; *rahajō ggā* = *rathayogyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *pakkā* = *pakvāḥ*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15. 16); *bhājā* = *bhāryāḥ* (Uttar. 660; *nāvāhi tārimāo* *iti pāṇipējja tti no vae* = *nau-bhis *tārimāo* *iti pāṇipeyā* *iti no vadet* (Dasav. 629,1); *Ś. pūijjantā devadā* = *pūijyamānā devatāḥ*; *gaṇiā* = *gaṇikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 9,1. 10); *agahidatthā* = *agrhitārthāḥ* (Śak. 120,11); *adiṭṭhasujjapāā...nāgakaṇṇā via* = *adr̥ṣṭasūryapādāḥ...nāgakanyā* (Mālav. 51,21; cf., however, the v. l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in *Ś. -āo* only, and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25,20 stand beside one another: *tāo...paḍivīāo avamāṇidaṇḍhanakāmuā via gaṇiā nissineḥāo dāṇiṇi saṁvuttā* = *tāḥ...pradīpikā avamāṇitanir̥dhanakāmukā iva gaṇikā niḥsnehā idāṇiṇi saṁvuttāḥ*. STENZLER has, with AB, already corrected *saṁvuttā* as *saṁvuttāo*; DH, in GODABOLE p. 72, have *gaṇiāo* for *gaṇiā*, so that **kāmuāo* is to be read. Sometimes in AMg. too, both the forms stand side by side: *indabhūtipamō kkhāo cōddasasamaṇasāhassio ukkosi yā samaṇa-sampajyā* = *indrabhūtipramukhyāś caturdaśasamaṇasāhasrya *utkoṣitāḥ śramaṇa-sampadaḥ* (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 15. 16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 too.—In Mg. the ins. is in -*ehim* instead of that in -*āhim* in *ambikamādukehim* = *ambikāmātrkābhīḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Śākāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. *accharehim* = *apsarobhīḥ* from the stem *accharā* (§ 410)¹, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,11², but the first *samaccharehim* is to be analysed as *sama* + *ccharehim* = *sama* + *psarobhīḥ* (§ 328)³. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in -*him* is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. *dhārāhim* = *dhārābhyāḥ* (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. *mehalāhi* (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of *mehalāsu*, as *Kāvyaparakāśa* 74,1

has in the v. l., = *mekhalāsu*; AMg. *hatthuttarāhiṃ* = *hastottarāsu* (Āyār. 2, 15, 1. 2. 5. 6. 17. 22. 25; Kappas.); *gimhāhi* (Sūyag. 166), in the sense of *gimhāsu* (Vivāhap. 465) = **grīsmāsu* (§ 358); *aṇantāhiṃ* *osappiṇiussappiṇi-* *hiṃ viikkantāhiṃ* = *anantāsu avasarpinyutsarṇaṇiṣu vyatikrāntāsu* (Kappas. § 19); *visākhāhiṃ* = *visākhāsu* (Kappas. § 149); *cittāhiṃ* = *citrāsu* (Thāp. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); *uttarāsādhāhiṃ, āsādhāhiṃ* (Kappas. § 205. 211); *chinnāhi sāhāhi* = *chinnāsu sākhāsu* (Uttar. 439; text °*hiṃ*)⁴. — Abl. in *-hiṃto* are AMg. *antosālāhiṃto* = *antaḥsālābhyah* (Uvās. § 195); *itthiyāhiṃto* = *strī-kābhyah* (Jiv. 263. 265). In the A. the abl. has the ending *-hu* = *-bhyah*: *vayaṃsīahu* = *vayasyābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in *-su* prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Śak. 29, 4, there stands *viralapādavacchāsuṃ vaṇarāṇisuṃ* = *viralapādapacchāyāsu vaṇarāṇiṣu* in the Bengāl recension, and *-āsu, -isu* in the rest. — In the voc. the form in *-o* is prevalent: Ś. *devadāo* (Bālar. 168, 7; Anarghar. 300, 1); *dāriāo* = *dārikāh* (Vikr. 45, 6); *avaloidā buddharakkhidāo* = *avalokitābuddharakṣite* (Mālatīm. 284, 11). On *halā* see § 375. — On *ajjū* = *āryā* see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter *acchara* is naturally to be answered in the negative. — 2. BOLLESEN on Vikr. p. 326; cf. HOEFER, De Pr. dialecto p. 150 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 316f. and § 410. — 3. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 52, 93 ff. — 4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like *hatthuttarāhiṃ nakkhatteṇaṃ jogovagaṇeṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 6, 17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and SPEYER, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1, 6) § 42.

2) STEMS IN *-i, ī* AND *-u, ū*.

a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 377. Masculine *aggi* = *agni*.

Singular.

N. *aggi* [*aggiṃ*].

Acc. *aggiṃ*.

I. *aggiṇā*, A. also *aggiṇa*, *aggiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggiō, aggiū, aggiṇo, aggihiṃto*, [*aggihi, aggitto*]; JŚ. [Ś. Mg.] *aggiḍo*; A. *aggihē*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo, aggissa*, [*aggiō*]; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇo*; A. [*aggihē*].

L. *aggimmi*, AMg. mostly *aggiṃsi*, AMg. JM. *aggimmi* too; A. *aggihi*.
V. *aggi, aggi*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo, aggi, aggiō, aggao, aggaū*; Ś. *aggiō, aggiṇo*.

Acc. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo, aggi, aggao*.

I. M. AMg. JM. *aggihi, aggihū, aggihiṃ*; Ś. Mg. *aggihiṃ*.

Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggihiṃto*, [*aggiṣumto, aggitto, aggiō*]; A. *aggihū*.

G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇa, aggiṇa, aggiṇam*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇam*; A. *aggihā, aggihū*.

L. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṣu, aggiṣū, aggiṣum*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṣu, aggiṣum*; A. *aggihi*.

V. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo, aggi*; A. *aggiho*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *dahi* = *dadhi*; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMg. JM. *dahiṃ, dahi, dahi*, Ś. Mg. *dahiṃ, dahi*; V. *dahi*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *dahiṃ, dahi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahiṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahi* (not Ś. Mg.). — In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. *udakādhiṃ* 6, 29, the gen. sing. masc. *sattissa* = *śakteḥ* 6, 17, *bhaṭṭisa* = *bhaṭṭeḥ* 6, 19, and the acc. plur. masc. *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* 7, 44 (cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2, 484).

§ 378. Masc. *vāu* = *vāyu*.

Singular.

N. *vāū* [*vāum̐*].Acc. *vāum̐*.I. *vāuṇā*; A. *vāuṇa*, *vāum̐* too.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *vāūo*, *vāūu* [*vāuṇo*, *vāūhim̐to*, *vāutto*]; A. *vāuhē*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāussa* [*vāuo*]; Ś. Mg. *vāuṇo*, Mg. in verses *vāuśśa* too; [A. *vāuhē*].L. *vāummi*, AMg. *vāum̐si* too, AMg. JM. *vāum̐mi*.V. *vāu*, *vāū*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāū*, *vāūo*, *vāavo*, *vāao*, *vāai*; Ś. *vāuṇo*, *vāao*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *vāuṇo*, *vāū*, AMg. also *vāavo*.I. M. AMg. JM. *vāūhi*, °*hī*, °*him̐*; Ś Mg. *vāūhim̐*.Abl. [*vāūhim̐to*, *vāūsum̐to*, *vāutto*, *vāūo*]; AMg. *vāūhim̐* also, A. *vāuhū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇa*, °*ṇā*, °*ṇam̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūṇam̐*, A. *vāuhā*; *vāuhū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *vāūsu*, °*śū*, °*sum̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūsu*, *vāūsum̐*; A. *vāuhī*.V. AMg. *vāavo*; A. *vāuhō*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *mahu* = *madhu*; only nom. acc. sing. *mahum̐*, *mahū*, *mahu*; Ś. Mg. *mahum̐*, *mahu*; voc. *mahu*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *mahūim̐*, *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahūṇi* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.).—In PG. an *u*-stem is not found.

§ 379. On the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems see Vr. 5,14-18. 25-27. 30; C. 1,3. 11-14; Hc. 3,16—26; 4,340 341. 343—347; Kī. 3,8. 11,13. 15. 17—22. 24. 28. 29; 5,20,25—27. 33—35. 37; Mk. fol. 42—44; Sr. fol. 9—12. In the nom. sing., according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization : *aggiṁ*, *ṇihim̐*, *vāum̐*, *vihum̐*. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Paṇḥāv. 448 *susāhum̐*, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for *susāhū*, since beside it stand *suisī*, *sumuṇī* = *svr̥ṣih̐*, *sumuniḥ*. On the nom. in *-ī*, *-ū* see § 72. From *sakhi* the nom. sing. is JM. *sahī* (Kī. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the denasalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMg. *taū* = *trapu* (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read *taū*. In the nom. stands AMg. Ś. *dahim̐* (Thāp. 230; Mṛcch. 3,12 [to be read so for *dahim̐*]), but AMg. *dahi* (Thāp. 514); AMg. Ś. *vatthu* = *vastu* (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 516, 12); Ś. *ṇaṇamahu* = *nayanamadhu* (Mālav. 22,3). On AMg. *aṭṭhī*, *dahī* see § 358. Acc. are AMg. Ś. *acchim̐* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Śak. 31,13); *aṭṭhim̐* = *asthi* (Sūyag. 594); AMg. *dahim̐* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17); AMg. Ś. *mahum̐* (Āyār. 2,1, 4. 5. 8,8; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17; Śak. 81,8); JŚ. *vatthum̐* (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. *svasti* always becomes *soṭṭhi* in Ś. (e. g. Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.), and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as *sāhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and *suṭṭhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), Mg. *sāhu* (Veṇis. 34,3. 23; 35,14; Mṛcch. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read *lahum̐*, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for *lahu* (Mṛcch. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Śak. 39,3; 76,1; Mṛcch. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse *lahu* is correct (Mṛcch. 99,24; Veṇis. 33, 13).—With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. *pañā* = *patyā*, forms as one says M. *gahavañā* (H. 172), AMg. *gāhavañā* (Uvās. § 6) = *gr̥hapatinā*, Mg. *bahin̐padinā* = *bhagin̐patinā* (Mṛcch. 113,19). From *akṣi* the ins. is M. *acchiñā* = *akṣṇā* (G. 32); from *dadhi* is found Ś. *sadahiñā* =

sadadhnā (Mṛch. 69,3). For the expected *aṭṭhīnā* = *asthnā*, *muṭṭhīnā* = *muṣṭhīnā*, *laḷuṇā* = *leṣṭuṇā* AMg. has *aṭṭhīnā*, *muṭṭhīnā*, *leḷuṇā*, with shortening of *ā* before the enclitic *vā* and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in *-ena* in the combination *daṇḍeṇa vā aṭṭhīnā vā muṭṭhīnā vā leḷuṇa vā kavāleṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Sūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 386, on the instr. *aggīṇa*, *aggīm*, *vāum* in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. *uahiū* = *udadheḥ* (G. 56. 470); AMg. *kucchiō* = *kukṣeḥ* (Kappas. § 21.32); *dahiō* = *dadhnaḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °hi°); JŚ. *himsāido* = *himsādeḥ* (Pav. 386,4; text °āṭido); JM. *kammaggiṇo* = *karmāgneḥ* (Āv. 19,16); AMg. *ikkhiū* = *ikṣoḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °to); JM. *sūrihimo* (Kk. II, 509,4); A. *girihe* (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms *aggiṇo*, therefore, the form of the neut. transported into Skt., but evidently from the *n*-stems, which often become identical with the *i*-stems (§ 405), and *aggissa*, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the *a*-stem, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the *u*-stems, in JŚ. too: M. *giriṇo* (G. 141) and M. AMg. *girissa* (G. 510; Sūyag. 312); M. *uahiṇo* (R. 5,10) and *uahiṣsa* (R. 4,43. 60) = *udadheḥ*; M. *raviṇo* (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and *raviṣsa*, *raiṣsa* (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = *raveḥ*; M. *paiṇo* (H. 54. 55. 297) and *paiṣsa* (H. 38. 200) = *patyuh*; M. *pasuvaiṇo* = *paśupateḥ* (H. 1), *paāvaiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (H. 969), *bhuamgavaiṇo* = *bhujamgapatheḥ* (G. 155); *naravaiṇo* = *narapateḥ* (G. 413), but AMg. JM. *gāhāvaiṣsa* = *grhāpateḥ* (Sūyag. 846; Vivāhap. 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 4. 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7, 7); AMg. *muṇiṣsa* = *muneḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Sūyag. 132); *iṣṣa* = *ṛṣeḥ* (Uttar. 363; Nirāyāv. 51); *rājarisissa* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Vivāhap. 915 f.; Nāyādh. 600. 605. 611. 613); *sārahissa* = *sāratheḥ* (Uttar. 668); *andhagavaṇhiṣsa* (Antag. 3) and *andhagavaṇhiṇo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = *andhrakavṛṣṇeḥ*; *aggissa* (Vivāhap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirāyāv. 50); JM. *pañcālāhivaiṇo* *pañcālādhipateḥ* (Erz. 8,8); *hariṇo* = *hareḥ* (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); *nābhiṣsa* = *nābheḥ* (Āv. 48,13.33).—M. *pahuṇo* (G. 847.1006.1065) and *pahuṣsa* (H. 243) = *prabhoh*; AMg. *bhikkhuṇo* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Sūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JŚ. *bhikkhuṣsa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. *usussa* = *iṣoḥ* (Vivāhap. 1388); *maccussa* = *mṛtyoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 401); *sāhuṣsa* = *sādhoḥ* (Uttar. 418. 571); *vatthussa* = *vastunoḥ* (Paṇhāv. 398); JM. *bandhuṣsa* = *bandhoḥ* (Sagara 8,5); M. *viṇhuṇo* = *viṣṇoḥ* (G. 16); *caṇḍāmsuṇo* = *caṇḍāmsōḥ* (Karp. 35,7); *ambuṇo* = *ambunaḥ* (G. 1196). In Ś. Mg. the form in *-ssa* is not used in prose: Ś. *rāesiṇo* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Śak. 21,4; 50,1; 130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14; 36,8; 80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 46,9; Anarghar. 111,13), *vihiṇo* = *vidheḥ* (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatīm. 361,10); *sahassarasiṇo* = *sahasraraśmeḥ* (Prab. 14,17; Venīs. 25,6); *paāvadiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatīm. 65, 6); *udarambhariṇo* = *udarambhareḥ* (Jivān. 43, 15); *dāsarahiṇo* = *dāsaratheḥ* (Mahāv. 52, 18; Anarghar. 157,10); *guruṇo* = *guroḥ* (Śak. 22,13; 158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghar. 267,12); *muhamahuṇo* = *mukhamadhoḥ* (Śak. 108, 1); *adhammabhīruṇo* = *adharmabhīroḥ* (Śak. 129,10); *vikkamabāhuṇo* = *vikramabāhoḥ* (Ratn. 322,33); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Venīs. 62, 3; 95, 15; Jivān. 19,9); *pahuṇo* = *prabhoh* (Prab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); *induṇo* = *indoh* (Jivān. 19,10); *mahuṇo* = *madhunaḥ* (Hāsy. 43,23); Mg. *lāesiṇo* = *rājarṣeḥ* (Venīs. 34,1); *sattuṇo* = *śatroḥ* (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. *viśśāvasuśśa* = *viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛch. 11,9). The gen. M. *dahiṇo* (Karp. 15,1) is from *dadhi*. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the *a*-stems, as for the abl., therefore *girihe*, *taruhe*. In the loc.

in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is *-mmi*, in JM. *-m̐mi* too : M. *paṁm̐mi* = *patyau* (H. 324. 849); *jalahimmi* = *jaladhau*; *girimmi* = *girau*; *asimmi* = *asau* (G. 146. 153. 222); *uahimmi* = *udadhau*, *jalan̐himmi* = *jalanidhau* (R. 2, 39; 7, 2. 7. 12; 5, 1); JM. *girimmi* = *girau* (KI. 17); *vihimmi* = *vidhau*, *ujahimmi* = *udadhau* (Sagara 7, 1; 9, 3). In AMg. the common form is that in *-m̐si* : *kucchiṁsi* = *kukṣau* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2 ff.; Vivāhap. 1274; Kappas.); *pāṇim̐si* = *pāṇau* (Āyār. 2, 1, 11, 5; 2, 7, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); *rāsim̐si* = *rāsau* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2). Beside them are found in AMg. *tan̐mi rājarisim̐mi namim̐mi abhinikkhamantaṁmi* = *tasm̐in rājarṣau namāv abhin̐ṣkrām̐ti* (Uttar. 279); *accim̐mi*, *accim̐l̐immi* (Vivāhap. 417); *agiṇim̐mi* (Dasav. 620, 24); more often *sahassarassim̐mi* (366a). Likewise with the *u*-stems : M. *pahum̐mi* = *prabhau* (G. 210); *seumm̐mi* = *setau* (R. 8, 93); JM. *merum̐mi* = (T. 5, 3); JŚ. *sāhum̐mi* = *sādhau* (Kattig. 399, 315; MS. °ha°); AMg. *lel̐um̐si* = *leṣṭau* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 21); *bāhum̐si*, *ūrum̐si* = *bāhau*, *ūrau* (Dasav. 617, 12); *uum̐mi* = *ṛtau* (Thāp. 527; text *udu°*). Corresponding to *rāo* = *rātau* (§ 386) AMg. has also *ghim̐so* for **ghim̐so* = *ghram̐se* (§ 105; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58. 109) in the verse. Mg. has in the verse *kedum̐mi* = *ketau* (Mudrār. 176, 4). Ś. has *vatthun̐i* = *vastuni* (Bālar. 122, 11; Dhūrtas. 9, 10). According to Mk. fol. 69 in Ś. the correct forms are *aggim̐mi* and *vāum̐mi*.—In A. the ending of loc. is *-h̐* = *-ṣmin*: *kalih̐* = *kalau*; *akkhih̐* = *akṣṇi*; *saṁdhih̐* = *saṁdhau* (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3), *āih̐* = *ādu* (Piṅgala 1, 85. 142). For the *u*-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches *-hi* for *i*- and *u*-stems. — In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. *gahavāi* (H. 297), but AMg. *gāhāvāi* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 2. 3, 3. 5, 2; 2, 3, 3, 16) = *gr̥hapate*; AMg. *mun̐i* = *mune* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 4; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMg. JM. *mahām̐ni* (Sūyag. 419; Kk. II, 505, 25); AMg. *maharisi* = *maharse* (Sūyag. 182); AMg. *subuddhi* = *subuddhe* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMg. *jambū* = *jambo* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5, 27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. *khaviasavvari* = *kṣapitaśarvarika*, *dinavāi* *dinapate* (H. 655); M. *pavaṁgavāi* = *plavaṅgapate* (R. 8, 19); JM. *pāvavihi* = *pāpavidhe* (Sagara 7, 15); JM. *suravāi* = *surapate* (Kk. 276, 19); AMg. *mun̐i* (Sūyag. 259); AMg. *bhikkhu* = *bhikṣo* (Sūyag. 245. 301); M. JM. *pahu* = *prabho* (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15, 90; Kk. 269, 35); Ś. *rāesi* = *rājarṣe* (Uttarar. 125, 8). Ś. *jadāo* = *jaṭpyo* (Uttarar. 70, 5) is probably a false reading.

§ 380. In the nom. plur. the forms *aggiṇo* and *aggi*, *vāuno* and *vāu* go side by side in M. JM. AMg. : M. *kaiṇo* = *kavayāḥ* (G. 62) and *kai* = *kapayāḥ* (R. 6, 59. 83); *giriṇo* (G. 114) and *giri* (G. 450; R. 6, 34. 60) = *girayāḥ*; *riuno* (G. 1195) and *riū* (G. 245. 721) = *ripavāḥ*; *pahun̐o* (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and *pahū* (G. 868) = *prabhavāḥ*; AMg. *amun̐i* beside *mun̐i* = *amunayāḥ*, *munayāḥ* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 1); *gījaraṇ̐o* = *gītaratayāḥ* beside *gīyanaccanarai* = *gītan̐ṛiyaratayāḥ* (Ovav. § 35); *nāṇārui* = *nāṇārucayāḥ* (Sūyag. 781); *isiṇo* = *ṛsayāḥ* beside *mun̐i* = *munayāḥ* (Uttar. 367); *haṇ̐a-m-āi goṇa-m-āi gayā-m-āi siha-m-āiṇo* (§ 353; Uttar. 1075); *vinnū* = *viññāḥ* (§ 105; Āyār. 1, 4, 3, 1); *gurū* = *guravāḥ* (Āyār. 1, 5, 1, 1); *pasū* = *paśavāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3); *apasū* (Sūyag. 601); *uū* = *ṛtavāḥ* (Samav. 97; Vivāhap. 798; Aṇuog. 432); *dhāuno* = *dhātavāḥ* (Sūyag. 37); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrayāḥ* (Kk. 264 41; 267, 41; 270, 6. 36. 42 etc.); *sāhuṇo* = *sādhavāḥ* (Āv. 9, 22; 26, 36; 27, 7; 46, 3. 9; Kk. 274, 36) and *sāhū* (T. 4, 20); *guruṇo* = *guravāḥ* (Kk. 271, 6; 274, 28. 36). In AMg. prevalent is the form in *-i*, *-ū*, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, such as *ūrū* (Uvās. § 94; Sūyag. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMg. *pāṇi* (Kappas. S. § 43), AMg. *indaggi* = *indrāgn̐i* (Thāp. 82), AMg. *do*

vāu = *dvau vāyū* (Thāṇ. 82), *M. bāhū* = *bāhū* (G. 428). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: AMg. *nāyao* = *jñātayaḥ* (Sūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), *anāyao* (Sūyag. 628); AMg. *rāgaddosādayo* = *rāgadveśādayaḥ* (Uttar. 707); JM. *bhavatattādayo* (Erz. 17,28); AMg. *risao* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); JM. *maharisao* (Erz. 3,14); AMg. *°ppabhiyao* = *°prabhṛtayaḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32;73 so to be read; cf. v. l.); AMg. *jantavo* (verse! Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Sūyag. 105) beside *jantuṇo* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *sāhavo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Uttar. 208). From *bahu* (many) the nom. in AMg. is always formed as *bahave* (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3,3. 5. 10; 2,1,4,1. 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 852. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in JM. (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for *bahavo* (Erz. 38,24) or *bahū* (Erz. 38,21). In Ś. the forms in *-i*, *-ū*, which are formed according to the nom. of the *a*-stems, are not used. The *i*-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in *-io*, as *isio* = *ṛṣayaḥ*, *gṛio* = *girayaḥ* (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15); *risio* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Mṛcch. 326, 14), partly in *-no*, as *kaiṇo* = *kapayaḥ* (Bālar. 238, 5); *mahesino* = *maharṣayaḥ* (Bālar. 268, 1); *isino* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Unmattar. 3,7); *cintāmaṇipahudiṇo* = *cintāmaṇiprabhṛtayaḥ* (Jivān. 95,1). In the case of the *u*-stems in Ś. beside the forms in *-no*, as *pañuṇo* = *pañgavaḥ* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālataṛuṇo* = *bālataṛavaḥ* (Karp. 62,3); *taruṇo* (Karp. 67, 1); *binduṇo* (Mallikām. 83,15) occurs also the form *bindao* = *bindavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 74,21). *bandhū* = *bandhavaḥ* (Śak. 101,13) is not Ś., but M. only *dihagomāo* from **dihagomāao* (§ 165) = *dirghagomāyavaḥ* is traceable in a verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 168, 20); otherwise examples for *i*- and *u*- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms *aggiṇo* and *vāuṇo* alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: M. *pañno* = *pañin* (H. 705); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrin* (Kk. 267,38; 270,2); AMg. *mahesino* = *maharṣin* (Āyār. 1,5,5,1); but also AMg. *mittanāi* = *mitrajñātīn* (Uvās. § 69. 92; so to be read for *°nāim*); *mallaī*, *lēcchāi* = *mallakīn*, *licchavīn* (Vivāhap. 499 f.; Nirayāv. § 25); *nāyao* = *jñātīn* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 378 [text *nāio*]); AMg. *pasavo* = *paśūn* (Sūyag. 414); JM. *guruṇo* = *gurūn* (Kk. 269,35); JM. *sāhuṇo* = *sādhūn* (Kk. 271,15); AMg. *bāhū* = *bāhū* (Sūyag. 222. 286); AMg. *sattū* = *śatrūn* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *bahū* = *bahūn* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216), beside *bahave*, as in the nom. (Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9; Uvās. § 119 184), for which is put *vasudhādhipataye* of PG. — Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: M. *acchūm* = *akṣiṇī* (Hc. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40.54), *acchī* (H. 314); M. AMg. JM. *acchīni* (H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. l.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30,4); AMg. *acchī* (Vivāgas. 11), falsely in Ś. too (Jivān 89,3) AMg. *aṭṭhīni* = *asthīni* (Sūyag. 590); AMg. *sālīni* = *śālīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10); *vihīni* = *vrihīn* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682); *dariṇi* = *dariḥ* (Āyār. 2,10,11); JM. *āīni* = *ādīni* (Kk. 274,4); JŚ. *ādīni* (Pav. 384,48); M. *aṃsūim* = *aśrūṇi* (G. 130. 1208); *paṇḍū* = *paṇḍūni* (G. 384. 577) and *paṇḍūim* (G. 462); *bindūim* = *bindūn* (G. 223); AMg. *mamsūim* = *śmaśrūṇi* (Uvās. § 94); *mamsūni* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11); *dārūṇi* (Sūyag. 247); *pāṇūṇi* = *prāṇān* (Aṇuog. 432; Vivāhap. 423); *kaṅgūṇi* = *kaṅgavaḥ* (Sūyag. 682); *mīlakkhūṇi* = **mīlacchāni* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8); A. *aṃsū* (Piṅgala 1,61). According to Vr. 5,26 only the forms like *dahūi*, *mahūi* would be usable; Kī. 3,28 teaches *dahūim*. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are : M. *kāihī*, *°hī* = *kavibhiḥ* (G. 84. 88) and = *kapibhiḥ* (R. 6,64. 78. 94); AMg. *kimūim* = *kṛmibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 278); JM. *āihim* = *ādibhiḥ* (Āv. 7, 12); Ś. *isihim* = *ṛṣibhiḥ* (Śak. 70, 6); Mg. *°ppahudihim* = *°prabhṛtibhiḥ* (Śak.

114,2); M. *acchihim*, °hĩ, °hi (H. 338. 341. 457. 502); Ś. *acchihim* (Vikr. 48,15; Rato. 319,18); Mg. *akkhihim* (Mṛcch. 120,13; 152,22) = *akṣibhyām* M. *riūhim* = *ripubhih* (H. 471; G. 718); M. *sisūhĩ* = *śiśubhih* (G. 1046); AMg. *vaggūhim* = *vagnubhih* (Vivāhap. 946; Nāyādh. § 25. 79; p. 302. 736. 757. 1107; Rāyap. 266 f.; Uttar. 300; Thān. 527; Ovav. § 53. 181; Kappas.); AMg. *ūrūhim* = *ūrubhyām* (Thān. 401); Ś. *gurūhim* = *gurubhih* (Hāsy. 40,17); Ś. *bindūhim* = *bindubhih* (Venis. 66,21; Nāyādh. 24,13; Karp. 72,1).—The abl. occurs in M. *acchihimto* = *akṣibhyām* (G. 223); JM. *ujjānāhimto* = *udyānādibhyaḥ* (Dvār. 498,20); AMg. *kāmiddhihimto* = *kāmaraddheḥ* (honorific plural; Kappas.; Th. § 11). As in the case of the *a*-stems (§ 369), so in the case of *i*- and *u*-stems too, the ins. is used as the abl.: *santi egehim bhikkhūhim gāratthā samjamuttarā* = *santy ekebhyo bhikkṣubhyo grhasthāḥ saṃyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208) = A. *taruhū* = *tarubhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341) is properly = *taruṣu*, that is to say = the loc., with which the ablative has become identical, according to Hc. 4,340 the gen. too; yet it will be better to consider *taruhū* as in the loc., whilst *bihū* = *dvayoḥ* (Hc. 4,383,1), by all means, stands in the sense of the gen.—The examples for the genitive are: M. *kaīnaṃ* = *kavīnaṃ* (H. 86); *kaīna* = *kapīnaṃ* (R. 6,84); *girīna* (G. 137. 449; R. 6,81); AMg. *dhammasārakīnaṃ* = *dhammasārathīnaṃ* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); metrically *iṣīna* = *ṛṣīnaṃ* (Sūyag. 317) and *iṣīnaṃ* (Uttar. 375. 377); *udahiṇa* = *udadhīnaṃ* (Sūyag. 316); *vīhiṇaṃ* = *vrihiṇāṃ* (Vivāhap. 421); JS. *jadīnaṃ* = *yatināṃ* (Pav. 385,63); *āīnaṃ* = *ādināṃ* (Kattig. 401,340); Ś. *mahīvadināṃ* = *mahīpatīnāṃ* (Lalitav. 555,14); Ś. *acchīnaṃ* = *akṣṇoḥ* (Vikr. 43,15; Nāgān. 11,9); M. *icchūnaṃ* = *ikṣūnāṃ* (H. 740); *riūṇa* = *riṇūnāṃ* (G. 106. 166. 237); *tarūṇa* = *tarūnāṃ* (G. 140); AMg. *bhikkhūnaṃ* = *bhikkṣūnāṃ* (Āyār. 1,7,7 2); *savvaṇṇaṇaṃ* = *sarvajñānāṃ* (Ovav. § 20); *milakkhūnaṃ* = *mlecchānāṃ* (Sūyag. 817); Mg. *bāhūṇa* = *bāhvoḥ* (in the verse; Mṛcch. 129,2); *pañūnaṃ* = *prabhūnāṃ* (Kāmsav. 50,4); JS. *sāhūnaṃ* = *sādhūnāṃ* (Pav. 379,4). A. has the ending *-hā* = *-sām* of the pronoun: *saiṇihā* = *śakunīnāṃ* (Hc. 4,340); on *-hū* see above.—The loc., for example is found as M. *girīsu* (G. 138); M. AMg. *acchīsu* (H. 132; Āyār. 2,3,2,5); Ś. *acchīsum* (Śak. 30,5); M. *riūsu* = *riṇuṣu* (G. 241); JS. metrically *ādisu* = *ādisu* (Pav. 383,69); AMg. *uūsu* = *ṛtuṣu* (Nāyādh. 344); Ś. *ūrūsu* = *ūrvoḥ* (Bālar. 238,7; text °ru°). In A. the form *duhū* corresponds to one **duṣu* (femin.; Hc. 4,340), whilst *tihū* (Hc. 4,347), properly is = *tribhiḥ*, therefore = the instr., as in the case of the *a*-stems (§ 371).—The voc. occurs in JM. *saṃyālaguṇanihiṇo* = *sakalaguṇanidhayaḥ* (Sagara 7,12); AMg. *jantavo* (Sūyag. 335. 424), *bhikkhavo* (Sūyag. 157; text °kkhu°). For JM. *guro* (Kk. III, 513,22) we should read *gurūo*. On A. see § 372.

§ 382. In AMg. the forms, of the plur. of *bahu* (much) that are valid for the masculine, are mostly used for the feminine too: *bahave pāñajāi* = *bahvyaḥ prāñajātayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *bahave sāhammiṇo* = *bahviḥ *sādharmiṇiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11; 2,2,1,2; 2,5,1,2; 2,10,2); *bahave devā ya devio ya* (Āyār. 2,15,8); *bahave khuddākhuddiṇyo vāvio* = *bahvyaḥ kṣudrākṣudrikā vāpyaḥ* (Jiv. 476); *bahūnaṃ samañānaṃ bahūnaṃ samañīnaṃ bahūnaṃ sāvajānaṃ bahūnaṃ sāviṇānaṃ bahūnaṃ devānaṃ bahūnaṃ devīnaṃ* (Kappas. S. § 64; Nāyādh. 498. 518. 615. 654; Vivāhap. 242); *bahūhim āghavaṇāhi* = *a pañṇavaṇāhi ya viñṇavaṇāhi ya sañṇavaṇāhi ya* = *bahvibhir *ākhyāpanābhiḥ ca *prajñāpanābhiḥ ca *viññāpanābhiḥ ca *saññāpanābhiḥ ca* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539. 889; Uvās. § 222; Vivāhap. 814); *bahūhim khujjāhim* = *bahvibhiḥ kubjābhiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 4; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. § 117; p. 832. 837; Vivāgas. 226); *bahūsu vāvīsu* = *bahviṣu vāpiṣu* (Nāyādh. 915); *bahūsu vijjāharīsu* = *bahviṣu vidyādhariṣu* (Nāyādh. 1275; so the commentary; text *bahusu vijjāsu*). Cf. also Ovav. § 8. On the retained Skt. forms like *girīsu*,

vagguhim see § 99, on the stepping over of the *a*-stems into the *u*-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. *sakahāo* = *sakthini* § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in *-ī* and *-ū* shorten their *ī* and *ū* according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42, 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in *-ī*, *-u*. So nom. *gāmaṇī* = *grāmaṇīḥ*; acc. *gāmaṇim*; ins. *gāmaṇiṇā*; gen. *gāmaṇiṇo* and *gāmaṇissa*; voc. *gāmaṇi*; nom. *khalapū* = *khalapūḥ*; acc. *khalapum*; ins. *khalapunā*; gen. *khalapuno*; voc. *khalapu* (Hc. 3,24, 42, 43, 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: *khalavau*, *khalavao*, *khalavuno*, *khalavū*. Examples are: M. *gāmaṇī*, *gāmaṇiṇo* = *grāmaṇīḥ*, *grāmaṇyaḥ* (H. 449,633); *gāmaṇiṇaṇ* (R. 7,60); J.M. *asogasirī*, *asogasiriṇo* = *asokaśriḥ asokaśriyaḥ* (Av. 8,2, 32); Ś. *candasiriṇo*, *candasiriṇā* = *candraśriyaḥ candraśriyā* (Mudrār. 39, 3; 56,8; 227,2, 7); Ś. *māhavasiriṇo* = *mādhavaśriyaḥ* (Mālatīm. 211,1); Ś. *aggaṇī* = *agraṇīḥ* (Mṛcch. 4,23; 327,1). The forms *saambhūm*, *saambhuno* = *svayambhuvam*, *svayambhuvah* (G. 1,813), *saambhuno*, *saambhussa*, *saambhuna* (Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from *svayambhū* or from *°bhu*.

b) FEMININE.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in *-ī*, *-u*, as *bhūmisu*, *suttisu*. (§ 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in *-ī*, *-u*, with which those in *-ī* and *-ū* have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in *-ā* in § 374ff., and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: *ṇaī*, *ṇaīe*, *ṇaīa*, *ṇaīā* from *ṇaī* = *nadī* (Bh. 5,22; Kī.3,26; Mk. fol.43); *ruīa*, *ruīā*, *ruīi*, *ruīe* from *ruī* = *ruci* (Sr. fol. 15); *buddhīa*, *buddhīā*, *buddhīi*, *buddhīe* from *buddhi*; *saḥīa*, *saḥīā*, *saḥīi*, *saḥīe* from *saḥī* = *sakhi*; *dheṇūa*, *dheṇūā*, *dheṇūi*, *dheṇūe* from *dheṇu* = *dhenu*; *vahūa*, *vahūā*, *vahūi*, *vahūe* from *vahū* = *vadhū* (Hc. 3, 29). Of these, the forms in *-īā*, *-ūā* are not available, and those in *-īi*, *-ūi* are rare in the texts: M. *ṇaī* = *natyāḥ* (G.1000); AMg. *mahī* = *mahyāḥ* (Sūyag. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for *-īe* of the texts, as G. 139, 860, 922. For *gabbhiṇī* = *garbhinyāḥ*, now WEBER H. 166 correctly reads *gabbhiṇā*. In all cases, where the forms in *-īe*, *-ūe* stand in the text, and the metre requires a short, as *mahīe*, *sīrīe*, *tajjanīe*, *pavittaranīe*, *naarīe*, *ṇivasirīe*, *lacchīe* etc. (G. 122, 212, 247, 268, 501, 928); *vahūe* (H. 874, 981), the forms in *-īa* or in *-īi*, *ūa* or in *-ūi* are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected *-īa*, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla¹ by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. *hasamṭīi* beside *hasamṭīa*, *hasamṭīe* (cf. IS. 16,53 too). For *vahūe* (H. 874, 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvya-prakāśa give the v. l. at 874 *vahūo*, *bahūa*, at 981 *bahūi*, *bahūi*. We have, therefore, to write *vahūa* or *vahūi*, as also H. 786, 840, 874; *vahūa* stands at H. 457, 608, 635, 648, everywhere with the v. l. *vahūe* or *bahūe*. Cf. § 375. The forms in *-īa*, *-ūa* are, likewise those in *-īi*, *-ūi*, confined to verses, but with the stems in *-ī*, *-ī* in M. very frequently: ins. *bandīa* = *bandyā*; *vāhūa* = *vyādhyā*; *laliaṅgula* = *lalitāṅgulyā* (H. 118, 121, 458); *āhiāiā* = *abhiṅjātyā*; *rāasirīa* = *rājaśriyā*; *diṭṭhīa* = *dr̥ṣṭyā*; *thīa* = *sthityā*; *jāṇaīa* = *jāṇakyā* (R. 1,11, 13, 45; 4,43; 6,6); *sippīa* = *śuktyā*; *muṭṭhīa* = *muṣṭyā*; *devīa* = *devyā* (Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14); gen. *koḍīa* = *koṭeḥ*; *gharīṇīa* = *gr̥hinyāḥ*; *girīṇaīa* = *girinadyāḥ* (H. 3,11, 14, 37); *dhaṇariddhīa* *sīrīa* a *saliluppanṇāi* *vārunīa* a = *dhanarddhyāḥ śrīyāś ca salilotpannāyā vārunyāś ca* (R. 2,

17); *dharanīa* = *dharanyāḥ* (R. 2,2; 7,28); *sarassaia* = *sarasvatyāḥ*; *rūdhia* = *rūdheḥ* (Karp. 1,1; 51,3); L. *pāṇāḍīa* = *prāṇakutyām* (H. 227; on the meaning cf. Pāṇal. 105 with Deśin. 6,38); D. *naaria* = *nagaryām* (Mṛcch. 100,2). For the ablative examples are wanting. The usual forms in all the dialects, except A., that C. 1,9 alone knows, is that in *-ie*, *-ūe*, which, however, is not found in the abl. So ins. M. *bhaṇantīe* = *bhaṇantyā* (H. 123); AMg. *gaie*, Ś. *gadīe* = *gatyā* (Kappas. § 5; Śak. 72,11); Mg. *śattīe* = *śaktyā* (Mṛcch. 29,20); P. *bhagavatīe* = *bhagavatya* (Hc. 4,323); gen. *lacchīe* = *lakṣmyāḥ* (G. 68); AMg. *nāgasirīe māhaṇīe* = *nāgaśrīyā brāhmaṇyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1151); Ś. *radanāvalīe* = *ratnāvalyāḥ* (Mṛcch. 88,21); Mg. *majjālīe* = *māṛjāryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 17,7); loc. *paavīe* = *padavyām* (H. 107); AMg. *vāṇārasīe naṇarīe* = *vārāṇasyām nagaryām* (Antag. 63; Nirayāv. 43. 45; Vivāgas. 136. 148. 149; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Nāyādh. 1516. 1528). AMg. JM. *aḍavīe* = *aḍavyām* (Nāyādh. 1137; Erz. 1,4; 13,30; 21,21); Ś. *masāṇa-vīdhīe* = *śmaśānavīthyām* (Mṛcch. 72,8); Mg. *dhalanīe* = *dharanyām* (Mṛcch. 173,16). The form is found to have been shortened to *-īe* in A. too : ins. *maragaakantiē* = *marakatakāntya*; gen. *gaṇantiē* = *gaṇantyāḥ*; *radīe* = *ratyāḥ* (Hc. 4,349. 333. 446).

§ 386. In the ins., *diṭṭhiā* = *diṭṭyā* (e. g. Mṛcch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc.) used adverbially, Ś. has retained an old ins. in *-ā*. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in *-ī* : *kittī* = *kīrtiyā* (1,65^a; 2,66); *bhattī* = *bhaktiyā* (2,67), and so is also *eavīsati* for *ūtā* (Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ūtī*) = *ekaviṃśatyā* to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in *-īe* in AMg. JM.Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4, 350, like the gen., it ends in *-hē*, has the endings *-īo*, *-ūo*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *-ido*, *-ūdo*: AMg. *araīraio* = *aratirateḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *koṣio* = *koṣyāḥ* (Sūyag. 593); *naṇario* = *nagaryāḥ* (Nirayāv. § 19; p. 44.45; Nāyādh. 1135); *poḥkharīṇio* = *puṣkarinyāḥ*; *corapallio* = *corapallyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1060. 1427. 1429); *gaṅgāsindhūo* = *gaṅgāsindhoh* (Thāp. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f.); Ś. *aḍaīdo* = *aḍavyāḥ* (Śak. 35,8); *ujjaiṇido* = *ujjayinyāḥ* (Ratn. 321,22; 322,9); *sacīdo* = *sacyāḥ* (Vikr. 44,8); Mg. *naalīdo* = *nagaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 159,13). — The gen. has in A., as in the case of *a*-stems (§ 375), the ending *-hē*, before which the vowel is shortened: *joantiḥē* = *paśyantyāḥ*; *mēllantiḥē* = *muñcantiyāḥ*; *goriḥē* = *gauryaḥ*; *tumbiṇiḥē* = *tumbinyāḥ* (Hc. 4,332,2. 370,4. 395,1. 427,1); *kaṅguḥē* = *kaṅgoḥ* (Hc. 4,367,4). — In the loc. in AMg. we find frequently *rāo* = *rātrau* as well, the only form (Āyār. 1,8,2,6; Sūyag. 247. 255. 519; Nāyādh. 302. 374), as in the combinations *aho jā rāo* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Sūyag. 295. 412. 485; Uttar. 430), or in *aho jā rāo jā* = *ahaś ca rātrau ca* (Paṇhāv. 373), *rāo vā vijāle vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2,23 [so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126]), *diyā jā rāo jā* = *divā ca rātrau ca* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3. 4,1; Uttar. 847), *diyā vā rāo vā* (Sūyag. 846; Dasav. 616,13). Sometimes in AMg. the ending of the masc. and neutr. is extended over to the feminine: *piṭṭhīmsi* from *piṭṭhī* (§ 53; Nāyādh. 940); *bhittīmsi* = *bhittau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *rājahāṇīmsi* = *rājadhānyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4; 2,3,1,2) between pure loc. in *-īmsi* of the masc. and the neutr. Cf. § 355.358. 364. 367. 375. 379. Ś. has *rattimmi* = *rātrau* (Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4); *bhūmimmi* = *bhūmau* (Mallikām. 337,21). In A. the loc. ends in *-hī* = *-syām*; *mahiḥi* = *mahyām*; *riddhiḥi* = *riddhau*; *sallāhīhī* = *śallakyām*; *vāṇārasīhī* = *vārāṇasyām*; *ujjēṇihī* = *ujjayinyām* (Hc. 4,352.418.8.422,9.442,1); *ṇadiḥi* = *nadyām* (Piṅgala 1,5a), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of the *i*-stems, also in *-ī* and shortened: *-ī puhavī* = *prthivyām* (1,121; text *ōmī*); *dharanī* = *dharanyām* (1,137^a); *puhavi* = *prthivyām* (1,132^a); *mahi* = *mahyām* (1,143^a). — The vocative ends in *-ī*, *-u* : M. *māhavi* = *mādhavi*; *bhaīravi* = *bhairavi*; *devi* = *devi* (G. 285. 287. 290. 331);

thorattani = *sthūlastani* (H. 925); *Ś. bhaavadi bhāiradhi* = *bhagavati bhāgirathi* (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); JM. *Ś. puti* = *putri* (Āv. 12,11. 17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); *Ś. sahi māladi* = *sakhi mālati* (Mālatim. 94,2); Mg. *vuḍḍhakustani* = *vrddhakustani* (Mṛcch. 141,25; 152,22); *kaccāṇi* = *kātyāyāni* (Caṇḍak. 69,1); M. *vevantoru* = *vepamānoru* (H. 52); *suāṇu* = *sutanu* (G. 186; H.); *kariaroru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925); in Mg. with *pluti vāsū* (Mṛcch. 127,1).

§ 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in -īo, -ūo, which alternate with -īu, -ūu in verses: nom. M. *kattio* = *kṛttayāḥ* (H. 951); *riddhio* = *ṛddhayāḥ* (G. 92); *lumbio* = * *lumbyāḥ* (H. 322); *naio* = *nadyāḥ*; *naario* = *nogaryāḥ* (G. 360. 403); AMg. *mahānaio* = *mahānadyāḥ* (Thān. 76. 77. 79); *hiranṇakodho* = *hiranyakotyāḥ* (Uvās. § 4), *itthio* = *striyāḥ* (Thān. 121); M. *taruṇiu* = *taruṇyāḥ* (G. 113; H. 546); JM. *palavantio*...*avarohajuvaio* = *pralapantiyāḥ*...*avarodhayuvatayāḥ* (Sagara 4,13); *vasahio* = *vasatayāḥ* (T. 4, 22); *Ś. gīdio* = *gītayāḥ* (Mahāv. 121,7); *mahuario* = *madhukaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 29,5. 7; 70,2); *āidho* = *ākṛtayāḥ* (Śak. 132,6); *paīdio* = *prakṛtayāḥ* (Vikr. 73,12; Mudrār. 39,1; 56,8); A. *aṅguliū* = *aṅgulyāḥ* (Hc. 4, 333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. *kulavahūo* = *kulavadhvāḥ* (H. 459); AMg. *suravadhūo* (Ovav. § [38]); *rajjūo* = *rajjavāḥ* (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. *sahīrio* = *sahanaśīlāḥ* (H. 47); AMg. *vallio* = *valliḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15); *osahio* = *osadhīḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,16; Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33); *savattio* = *sapatnīḥ* (Uvās. § 239); *sayagghio* = *śatagghīḥ* (Uttar. 285); JM. *goṇio* (Āv. 7,10); *Ś. bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīḥ* (Śak. 79,13); A. *vilāsiṇiu* = *vilāsinīḥ* (Hc. 4,348), and with *ī* *sallāiu* = *śallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. *bahūo coravijjāo* = *bahvīś coravidyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1421), but also *bahave sāhammiṇio* = *bahvīḥ *sādharmiṇīḥ* (§ 382). — Voc. JM. *bhajavāio devayāo* = *bhagavatyo devatāḥ* (Dvār. 503,25); M. *Ś. sahio* = *sakhyāḥ* (H. 131. 619; Śak. 12,1; 90,8; Cait. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); *Ś. bhodio* = *bhavatyāḥ* (Viddhaś. 121,1); *bhaavadio* = *bhagavatyaḥ* (Uttarar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. *sahūu* (H. 412. 743). In A. the voc. has the ending -hō: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyāḥ* (Hc. 4,346). The forms in -ī, -ū, taught by Hc. 3,27. 124, are likewise found in the texts: nom. M. *asaī mha* = *asatyāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417); voc. M. *piasahī* = *priyasakhyāḥ* (H. 903); acc. AMg. *itthī* = *striḥ* (Verse !; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. *Ś. sahihim* = *sakhibhiḥ* (H. 144; Śak. 167,9); M. *diṭṭhihim* (G. 752), *sahihī*, *sahihi* (H. 15. 60. 69. 810. 840); JŚ. *dhūlihim* (Pav. 384,60); AMg. *cilāhihim vāmaṇhihim vaḍabhihim babbariḥim*...*damiḥiḥim simhalihim*... = *kirātībhīr vāmaṇībhīr vaḍabhiḥbhīr barbarībhīr draviḍībhīḥ simhalībhīḥ* (Ovav. § 55); *Ś. aṅgulihiḥim* = *aṅgulībhīḥ* (Mṛcch. 6,7; Śak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has *thībhi* = *strībhīḥ*; A. *pupphavāiḥi* = *puṣpavatībhīḥ* (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel: *osaīhī* = *asatībhīḥ*, *dēntihī* = *dadatībhīḥ* (Hc. 4,396,1. 419,5). — Gen. M. *sahīṇa* = *sakhīnām* (H. 482); *thūṇa* = *stutīnām* (G. 82); *taruṇīnām* (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. *savattīnām* = *sapatnīnām* (Uvās. § 238. 239); M. *Ś. kāmiṇīnām* (H. 559; Mṛcch. 71,22); M. *vahūnām* = *vadhūnām* (G. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71. 93) and *vahūṇa* (R. 9,40. 96; 15,78). Loc. M. *rāisū* = *rātriṣu* (H. 45); *giriadīsū* = *giritāṣiṣu* (G. 374); AMg. *itthīsū* = *striṣu* (Āyār. 2,16,7; Sūyag. 405. 409); JM. *kujonīsū* = *kuyonīsū* (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. *vāvisū* = *vāpīsū* (G. 166; Nāyādh. 915); M. °*thalīsū* (G. 256) and °*thalīsū* (G. 350. 421) = °*sthalīsū*; *Ś. vānarāṣiṣū* = *vanarāṣiṣu* (Śak. 29,4; Uttarar. 22,13; text °*isu*); *devīsū* (Śak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins.: *disihī* = **diṣiṣu* = *dikṣu*, but also *duhū* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4, 340; cf. § 381).

§ 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. *āpittīyām* (6,37) that is to say *āpittīyām* = *āpittīyām*, therefore, the form of Pāli. — If the feminine forms

in *-i*, *-u*, *-ī*, *-ū* enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt., take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a masc. or neuter. So M. *karena va pañcaṅgulīṇā* (G. 17); M. *sasialāsuttiṇā... kavāleṇa* = *śaśikalāsuktinā... kapāleṇa* (G. 40); Ś. *mae māṇḍabuddhiṇā* = *mayā māṇḍabuddhiṇā* (Śak. 126, 10); Ś. *mohidamadiṇā* = *mohitamatinā*, *nīdiniṇa-buddhiṇā* = *nītinipunabuddhiṇā* (Mudrār. 228, 1; 269, 3); Ś. *ujjumaḍiṇo* = *ṛjumaṭeḥ* (Pras. 46, 9). Mg. *muṣṭie* = *muṣṭiṇā* = *muṣṭāmuṣṭi*, really = *muṣṭyā muṣṭiṇā* (Mṛcch. 170, 15) is also noticed.

3) STEMS IN *-ṛ*.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between *nomina agentis* and words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing. and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Otherwise, corresponding to the change of *ṛ* to *i* or *u* (§ 50ff.) the stems in *-ṛ* have become *i-* or usually *u-* stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as new thema, according to the *a*-declension: *piṛ-*, *piu-*, *piara-* = *pitṛ-*; *bhaṭṭi-*, *bhattu-*, *bhattāra-*. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as the *ā*-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: *māā-*, *māi-*, *māū-*, *māārā-*. Hence the grammarians (Vr. 5, 31—35; Hc. 3, 44—48; Kī. 3, 30—34; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13. 16. 18) teach for the *ṛ*-stems, all the forms that are valid for the *a-*, circumstantial *ā-*, and *u-* stems, and it has not as yet been possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. *Nomina agentis*. — *bhattu* = *bharṭṛ* (husband).

Singular.

Nom. *bhattā*; AMg. *bhattāre*, also JM. *bhattāro*.
Acc. *bhattāraṃ*; Mg. *bhattālaṃ*.
Gen. *bhattaṇṇo*, AMg. *bhattārassa* also.
Loc. JM. Ś. *bhattāre*.
Voc. *bhattā*.

Plural.

Nom. M. AMg. *bhattāro*; AMg. *bhattā* also.
Ins. AMg. *bhattārehiṃ*.
Loc. AMg. *bhattāresu*.
Voc. AMg. *bhattāro*.

In the meaning "master" *bharṭṛ* has become an *i*-stem in Ś. (§ 55.289) and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. *bhattā* (Lalitav. 563; 23; Ratn. 293, 32; 294, 11 etc.); acc. *bhattāraṃ* (Mālav. 45, 16; 59, 3; 60, 10); ins. *bhattiṇā* (Śak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2. 9; 8, 7); gen. *bhattiṇo* (Śak. 43, 10; 117, 7; Mālav. 6, 22; 40, 18; 41, 9. 17; Mudrār. 54, 2; 149, 2); voc. *bhattā* (Ratn. 305, 17. 23; Śak. 144, 14), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 34, 11. 17).—Examples for individual cases are: nom. AMg. *ne ā* = *netā* (Sūyag. 519; text *netā*); *kaṇṭhacchēttā* (Uttar. 633); JM. *dāyā* = *dātā* (Erz. 58, 30); M. JM. Ś. *bhattā* (Karp. 43, 4; Āv. 11, 2; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4, 4, 5); JŚ. *ṇādā* = *jñātā*, *jhādā* = *dhyātā* (Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70), *kattā* = *kartā* (Pav. 384, 36. 58. 60); Ś. *sāsīdā* = *śāsītā*, *dādā* = *dātā* (Kāleyak. 24, 16; 25, 22); Ś. *rakkhidā* = *rakṣītā* (Śak. 52, 5; Mukund. 15, 5); AMg. *udagadā-jāre* [text *°dātāro*] = *udakadātā* (Ovav. § 86); AMg. *bhattāre* (Nāyādh. 1230); AMg. *uvadaṃsēttāre* [text *°ro*] = *upadarśayītā* (Sūyag. 593); JM. *bhattāro* = *bhartā* (Āv. 12, 5. 12. 16. 17; Erz. 6, 36; 85, 22).—Acc. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhattāraṃ* (H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatīm. 240, 2); Mg.

bhattālam (Venīś. 33,8); AMg. *udagadāyāram* = *udakadātāram* (Ovav. § 85); *pasatthāram* *neṣyāram* = *praśāstāram* *netāram* (Samav. 84); *satthāram* = *śāstāram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. JŚ. *kattāram* = *kartāram* (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1).—Gen. M. JM.Ś. *bhattuṇo* (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Śak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6. 16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. *udagadāyārassa* = *udakadātuh* (Ovav. § 85).—For the loc. Ś. *bhattari* (Śak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read *bhattāre*, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23, 5). False is also the reading *bhattari* of the Kashmirian - (105,15), *bhattuni* of the Devanāgarī- and *bhattummi* of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. BÖHTL.; 248,6 ed. Madras). The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between *bhattummi*, *bhattari*, *bhattari*, *bhattanmi*.—Voc. *bhattā*, see above.—Plural: nom. M. *soāro* = *śrotārah* (Vajjālagga 325,17); AMg. *pasatthāro* = *praśāstārah* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23. 38); *uvavattāro* = *upapattārah* (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56. 69. ff.); *akkhāyāro*, *āgantāro*, *neṣyāro* [text *netāro*], *pannattāro* = *ākhyātārah*, *āgantārah*, *netārah*, **prajñaptārah* (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. *gantā* = *gantārah* (Sūyag. 150); *saviyā* = *śavitārau*, *taṭṭhā* = *vaṣṭārau* (Thāp. 82). To it belongs also AMg. *bhājantāro*, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as *bhavantāro*¹, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too, (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562.766; Ovav. § 56.129) and the voc. (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 239.585. 630.630.635). Its meaning is = *bhavantah* or *bhagavantah*, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from *bhavant*, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. *āusantāro* = *āyusmantah* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing.) from *āyusmant*. There is found also the gen. *bhājantārāṇam* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. *dāyārehiṃ* = *dātṛbhiḥ* (Kappas. § 112).—Loc. *āgantāresu* = *āgantṛsu* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4. 5; 2,7,2,1. 7. 8.), *dāyāresu* = *dātṛsu* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17).—The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the *a*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattāra*-, or according to the *u*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattu*-.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. *bhavant* and the fut. part. *bhaviṣṣ*.—2. The hypothesis of STEINTHAL (Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Prākṛt (i. e. AMg.) is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — *piu* = *pitṛ*.

Singular.

Nom. *piā* [*piaro*]; Ś. Mg. *pidā*.

Acc. *piaram*; AMg. JM. *piyaram*; Ś. *pidaram*; Mg. *pidalam*.

Ins. *piunā* [*piareṇa*]; Ś. Mg. *pidunā*; A. *piara*.

Gen. *piuṇo*; AMg. *piuṇo*, *piussa*; JM. *piuṇo*, *piyarassa*; Ś. Mg. *piduṇo*; A. *piaraha*.

Voc. [*piā*, *piā*, *piaram*, *piaro*, *piara*].

Plural.

Nom. [*piaro*], [*piuṇo*]; AMg. JM. *piyaro*; AMg. also *pii*; Ś. *pidaro*.

Acc. [*piare*, *piuṇo*]; AMg. *piyaro*; Ś. *pidaro*, *pidare*.

Ins. [AMg. *piūhiṃ*, also *piihim*; [*piarehiṃ*].

Gen. AMg. *piūṇam*, also *piūṇam*.

Loc. [*piūsum*].

Sing. : nom. is very frequent : M. *piā* (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. *piyā* (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. *pidā* (Śak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); Ā. *pidā* (Mr̥cch. 104,17); Mg. *pidā* (Mr̥cch. 32,11); AMg. JM. *bhāyā* = *bhrātā* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. Ā. *bhādā* (Uttarar. 128,10;

Pras 83,6; Venis. 102,4; 103,22; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,18); Ś. *jāmādā* = *jāmātā* (Mālatīm. 235,4; Mallikām. 210,23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text °do]); Mg. *vāmādā* (Mṛcch. 139,25). Acc. Mg. *pijaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345); *ammāpijaram* (Thān. 126; Uttar. 573); Ś. *pidaram* (Vikr. 81,10; 82,8; Mālav. 84,5; Venis. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kaṁsav. 50,12 etc.), in Ā. too (Mṛcch. 101,17) and Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,10); JM. *bhājaram* Ś. *bhādaram* = *bhrātaram* (Erz. 85,4; Venis. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240, 2). — Ins. M. AMg. *piunā* (G. 1197; Vivāhap. 820. 827), Mg. *pidunā* (Mṛcch. 167,24), A. *piara* (Śukas. 32,3); JM. *bhāunā* (Erz. 45,28), Ś. *bhādunā* (Mālav. 71,2; Mālatīm. 244,2); Ś. *jāmādunā* (Ratn. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMg. *piuno* (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyādh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMg. *ammāpiuno* (Thān. 125) beside *ammāpiussa* (Thān. 126); JM. *piuno* (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and *ammāpijarassa* (Erz. 77,30); Ś. *piduno* (Mṛcch. 95,2. 15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvatīp. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); Ś. *bhāduno* (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālar. 113,7; 144,10; Venis. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); Ś. *jāmāduno* (Venis. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. *piaraha* (Piṅgala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMg. *pijaro* (Thān. 511. 512), frequently in the compound *ammāpijaro* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 16; Vivāhap. 809. 926; Thān. 524.525; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 114. 116; p. 292. 887. 965 and often); AMg. JM. *bhāyaro* (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMg. *bhāyarā* (Uttar. 402.622) and AMg. *do pī* = *dvau pitarau* [as the names of stars; Thān. 82], Ś. *bhādaro* (Uttarar. 12,7; Venis. 13,9). False are Ś. *mādarapiarā* (sic; Kaṁsav. 50,14) and *bhāarā* (sic; Kaṁsav. 50,10). We should read *mādāpidaro* and *bhādaro*. — Acc. AMg. JM. *ammāpijaro* (Antag. 4, 23.61. Nāyādh. § 134.138; p. 260.887; Vivāhap. 808; Erz. 37,29); Ś. *pidaro* (Vikr. 87,17); AMg. also *ammāpijare* (Uttar. 643; Commentary °ram); Ś. *mādāpidare* = *mātāpitarau* (Śak. 159,12). — Ins. AMg. *ammāpiūhim* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyādh. § 138; p. 889) and AMg. JM. *ammāpiūhim* (Kappas. § 94; v. l. °piū; Thān. 527; Vivāhap. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2) JM. *māyāpiūhim* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *piūhim*, *bhāiūhim* (Sūyag. 694; text °iūhim), false, *piyāhim* (104) and *pitāhim* (692); Ś. *bhādarehim* (Mṛcch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — Gen. AMg. *ammāpiūnam* (Kappas. § 90; Nāyādh. § 120; p. 905. 965) and *ammāpiūnam* (Ovav. § 72; v. l. °piū; 103. 107); JM. *māyāpiūnam* (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMg. *culanīpiya* = *culanīpitṛ* is declined as: nom. *culanīpiyā*, acc. °piyam, gen. °piyassa, voc. °piyā (Uvās. s.v.).

§ 392. *mātr* (mother) forms the nom. M. *mā* (H. 400.508); AMg. JM. *māyā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 115.161.377.635.750; Nāyādh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46. 109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4. 7); Ś. Ā. Mg. *mādā* (Uttarar. 126,6; Venis. 29,12; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 129,6). In the meaning 'divine mother', the stem *mārarā*, which is declined like the feminine in -ā, makes its appearance according to Hc. 3,46. — Acc. M. *māram* (Hc. 3,46), AMg. JM. *māyaram*, Dh. Ś. *mādaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345; Erz.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 32,12; Ś. Mṛcch. 141,11; Śak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.); in M. also *māam* (H. 741), and so the word may generally be declined as an ā-stem: sing. ins. JM. *māyāe* (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. Ś. *mādāe* (Karp. 19, 5); voc. M. *māe* (H. s. v. *mā*); Ś. *māde* (Venis. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMg. *māyāhim* (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. *māhā* (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMg. *māyaro* (Thān. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74. 77); besides AMg. JM. have ī- and ū- stems (Hc. 3,46); gen. loc. sing. *māūe* (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāhap. 116); ins. plur. *māūhim* (Sūyag. 692 [i°]. 694); gen. plur. *māīnam*, *māīna* (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. *māi* in A. Piṅgala 1,2. — From *duhitṛ* the nom. Ś. is *duhidā* (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhaś.

47,6. 10; Priyad. 52,6), the acc. Ś. *duhidaram* (Śak. 128,2), the voc. Ś. *duhide* (Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc.). JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* and M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* are mostly used (§ 65.148), JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhidā* which are inflected as *ā*-stems, especially in the combinations JM. *dāsiedhīyā*, Ś. *dāsiedhīdā*, Mg. *dāsiedhīdā*, comprehended as compounds (cf. *dāsieutta*). In Ś. Mg. the manuscripts and texts write *dhīā* mostly falsely. Nom.Ś. *dāsiedhīdā* (Ratn.302,8); AMg. JM. *dhūyā* (Āyār. 1,2, 1,1; 2,15,15; Sūyag. 635,657; Vivāgas. 105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586.781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23; 11,10; 12,3; 29,14; 37,26ff.; Erz. 5,38); Ś. *ajjādhūdā*=*āryāduhitā* (Mṛcch.53,23; 54, 7; 94,11; 325,14); acc. M. *dhūam* (H. 388), AMg. *dhūyam* (Vivāgas. 228. 229; Nāyādh. 820); ins. M. *dhūāi* (H. 370); *dhūāe* (H. 864); Ś. *dāsiedhīdāe* (Nāgān. 57,4). Mg. *dāsiedhīdāe* (Mṛcch. 17,8); gen. Ś. *dāsiedhīdāe* (Mṛcch. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10); Ś. *ajjādhūdāe* (Mṛcch. 53,15; 94,4); loc. AMg. *dhūyāe* (Nāyādh. 727); voc. JM. *dāsiedhīe* (Erz. 68,20); Ś. *dāsiedhīde* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 72,19; Karp. 13,2 [Konow °dhūde]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3; 301,18; Nāgān. 57,3; Caṇḍak. 9,16); Mg. *dāsiedhīde* (Mṛcch. 127,23). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *dhūyāo* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; 2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23; 12,1; Erz. 14,12); ins. JM. *dhūyāhi* (Erz. 14,16); gen. AMg. *dhūyānam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1); Ś. *dhīdānam* (Mālatīm. 288,5); voc. Ś. *dāsiedhīdāo* (Cait. 84,7). From the stem *dhūyārā* is found the acc. sing. AMg. *dhūyaram* (Uttar. 641), ins. plur. *dhūyārāhi* (Sūyag. 229).—From *svasr* the nom. sing. is AMg. *sasā* (Hc. 3, 35; Pāiyāl. 252; Sūyag. 176).

4) STEMS IN *o* AND *au*.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of *go* only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. *suyago* = *abhinavaprasūtā gauḥ* (Sūyag. 180); nom. plur. *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* (Dasav. 628,15); acc. plur. *gāo* = **gāvaḥ* = *gāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 10); ins. plur. *gahim* = *gobhiḥ* (Aṇuog. 351); gen. plur. *gavam* = *gavām* (Samav. 83; Uttar. 293). The nom. sing. in AMg. is *gave*=**gavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17), as also at Sūyag. 147 we have to read for *gavam* of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. *gavā* in *jaraggavā* = *jaradgāvaḥ* (Sūyag. 185). For the mascul. *goṇo* is mostly used in AMg. Mg. (Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; 2,3,3,8. 13; 2,4,2,7; Sūyag. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5. 12-14. 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places *goṇām* with a change of gender according to § 358); AMg. *goṇattāe* = *gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51). The fem. is JM. *goṇī* (Āv. 7,10. 12; 43,10), or M. *gāi* (Hc. 1,158; H.), AMg. JM. *gāvi* (C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3. 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 618,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12. 14; Erz.). For the masc. Hc. 1,158 mentions *gāūo*, *gāo*, for the fem. *gāūā*, *gāi*. Of them *gāūo* = *gavayaḥ*, *goṇo* is either=**goṇno* for **gunno* = **gūṇāḥ* from *ṽgur* according to § 66¹, or = **gavana*. Cf. also § 8. 152.

1. So more correctly than BB. 3,237.

§ 394. *nau* (ship) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. *nāvā*, which is inflected according to the *ā*-declension (Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16); sing. nom. AMg. *nāvā*, Ś. *nāvā* (Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mṛcch. 41,20), A. *nāva* (Hc. 4,423,1); acc. M. *nāvam* (G.812), AMg. *nāvaṁ*, *nāvaṁ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13 ff.; Sūyag. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741); ins. gen. AMg. *nāvāe* (Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. § 218); abl. AMg. *nāvāo* (Āyār. 2,3,2,2. 3); plur. ins. AMg. *māvāhi* (Dasav. 629,1).

5) STEMS IN *-t*.

§ 395. The nouns in *-t*, having a single stem, of which *t* is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final *t*: M. *indaiṇā* = *indrajitā* (R. 14,16), gen. *indaiṇo* (R. 12,58, 84) and *indaissa* (R. 15,61), loc. *indaṇmi* (R. 13,99); *taḍi* = *taḍit* (Hc. 1,202), A. *taḷi* = *taḍitam* (Vikr. 55,2); *marū* = *marut* (Ki. 2,123; M. *vijjū* = *vidyut* (Vr. 4, 9; Bh. 4, 26; Hc. 1, 15; Ki. 2, 129; H. 585). From *jagat*, the nom. sing. is M. *jaam* (R. 5, 20; 9, 73), AMg. *jage* (Sūyag. 74), A. *jagu* (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. *jagam* (Sūyag. 405, 537); the gen. A. *jaassu* (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. *jaammi* (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and *jae* (G. 239; H. 303), AMg. *jagai* (Sūyag. 104; text °*ti*) and *jagaṇsi* (Sūyag. 306), JŚ. *jagadi* (Pav. 382, 26; text °*ti*), A. *jagi* (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings *-ā*: *sarit* becomes Pāli *saritā*, M. *sariā* (G. H. R.), JM. *sariyā* (Erz.), A. *saria* (Vikr. 72,9); M. gen. plur. *sariāḥ* (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. *sariḥ* = **saribhiḥ* = *saridbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the *-ā*-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for *vidyut*. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found *vijjunā* too beside *vijjūe*, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. *vijjuno* too.

§ 396. The stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the *a*-declension of the strong stems in *-anta*, *-manta*, *-vanta*. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. *jānam* = *jānan* (Sūyag. 1,332); *vijjam* = *vidvān* (Sūyag. 126, 306, 380 ff.); *cakkhumam* = *cakṣuṣmān* (Sūyag. 546); *diṭṭhimam* = *diṣṭimān* (Sūyag. 200, 531); *āyavam* *nānavam* *dhammavam* *bambhavam* = *ātmavān* *jñānavān* *dharmavān* *brahmavān* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *puṭṭhavam* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), *thāmavam* = *sthāmavān* (Uttar. 50, 90), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* = *tiṣṭhan*, *atiṣṭhan* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *kuvvam* = *kurvan* (Sūyag. 31,863), *kiṇam*, *haṇam*, *paṇam* = *kriṇan*, *ghnan*, *pacan* (Sūyag. 609); AMg. JM. *maham* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4; Sūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kk. 271, 11); JM. *araham* = *arhan* (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In Ś. Mg. it is confined to *bhagavat* and *bhavat* (pronoun) (Hc. 4,265). So Ś. *bhaavam* (Mṛch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5, 23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.); likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Caṇḍak. 43,7); Ś. *bhavam* (Mṛch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Śak. 37, 1 etc.), *atthabhavam* = *atrabhavān* (Śak. 33,3; 35,7), *tatthabhavam* = *tatrabhavān* (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3, 15); likewise P. *bhagavam* (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. *maimajā* = *matimatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4, 2,5), *maimajā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,22,2,16, 3,14,4,17; Sūyag. 373); AMg. *jānayā pāsajā* = *jānatā paṣyatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); AMg. JM. *mahajā* = *mahatā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 718; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. § 15,135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): *mahajā iddhiḥ mahajā juṇe mahajā balenaṃ*... = *mahatyarddhiyā mahatyā dyutyā mahatā balena*... (Jiv. 588 [text *juttie*]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. § 52); M. *bhaavaā* (G. 896), AMg. JM. *bhagavajā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1, 7, 3, 5 etc.; Uvās. and very often; Kk. 268, 17), Ś. *bhaavadā* = *bhagavatā* (Lalitav. 265,18; Śak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. *bhavadā* = *bhavatā* (Śak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), *atthabhavadā*, *tatthabhavadā* (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Śak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś. *bhaavado* (Śak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Caṇḍak. 43,6); Ś. *bhavado* (Śak. 38,6, 8; 39,12; Mṛch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), *atthabhavado* (Vikr. 21,10), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79, 16). So also in the proper

noun Ś. gen. *rumaṇṇado* = *rumaṇvataḥ* (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom. is *rumaṇṇo*, as of an *n*-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives and participles only the forms of the *a*-stems are otherwise usual in Ś.Mg. Hence false is Ś. *guṇavado* (Śak 84,8 ed. BURKHARD), for which ed. BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15 have likewise the false dative *guṇavade*. On the dative *bhavade* see § 361. — Gen. AMg. *mahao* = *mahataḥ* (Sūyag. 312), *bhagavao* = *bhagavataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16.28; Vivāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very often), *paḍivajjao* = **pratipadyataḥ*, *viharao* = *viharataḥ* (Uttar. 116), *aviyāṇao* = *aviyānataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), *akuvvao* = *akurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 540), *pakuvvao* = *prakurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 340), *karao* = *kurvataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5) *haṇao* = *ghnataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), *kittajao* = *kirtayataḥ* (Uttar. 726), *dhiimao* = *dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,8). On Ś. Mg. see above. — Loc. Ś. *sadi* = *sati* (Śak. 141,7); M. *himavaī* = *himavati* (Mudrār. 60,9). — Voc. AMg. JM. *bhagavaṃ*, *bhajaṃ* (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111; Erz. 2,32,44,18; Dvār. 495,13); Ś. *bhaavaṃ* (Ratn. 296,24; 298,14; 300,33; Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vikr. 86,10; Uttarar. 204,8 etc.); P. *bhagavaṃ* (Hc. 4,323). Beside AMg. *āusaṃ* = *āyuṣman* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 1; Sūyag. 792; Samav.1) AMg. very frequently has *āuso* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,1,7. 13, 2,6,1,5. 10. 11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Sūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.); further *samaṇāuso* (Samav. 31; Ovav. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617. 652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Sūyag. 579.582; Nāyādh. 497.504). *āuso* is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. S. s. v.) as = **āyuṣmas*, hence it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in *-as* (WHITNEY § 454). — In the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. *silamanto* *guṇamanto* *vaimanto* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *mūlamanto* *kandamanto* *khandhamanto* *taḥāmanto* *sālamanto* *paḍālamanto* etc. (Ovav. § 4), *bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also Ś. nom. *bhaavanto* (Mudrār. 20,5). For Ś. *kidavanto* = *kṛtavantaḥ* (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read *kidavantā*, on the other hand for voc. *bhavantā* (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed. Madras. 135,7 read *bhaavanto*, as stands at Venis. 102,2. — Nom. plur. neut. are AMg. *pariggahāvantī* (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); *balavanti* (Uttar. 753); *ejāvantī* *savāvantī* = *etāvantī* **sarvāvantī* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5. 7); *āvantī* = *yāvantī* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,2,1. 4; cf. § 357); *jāvantī* (Uttar. 215). The sing. *abhiddavaṃ* = *abhidraṇ* metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2). Cf. PISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. JM. *bhajaṃ* (T. 4,14. 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. *samaṇāuso* is used for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural *āusanto* for the singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom. sing. in prose would be *āusante*: *āusanto* *samaṇā* = *āyuṣmañ śramaṇa*, *āusanto* *gāhavaī* = *āyuṣman gr̥hapate* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.; 2,3,2,1. 2. 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); *āusanto* *goḥamā* = *āyuṣman gotama* (Sūyag. 962. 972. 981) beside *āyuso* *goḥamā* (Sūyag. 964); *āusanto* *udagā* = *āyuṣman udaka* (Sūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example *āusanto* *niyaṇṭhā* = *āyuṣmanto nirgranthāḥ* (Sūyag. 989. 992). From the weak stem are formed *jāṇao*, *ajāṇao* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the commentary and JACOBI (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom. plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the formation in *-anta*, *-anta*, *-anta* prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M. *pianto* = *piban*; *calanto* = *calan*; *bahugūṇavanto* = *bahugūṇavān*; *kuṇanto* =

kr̥ṇvan (H. 13. 25. 203. 265); AMg. *sāsanto* beside *sāsaṃ* = *śāsāt* (Uttar. 38); *anusāsanto* (Uttar. 39); *kiṇanto*, *vilekiṇanto* = *kr̥ṇan*, *vikr̥ṇan* (Uttar. 1010); *mūlamante*, *kandamante* = *mūlavān*, *kandavān* (Ovav. § 5); *vaṇṇamante*, *gandhamante* = *vārṇavān*, *gandhavān* (Bhag. 1,420); *virāyante* = *virājan* (Ovav. § 48); *viśīyānto* = *viśīdan*, *ramanto* = *ramamānaḥ* (Dasav. 613, 16; 641, 21); *cullahimavante* = *cullahimavān* (Thāṇ. 176); JM. *saṃthuvanto* = *saṃstūya-mānaḥ*; *gāyanto* = **gāyan*; *deṇto* = **dayan*; *agūhanto* = *agūhan*; *paloṇto* = *pralokayan* (Āv. 7,25; 8,26; 9,5. 6; 15,21); *kandanto* = *krandan* (Erz. 42,12); JM. *Ś. mahanto* (Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8); *Ś. karēnto* = *kurvan* (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23), *jāpanto* (Mṛcch. 18,23; 104,1); *puloanto* = *pralokayan* (Mahāv. 99,3), *cittavanto* = *cittavān* (Śak. 87,13); Mg. *puṣcamde* = *prcchan* (Lalitav. 565,20); *mahante* = *mahān* (Mṛcch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venis. 35,17; 36,3); *colaante* = *corayan* (Mṛcch. 165,9); *daṃśaante* = *darśayan* (Śak. 114,11); *mantaante* = *mantrayan* (Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 °to); Dh. *ācakkhanto* = **ācakṣat* (§ 88; Mṛcch. 34,24); P. *cintayanto* = *cintayan*, *paribbhamanto* = *paribhraman* (Hc. 4,323); A. *hasantu* = *hasan*, *daṃśijjantu* = *darśyamāna* (Hc. 4,383, 3,418, 6), *jagganto* = *jāgrat* (Piṅgala 1,62^a), *valanta* = *valan*; *ulhasanta* = *ullasan*; *guṇavanta* = *guṇavān* (Piṅgala 1,4b; 2,45); nom. neut. *bhaṇantaṃ* = *bhaṇat* (H. 218); *kirantaṃ* = *kirat* (G. 1182); *Ś. dīśantaṃ* = *darśyamānam* (Uttarar. 77,6); A. *dhaṇamanta* = *dhanavat* (Piṅgala 2,45). Mg. *dahante* (more correctly *dahaḍahante* with the v. l.; Venis. 35,23) is related to the neuter *śonidaṃ* = *śonitam*. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. *Ś. mahantaṃ* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūyag. 944; Mṛcch. 40,22); M. *pijjantaṃ*, *anupijjantaṃ*, *avalambijjantaṃ*, *paḍasantaṃ* = *piyamānam*, *anuniyamānam*, *avalambiyamānam*, *prakāśayantaṃ* (G. 466—469); AMg. *saṃārambhantaṃ* = *saṃārabhamānam*, *kiṇantaṃ* = *kr̥ṇantaṃ*, *giṇhantaṃ* = *gr̥hṇantaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1); JM. *jāpantaṃ* = *jalpantaṃ* (Kk. 262,5); *Ś. jāpantaṃ*, *santaṃ*, *asantaṃ* (Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9.10), *kappijjantaṃ* = *kalpyamānam* (Mṛcch. 4,10), *uvvahantaṃ* = *udvahantaṃ* (Mṛcch. 41,10). False is *Ś. bhaavantaṃ* for *bhaavantaṃ* (Vikr. 87,17). Mg. *mālantaṃ* = *mārayantaṃ*, *yīantaṃ* = *jīvantaṃ* (Mṛcch. 123,22; 170,5); *alihantaṃ* = *arhantaṃ* (Laṭakam. 14,19); A. *dārantu* = *dārayantaṃ* (Hc. 4,345); neuter: M. *santaṃ asantaṃ* (H. 513); *Ś. mahantaṃ* (Mṛcch. 28,11). — Ins. M. *piantēna* = *pibatā*, *padantaṃ* = *patatā* (H. 246. 264); AMg. *vinimujjantaṃ* = *vinimuñcatā* (Ovav. § 48); *anukampantaṃ* = *anukampatā* (Āyār. 2,15,4); JM. *jāpantaṃ* = *jalpatā* (KI. 15; Erz. 10,26); *kuṇantaṃ* = Vedic *kr̥ṇvatā* (KI. 15); *vaccantaṃ* = *vrajatā* (Āv. 11,19); JŚ. *arahantaṃ* = *arhatā* (Pav. 385,63); *Ś. calantaṃ* = *calatā* (Lalitav. 568,5); *gāantaṃ* = *gāyatā*, *karēntaṃ* = *kurvatā* (Mṛcch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24); *harantaṃ* (Uttarar. 52,9) *bhuttavantaṃ* = *bhuktavatā* (Jivān. 53,11); Mg. *gaścantaṃ* = *gaṣṣatā* (Mṛcch. 167,24); *āhiṇḍantaṃ* = *āhiṇḍamānena* (Caṇḍak. 71,12); A. *pavasantaṃ* = *pravasatā* (Hc. 4,333), *bhamantē* = *bhramatā* (Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10); *roantaṃ* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). — Abl. AMg. *cullahimavantāo* = *cullahimavataḥ* (Thāṇ. 177). — Gen. M. *ārambhantassa* = *ārabhamāṇasya*, *ramantassa* = *ramamāṇasya*, *jāpantassa* = *jānatāḥ* (H. 42, 44. 243); *viśahantassa* = **viśahataḥ*, *voṇchindantassa* = *vyavacchindatāḥ* (R. 12, 23; 15, 62); AMg. *āśantassa* = *āyusmatāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 7, 1, 2; 2, 7, 2, 1); *bhagavantassa* = *bhagavataḥ* (Kappas. § 118); *vasantassa* = *vasataḥ* (Uvās. § 83), *cajantassa* = *tyajataḥ* (Ovav. § 170); *cullahimavantassa* (Jiv. 388 f.); *kahantassa* = *kathayataḥ* (Sūyag. 907); *jīpantassa* = *jāyataḥ* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *acchantassa* = *reṣṣataḥ*, *dhūvēntassa* = *dhūpayataḥ*, *sārakkhantassa* = *saṃrakṣataḥ* (Āv. 14, 25; 25, 4; 28, 16); *karēntassa*, *kuṇantassa* = *kurvatāḥ*

Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20. 38); *santāṇaṁ* = *satām* (Uvās. § 85); *pannāṇa-mantāṇaṁ* = **prajñānamatām* (Āyār. 1.6,1,1); JM. *āyaraṇtāṇaṁ* = *ācaratām* (Dvār. 502,28), *carantāṇaṁ* = *caratām* (Āv. 7,9), *kuṇantāṇaṁ* = *kurvatām* (Kk. 270,40), *jojantāṇaṁ* = *paśyatām* (Erz. 73,18); JŚ. *arihantāṇaṁ* (Pav. 379,4; 383,44 [°ra°]); Ś. *pekkhantāṇaṁ* = *prekṣamāṇāṇām* (Venis. 64,16; Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. *alihanāṇaṁ* = *arhatām*, *ṇamantāṇaṁ* = *namatām* (Prab. 46,11; 47,1); *ṇiskamantāṇaṁ* = *niṣkrāmatām* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *peccantāṇa* = *prekṣamāṇāṇām*, *cinantāṇa* = *cintayatām*, *ṇavantāṇa* = *namatām*, *jojantāṇa* = *paśyatām* (Hc. 4,348. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. *dhavalāntesu* = **dhavalā-yatsu* (H. 9); JM. *naccantesu* = *nṛtyatsu* (Erz. 2,2), *gacchantesu* = *gacchatsu* (Āv. 7,26; Erz. 7,19), *kiḷantesu* = *kṛḍatsu* (Erz. 16,16); Ś. *parihariantesu* = *parihriyamāṇesu* (Mudrār. 38,10), *vaṭṭantesu* = *vartamāṇesu* (Pārvaṭip. 2,5; text *vaṭṭadesu*).—Voc. AMg. *āusantā* = *āyusmantāḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* we find isolated forms, that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem, that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. JM. *bhagavo* (Erz. 25,19); Mg. *haṇūme* = *hanūmān* (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. *haṇūmaśihale* (Mṛcch. 133,12) and M. *°varīhaṇumān* (R. 12,88); AMg. *asaṁ* = *asat* (Sūyag. 35); acc. AMg. frequently *mahaṁ* = *mahantam* and *mahat* (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325; Vivāgas. 221; Vivāhap. 1325; Uvās. s. v. *maha*; Nāyādh. § 22. 122), femin. too (Vivāhap. 105), and *bhagavaṁ* = *bhagavantam* (Uvās. s. v.; Kappas. § 15. 16. 21; Bhag. 1,420; Ovav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from the weak stem in *-ta*, transported to the *a*-declension, are also found. So nom. sing. AMg. *ajāṇao* = **ajānātaḥ* = *ajānan* (Sūyag. 273; text *avijāṇao*), *vijāṇao* = *vijānan* (Nandis. 1); nom. plur. femin. *amaīmajā* = **amatimatāḥ* = *amatimatyāḥ* (Sūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. *bhavaṇjāṇaṁ* = **bhavatānām* = *bhavatām* (Uttar. 354). For Ś. *himavadassa* (Pārvaṭip. 27,13; 32,19; 35,1) we should read *himavantassa*, as in the last place GLASER (31,15) has.—From *arhat* are always formed the nom. *arahā*, *arihā*, as from the stem *arhan* (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Ovav.); likewise is found M. *haṇumā* (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg. *āusantāro*, *bhājantāro* see § 390).

6) STEMS IN *-n*.

§ 399. 1) Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*. *rāa-*, AMg. JM. *rāya-*, Mg. *lāa-* = *rājan*. In the declension of *rājan*, the old *n*-stem and the *a*-stem, that appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides an *i*-stem should be deduced from the original separation-vowel *i* (§ 133).

Singular.

Nom. *rāā*, [rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāyā*; Mg. *lāā*; P. *rājā*; CP. *rācā*.
 Acc. *rāāṇaṁ*; [rāiṇam, rāam]; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇaṁ*, *rāyaṁ*; Mg. *lāāṇaṁ*.
 Ins. *raṇṇā*, *rāiṇā*; JM. also *rāeṇa*; [rāaṇā, rāṇā]; Mg. *laññā*; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā*.
 Abl. [raṇṇo, rāiṇo, rāāo, rāādo, rāāu, rāādu, rāāhi, rāāhiṁto, rāā, rāāṇo].
 Gen. *raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*; AMg. JM. also *rāyassa*; [rāāṇo, rāāṇo]; Mg. *lañño*, *lāiṇo*; P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo*.
 Loc. [rāimmi, rāammi, rāe].
 Voc. [rāa, rāā, rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāya*, *rāyā*, AMg. also *rāyaṁ*, Ś. *rāam*; Mg. [lāam]; P. *rājāṁ*.

Plural.

Nom. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇo*, *rāiṇo*; [rāā]; Mg. *lāāṇo*.
 Acc. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rāyāṇo*; [rāiṇo, rāe, rāā].

Ins. *rāihim*; [*rāehim*].

Abl. [*rāihim*, *rāihimto*, *rāāhimito*, *rāisumto*, *rāāsūmito*].

Gen. *rāīnam*, [*rāīnam*, *rāānam*]; JM. *rāīnam*, *rāyānam*.

Loc. [*rāisum*, *rāesum*].

Voc. = nom.

On the declension of *rājan* see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Ki. 3,35—40; Mk. fol. 44,45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AMg. JM. S.: sing. nom. *Ṣ. rāā* (Mrcch. 28,2, 12; 68,8; Śak. 40,7; Vikr. 15,4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AMg. JM. *rājā* (Sūyag. 105; Ovav. § 11, 15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz.); Mg. *lāā* (Mrcch. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. *rājā*, CP. *rācā* (Hc. 4,304. 323. 325).—Acc. JM. *rāyānam* (Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. III, 510,32) and *rāyam* (Uttar. 443; Ovav. § 55; Nāyādh. § 78; Nirayāv. § 8, 22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. *lāānam* (Mrcch. 138,25).—Ins. AMg. JM. *raṇṇā*, *rannā* (Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 41; Kappas.; Āv. 8,23. 30. 33. 40. 53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11) and JM. *rāīnā* (Āv. 8,35. 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24, 28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270,42; III, 510, 6); JM. *rāena* (Āv. 8,6); *Ṣ. raṇṇā* (Mrcch. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Śak. 57,4); Mg. *laññā* (Śak. 113,7; 117,3) in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mrcch. 158,23. 25 *laṇṇā* stands; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā* (Hc. 4,304. 320).—Gen. AMg. JM. *raṇṇo*, *ranno* (Uvās. § 113; Ovav. § 12. 13. 47. 49; Kappas.; Āv. 8,12. 27. 29. 54; Erz. 1,2; 32,13; 33,25); JM. also *rāīno* (Erz. 46,24; 47,3. 4; 49,1) and *rāyassa* (Kk. II, 505,17; III, 512,34); *Ṣ. raṇṇo* (Mrcch. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Śak. 29,3; 54,2; Vikr. 28,19) and *rāīno* (Mālatīm. 90,6; 99,4; Kaṁsav. 49,10); Mg. *lañño*, written as *laṇṇo* (Mrcch. 168,3) and *lāīno* (Mrcch. 171,11); P. *rañño*, *rāciño* (Hc. 4,304).—Voc. AMg. *rājā* (Nirayāv. § 22); mostly *rāyam* (Uttar. 409,414.417.418.444.503 etc.); JM. *rājā* (Kk. 261,12); *Ṣ. rāam* (Hc. 4,264; Śak. 31,10); Mg. *lāam* (Hc. 4,302); P. *rājam* (Hc. 4,323); A. *rāa* (Hc. 4,402).—The nom.voc. *rāo*, ins. *rāanā*, abl.gen. *rāāno* are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. *rāādo*, *rāādu* by Bh. Ki. 3,40 mentions also the ins. *rānā*, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read *rājā* in place of *rājā*. — Plural: nom. AMg. JM. *rāyāno* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sūyag. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24. 32; Kk. 263, 16), JM. also *rāīno* (Erz. 9,20; Kk. III, 512,13 [so to be read for *rāyāno*]); *Ṣ. rāāno* (Śak. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. *lāāno* (Śak. 115,10).—Acc. AMg. JM. *rāyāno* (Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16).—Ins. AMg. JM. *rāihim* (Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12).—Gen. AMg. JM. *rāīnam* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff. 832 ff.; Āv. 15,10; Kk. 263,11); JM. also *rāyānam* (Erz. 28,22).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the *a*-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AMg. *ikkhāgarājā* = *aikṣvākarājah* (Thān. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729); *devarājā* = *devarājah* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas.); JM. *vikkamarāo* = *vikramarājah* (Kk. II, 507,12), but *diharājā* = *dirgharājah* (Erz. 6,2); *Ṣ. mahārāo* = *mahārājah* (Śak. 36,12; 56,11; 58,13; Vikr. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); *juarāo* = *juvarājah* (Śak. 45,6); *aṅgarāo* (Veṇis. 66,3); *vaccharāo* = *vatsarājah* (Priyad. 32,2; 33,7); *vallaharāo nāma rāa* (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. JM. *gaddabhillarājānam* (Kk. 261,29); *Ṣ. mahārāam* (Vikr. 27,17).—Ins. AMg. *devarannā* (Kappas.); *Ṣ. aṅgarāena* (Veṇis. 60,5); *nāārāena* = *nāgarājena* (Nāgān. 69,18); *mahārāena* (Vikr. 8,9; 29,13). Nāyādh. 852 has the mixed form AMg. *devarañneṇam*.—Gen. AMg. *asurakumāraraṇṇo*, *asuraraṇṇo* (Vivāhap. 198); *devarañno* (Vivāhap. 220 ff.), *devaranno* (Kappas.); JM. *sagaranno* = **śakarājñah* (Kk. 268,15); *vārasimharājassa* (Kk. II, 505, 17); *Ṣ. vaccharāassa* (Priyad. 33, 9); *kāliṅgarāṇṇo* (Priyad. 4, 15);

riurāiṇo = *riṇurājasya* (Lalitav. 567.24); *mahārāssa* (Vikr. 12,14;28,1); *aṅgarāssa* (Venis. 62,13); Mg. *mahālāssa* (Prab. 63,4). — Voc. AMg. *pañcālarāyā* (Uttar. 414); *asurarāyā* (Vivāhap. 254), both with pluti; S. *aṅgarā* (Venis. 66,14); *mahārā* (Vikr. 12,13). — Plural nom. AMg. *gaṇarāyāṇo* (Kappas. § 128); JM. *lāḍaḍavisayārāyāṇo* = *lāṭakaviṣayarājāḥ* (Kk. 264,18); Ś. *bhīmasenāṅgarā* = *bhīmasenāṅgarājau* (Venis. 64,9). — Acc. AMg. *gaṇarāyāṇo* (Nirayāv. § 25). — Ins. AMg. *devarāiṇim* (Vivāhap. 241). — Gen. AMg. *devarāiṇam* (Vivāhap. 240 f.; Kappas.); JM. *sagarāiṇam* (Kk. 266,41). For S. Mg. only the forms of the *a*-stems will be correct.

§ 401. *ātman* forms: sing. nom. AMg. *āyā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3.4; Sūyag. 28.35.81.838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhap. 132.1059 ff; Dasav. N. 646,13); JŚ. *ādā* (Pav. 380,8 etc.; § 88); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *appā* (G. 333.798.887.899.952.956.1120; H. 39.193.361.672.754.880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646,5; Nāyādh.; Bhāg. 1,420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380,11; 382,27; 385,61; Mrcch. 12,7; 78,11; Śak. 19,7; 137,6; 140,7; Ratn. 291,2; 295,9; 299,17; 307,31 etc.); S. Mg. *attā* (Śak. 104,4; Mg. Mrcch. 140,21)¹. — Acc. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Dh. *appānam* (G. 240.860.898.953.1070.1201; H. 516.730.756.902.953; R.; Āyār. 1,3,3,2; 2,3,1,21; Sūyag. 415 [°nā]; Vivāhap. 178; Kappas. § 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,9.10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,27; 385,65; 386,70; Kattig. 399,313; Mrcch. 32,14); AMg. also *attānam* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3; 1,3,3,4; 1,6,5,4; 2,5,2,2 [so to be read for *attā nam*]; Sūyag. 474 [°nā]) and *āyānam* (Sūyag. 367); S. Mg. only *attānam* = **ātmānakam* (Mrcch. 90,21; 95,4; 96,7.10.14; 141,17; Śak. 14,3 [so to be read]; 24,1; 60,8; 63,9; 64,2; 74,5; 124,8; 137,12; 159,12; Vikr. 7,17; 23,13 etc.; Mg. Mrcch. 37,13; 133,21; 162,21.24; 169,7); false *attānam* (Mrcch. 327,3; Priyad. 41,14); *appānam* (Priyad. 12,9; 23,10; 28,1.5) and *appānaam* (Cait. 75,16)². — Ins. M. AMg. JM. S. *appānā* (G. 78.83.910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2,5,2,2,3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhap. 67.178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84,7). — Abl. AMg. *āyao* = **ātmataḥ* (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read *attao* for *āttao* of the text at Sūyag. 472 too; JM. *appappāno* (T. 5,18). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. Ā. *appāno* (H. 6.281.285; R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,1,1.5; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8.50.63.112; S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Pav. 380,7; D. Mrcch. 103,20; Ā. Mrcch. 104,9); M. *attāno* (G. 63.90 [v.1. °ppa°]. 96; H. 201 [v.1. °ppa°]), and so always stands in S. Mg. (Mrcch. 141,15; 150,13; 166,15; Śak. 13,10; 25,1; 32,1.8; 51,4; 54,7 etc.; Vikr. 13,4; 15,3; 32,17; 46,7; Ratn. 297,32; 303,32; 304,11 etc.; Mg. Mrcch. 114,14; 116,19; 154,20; 164,4). — Voc. *appām* (Hc. 3,49). — Plur. nom. *appāno* = *ātmānaḥ* (Bh. 5,46; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45). — From *appa-* = *ātma-*, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive *appa-*, that is declined according to the *a*-declension (Hc. 3,56; Mk. 45): nom. *appo*; abl. *appāo*, *appāu*, *appāhi*, *appāhinto*, *appā*; loc. *appe*; voc. *appa*, *appā*; Plur. ins. *appehi*; abl. *appāsumto*; gen. *appānam*; loc. *appesu*. Found in the texts are: acc. AMg. *appām* (Sūyag. 282); ins. AMg. *appeṇa* (Sūyag. 282), *appenam* (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. *appahō* = **ātmasyaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); loc. AMg. *appe* (Uttar. 293); plur. *appā* in M. *suhambharappa ccia* = *sukhambharātmana eva* (G. 993). With *kaḥ svārthe*, this stem occurs in JM. *appayām* (Erz. 52,10) and A. *appaū* (Hc. 4,422,3) = *ātmakam*. Further new *a*-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. JM. *appāno* = **ātmānaḥ* = *ātmā* (Vr. 5,45; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10,1); *attāno* (Mk. fol. 45); AMg. *āyāṇe* (Vivāhap. 132). — Ins. AMg. *appāṇenam* (Āyār. 1,1,7,6; 1,5,5,2; 2,1,3,3.5; 2,15,2,24; Vivāhap. 178). — Gen. JM. *appāṇassa* (Erz.). — Loc. M. *appāṇe* (R.). — Plur. nom. AMg. *āyāṇā* (Sūyag. 65); *appāṇā* (Hc. 3,56). With *kaḥ svārthe*:

acc. JM. *attāṇajam* (Erz.); Ś. Mg. *attāṇaam* (see above). — Gen. M. *appāṇaassa* (G. 955). In the first member of a compound there appears the strong stem in AMg. *appāṇarakkhī* = *ātmarakṣī* (Uttar. 197); JŚ. *appāṇasamam* (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. *appāṇo* (Ki. 3,41). — Acc. A. *appāṇu* (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. *appāṇa* (Ki. 3,41; H. 827); A. *appāṇem* (Hc. 4,416). With *kaḥ svārthe*: acc. *appāṇaam* (Hc. 2,153); A. *appāṇāu* (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. *attāṇaśśa* (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. *attāṇakeraka* (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88,24), Mg. *attāṇakelaka* (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21,20; 118,17; 130,10; 139,16; 164,3; 167,2); A. *appāṇachandañ* = *ātmacchandakam* (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. *appāṇā*, *appāṇāā* (Hc. 3,14. 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in JM. *savvappāṇāyāe* = **sarvātmanatayā* (Erz. 58,31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. *āyā* would be taken as in the femin. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. *āyāe* = *ātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76.845), *aṇāyāe* = *anātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76).

1. In Śak. 104,4 we should probably read with I *appā*. — 2. PISCHEL on Hc. 3,56. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14,235.

§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong-stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in *-an*, are used, as independent *a*-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of *ātman* (§ 401); So sing. nom. *addhā* and *addhāṇo* = *adhvā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45) — acc. AMg. *addhā* for *addhām* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59) and in the bahuvrīhi *dīha-mt addhām* = *dīrghādhvānam* (§ 353); loc. AMg. *addhāṇe* (Uttar. 712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong *a*-stem in AMg. *addhāṇapaḍivāṇṇa* = *adhvapatipanna* (Vivāhap. 153). Since *addhā* elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. *addhām* too may be derived from it. — Sing. nom. D. *bambhā* (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. *bambho* (Erz. 30,20), AMg. *bambhe* (Kappas. Th. § 6) = *brahmā*; acc. M. *bambham* (H. 816); gen. AMg. *bambhassa* (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. *bambhā*, as *ajjamā* = *aryamaṇau* (Thāṇ. 82). — Sing. nom. *muddhā* and *muddhāṇo* = *mūrdhā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. *muddhāṇam* (Ovav. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. *muddheṇa* (Uttar. 788) and *muddhāṇeṇam* (Uvās. § 81. 83); loc. AMg. *muddhi* = *mūrdhni* (Sūyag. 243) and *muddhāṇamsi* (Vivāhap. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. **kayamuddhāṇā* = **kṛtamūrdhāṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 40). — M. *mahimam* = *mahimānam* (G. 885). — M. *savvatthāmeṇa* = *sarvasthāmnā* (H. 567). — Ś. *vijavammā* = *viṇayavarmā* (Ratn. 320,16), voc. *vijavammam* (Ratn. 320,19. 32); Ś. *diḍhavamā* = *diḍhavamā* (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. *sivakhandavamo* = *śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *bhaṭṭisammāsa* = *bhaṭṭisarmaṇaḥ* (7,50), VG. *sirivijayabuddhavammassa* (101,3); Ś. *cittavammo* = *citravarmā* (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. *miankavammo* (Viddhaś. 73,2), *miankavammassa* (Viddhaś. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. *vaṅkima* = *vakerimānam* (Hc. 4,344); *ucchā* and *ucchāṇo* = *ukṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also *ukkhāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); *gāvā* and *gāvāṇo* = *grāvā*; *pūsā* and *pūsāṇo* = *pūsā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); *takkhā* and *takkhāṇo* = *takṣā* (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. *siṅghāṇa* = *śleṣman* (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the *a*-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. *thirapēmmo* = *sthira-premā* (H. 131; so to be read with H.¹ 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has **pimmo*); M. *añṇāṇṇapparūḍḍhapēmmāṇam* (Pārvatip. 45. 13); AMg. *akamme* = *akarmā* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1); AMg. *kayabalikamme* = *kṛtabalikarmā* (Ovav. § 17), femin. **kammā* (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. *rahidaparikammo* = *rahitaparikarmā* (Pav. 388,27); AMg. *saṇvudakammassa* = *saṇvudakarmaṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 144); AMg. *bahukūrakammā* = *bahukūrakarmāṇaḥ* (Sūyag. 282);

JM. *kajāyamaṇakammā* = *kṛtācamaṇakarmāṇaḥ* (Dvār. 500,39); AMg. *jāyathāme* = *jātaśthāmā* (Kappas. § 118); AMg. *itthiyāo... parūḍhanahakesakakkharomāo* = *striyaḥ ... prarūḍhanakhakeśakakṣaromnyaḥ* (Ovav. § 72); JM *namuṇāmo* = *namucināmā* (Erz. 1,20), but also *cittasambhūjanāmāṇo* = *cittasambhūtanāmāṇau* (Erz. 1,19); Ś. *laddhaṇāmassa* = *labdhanāmnaḥ* (Ratn. 321, 29); Ś. *kidāraparikammaṇ* = *kṛtācāraparikarmāṇaṇ* (Śak. 30,6); Ś. *aṇṇasaṃkantoppemṇā* = *anyasaṃkrāntapremāṇaḥ* (Vikr. 45,2); Mg. *diṇṇakalavīladāme* = *dattakaravīradāmā* (Mṛcch. 157,5), *uddāme* = *uddāmā* (Mṛcch. 175,14). For Mg. *uddāmeṇva kiṣolī* (Mṛcch. 161,5) we should read *uddāma vva kiṣolī*.

§ 403. From *maghavan* the nom. sing. is *maghoṇo* (Hc. 2,174) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. *maghavaṇ* (Vivāhap. 249). — *yuvan* is inflected as: sing. nom. M. JM. Ś. *juvā*, *juā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3, 56; H.; Dvār. 501,15; Mṛcch. 28,5, 9; Pārvatīp. 31,8); beside M. JM. *juvāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45; H.; Prab. 38,10; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds), AMg. *juvāṇe* (Vivāhap. 212, 214, 218, 222, 280, 287, 349) and *juvaṇ*, as from a *t*-stem (§ 396; Āyār. 2,4,2, 10; 2,5,1,1); with *kaḥ svārthe*: M. *haṃsajuāṇao* (Vikr. 64,5; 74,4); femin. M. *juāṇā* (H.); ins. M. *juāṇeṇa* (H.), JM. *juvāṇeṇa* (Erz. 43,18); voc. M. *juāṇa* (H.); plur. nom. M. *juāṇā*, AMg. *juvāṇā* (H., also at the end of compounds; Thāṇ. 371; Antag. 55); ins. M. *juāṇehi* (H.); gen. AMg. *juvāṇāṇaṇ* (Aṇuog. 323); voc. AMg. *juvāṇā* in *he juvāṇa tti* (Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuog. 324). — From *śāvan* are found: sing. nom. *sāṇo* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56), AMg. *sāṇe* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8), A. *sāṇa* (Piṅgala 1,99), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. (Paṇhāv. 20); gen. AMg. *sāṇassa* (Uttar. 12). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under *panthan* or *pathin* or *pathi* or *path*, are found exclusively from *patha*: sing. nom. *pantho* (Hc. 1,30) and *paho* (Vr. 1,13; Hc. 1,88; Kī. 1,18; Mk. fol. 7); acc. AMg. JM. *panthaṇ* (Hc. 1,88; Āyār. 1,7,1,2; Thāṇ. 248; Āv. 22,26; 46,5, 11, 15), AMg. *panth'* = *pantham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59), AMg. *pahaṇ* (Sūyag. 59; Uttar. 324); ins. M. JM. *pahēṇa* (G. 423; Kk. 269,29; Āv. 36,33), AMg. *pahēṇaṇ* (Uttar. 635); abl. JM. *panthāo* (Kk. 264,4); loc. JM. *panthe* (Erz. 36,28); A. *panthi* (Hc. 4,429,1), AMg. *pahe* (Uttar. 324), JM. *pahammi* (Dvār. 504,1); plur. nom. M. *panthāṇo* (H. 729), AMg. JM. *panthā* (Sūyag. 110; Erz. 7,3); gen. AMg. *panthāṇaṇ* (Sūyag. 189); loc. AMg. *panthesu* (Uttar. 53). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. *pantha*, *vantha* (H.; R.; Āv. 46,6) and *paha*, *vaha* (G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.).

§ 404. The neutra in *-an* sometimes become masculine (§ 358); but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in *-a*. Thus e. g. *pemma* = *preman*: sing. nom. M. Ś. *pemmaṇ* (H. 81, 95, 124, 126, 232; Ratn. 299,18; Karp. 78,3, 6); acc. M. Ś. *pemmaṇ* (H. 522; Vikr. 51,16; Karp. 76,8, 10); ins. *pemmaṇe* (H. 423, 746, 966); gen. M. Ś. *pemmaṇsa* (H. 53, 390, 511, 910, 940; Karp. 75,9); loc. M. *pemmammi* (Karp. 79,5), M. Ś. *pemmaṇ* (H. 304; Karp. 75,10); plur. nom. M. *pemmaṇiṇ* (H. 127, 236, 287); gen. M. *pemmaṇaṇ* (H. 10). — Sing. nom. M. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṇ*, AMg. JM. *nāmaṇ* (H. 452; Kappas. § 108; Āv. 13,29; 14,19; Erz. 4,34; Vikr. 30,9; Mg. Mudrār. 191,5; 194,7); acc. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṇ* (Mṛcch. 28,21; 37,25); ins. Ś. Mg. *nāmeṇa* (Vikr. 16,9; Mṛcch. 161,2), JM. *nāmeṇa* (Āv. 8,5), AMg. *nāmeṇaṇ* (Ovav. § 105), *nāmeṇaṇ* (Kappas. § 107); loc. M. *nāme* (G. 89); plur. nom. JM. *nāmāṇi* (Āv. 13,28) and AMg. JM. *nāmāṇi* (Uvās. § 277; Āv. 14,18). Skt. *nāma* (by name; namely) becomes M. Ś. Mg. *nāma* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 23,22; 28,23; 40,22; 94,25; 142,12 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 21, 10; 38, 2; 40, 9), JM. *nāma* (Āv. 15, 8; 16, 29; 39, 2;

Erz. 1,1. 20; 11,17 etc.), but AMg. *nāmañ* (Ovav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.) and *nāma* (Ovav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. *JŚ. jammañ* = *janma* (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399,321); acc. M. AMg. *jammañ* (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. *Ś. jammeṇa* (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. *jammāo* (Sūyag. 689,756); gen. AMg. *jammassa* (Sūyag.); loc. JM. *Ś. jamme* (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5), A. *jami* (Hc. 4, 383, 3; so to be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. *kammam* = *karma* (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413. 505); acc.; AMg. *JŚ. kammañ* (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399,319; 400, 327; 403,373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. *kammeṇañ* (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72. 76); gen. M. AMg. *JŚ. kammassa* (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇḥāv. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383,27), Mg. *kammāha* (Hc. 4,299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108,13 *kammaṇo*); loc. AMg. *kammañsi* (Thān. 208; Rāyap. 249), JM. *kamme* (Erz. 38,31); against the dialect is *Ś. kammammi* (Kaṁsav. 50,2) for the correct *kamme* (Kāleyak. 25,8); plur. nom. AMg. *kammā* (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. *kammāim* (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Ovav. § 153) and *kammā* (Uttar. 155), *ahākammāñi* (Sūyag. 873), *JŚ. kammāñi* (Pav. 384,59); ins. AMg. *kammehiñ* (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3; 1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716. 718. 719. 721. 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205. 218. 221. 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168. 185), *ahākammehiñ* (Uttar. 155. 205); gen. AMg. *kammāṇañ* (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156. 205; Samav. 112; Uvās. § 74), *kammāna* (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4,300 also *kammāhā*; loc. *Ś. kammesu* (Viddhaś. 28,6), Mg. *kammeśu* (Mudrār. 191,9). On the nom. *Ś. kamme* see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. *cammañsi* = *carmañi* (Kappas. § 60), *romañsi* = *romṇi* (Uvās. § 219), *aharñsi* = *aharñi* (Āyār. 2,15,11); *Ś. pavve pavve* = *parvañi* *parvañi* (Kāleyak. 13,20); plur. acc. M. *cammāim* (H. 631); ins. AMg. *lomehiñ* = *lomabhñi* (Uvās. § 94. 95); AMg. *Ś. dāmehiñ* = *dāmañi* (Jiv. 348; Rāyap. 63; Mṛcch. 69,1); loc. M. *dāmesu* (G. 784); *JŚ. pavvesu* = *parvasu* (Kattig. 402,359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. *camma* = *carma* (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. *JŚ. Ś. Mg. kamma* = *karma* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13. 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113. 178; Pav. 386,4; Venis. 62,5; Uttarar. 197,10; Mg. Śak 114,6 [verse]; Venis. 33,5). For *Ś. Mg.*, except in verses, the form will be false for *kammañ*. In Mṛcch. 70,24 we should read *amūim...kammatoraññim*, which is pointed to by the v. l. in GODABOLE p. 201; for *Ś. pema* (Prab. 41,6) the ed. Bomb. 91,6 reads *ppema* for *pemma* (Karp. 77,10 ed. Bomb.) Konow 76,8 rightly has *pemmañ*. Ins. AMg. *kammaṇā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4); probably wrongly for *kammunā*, as AMg. JM. otherwise have (§ 104; Āyār. 1,4,4,3¹; 1,8,1,13. 17; Sūyag. 108. 151. 377. 542. 873. 978; Uttar. 28. 43. 177. 217. 505. 592. 753 f.; Jiv. 796; Paṇḥāv. 134. 391; Vivāhap. 283. 1808; Erz. 25,20; Sagara. 2,9). Likewise there appears *u* for *a* in the gen. sing. AMg. *kammuno* (Uttar. 170. 223. 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. *kammunāñ* (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. *dhammunā* from *dharmān* in the combination *kāladhammunā saññijutta* = *kāladharmañā saññiyukta* (Thān. 157; Vivāgas. 82 ff. 117. 155. 207. 217. 225. 238; Nāyādh. 329. 1099. 1421). Corresponding to Skt. *karmataḥ* AMg. has *kammao* (Uvās. § 51), and *Ś. jammado* (Raṁn. 298,11) is = Skt. *janmataḥ*. The loc. *Ś. kammañi* (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. *kammasu* = *karmasu* stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse.—As the masculina form a new stem in *-āṇa* (§ 401. 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in *-aṇa*: AMg. *jammaṇañ* = *janma* (Hc. 2,174; Jiv. 122. 123. 136 ff.); AMg. JM. *jammaṇa* (Uttar. 1105; Paṇḥāv. 72 ff.; Nāyādh. 290; Vivāhap. 1159. 1738. 1741 f. 1773; Sagara 6,10; Erz.). JM. *kammaṇañ* = *karma* (Erz. 52,17; 56,31), *kammaṇa* (Erz. 29,23). The same stem with *u*, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of *karman*, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. *kammunāu*

(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17)². *bamhaṇa* = *brahman* (Ki. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. JACOBI reads with the ed. Calc. against the MSS. *kammāni*, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by *saphalaṃ* (SBE. XXII, p. 4.). We should with the MSS. read *kammunā*, and *saphalaṃ* is to be assumed as = *svaphalam*.—2. *kammunā* *u* can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*. The stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, partly according to the style of Skt., and partly on the basis of the stem in *-i*, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the *i*-declension. Sing. nom. M. AMg. JM. *Ś. hatthī*, Mg. *hasī*, A. *hatthi* = *hasī* (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mṛcch. 40,22,25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mṛcch. 40,9; 168,4; A. Hc. 4,443); M. *sihi* = *śikhi* (H. 13); AMg. JM. *Ś. tavassī*, Mg. *tavaśśi* = *tapasvī* (Kappas. S. § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Śak. 132,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 97,3); AMg. *mehāvī* = *medhāvī* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,6,2,5; 1,6,4,2,3), metrically also *mehāvi* (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. *nānī*, AMg. *nānī*, = *jñānī* (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. *viāsi* (Mukund. 14,10); Ś. *kāri* (Bālar. 56,14). The acc., in majority of cases, is formed according to the *i*-declension: M. AMg. JM. *hatthim* = *hastinam* (Mṛcch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhap. 850; Nirāyāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AMg. *tavassim* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhap. 232), *bambhajārim* = *brahmacāriṇam* (Uttar. 487), *ojassim tejassim* = *ojasvinam tejasvinam varcasvinam yaśasvinam* (Āyār. 2,2,1,12), *paḥkhiṃ* = *pakṣiṇam* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7), *seṭṭhiṃ* = *śreṣṭhinam* (Samav. 84); JM. *sāmiṃ* = *svāminam* (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); Ś. *kañcuiṃ* = *kañcukinam* (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise Ś. *piāriṇam* (Vikr. 10,14), *uaāriṇam* (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18), *jālovajivīṇam* = *jālopaḥjivīṇam* (Śak. 116,7), *vāliṇam* (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. *sasiṇā* (R. 2,3; 10,29. 42), *avalambiṇā* (G. 301); AMg. *gandahatthiṇā* (Nirāyāv. § 18), *nihāriṇā* = *nirhāriṇā* (Ovav. § 56), *tāmalīṇā* *bālatavassīṇā* (Vivāhap. 235); JM. *Ś. sāmiṇā*, Mg. *sāmiṇā* = *svāminā* (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 260,29; Śak. 116,8; Mahāv. 120,12; Venīs. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,21; 162,17. 19; Venīs. 35,12); JM. *visambhaghāiṇā* = *visrambhaghātīṇā* (Erz. 68,4), metrically also *manṭiṇā* for *mantriṇā* (Āv. 13,13); Ś. *kaṇṇovagghādiṇā* = *karnopaghātīṇā* (Śak. 29,8); Mg. *kāliṇā* = *kāriṇā* (Mṛcch. 158,21; Prab. 54,6).—Abl. AMg. *siharīo* = *śikharīṇaḥ* (Thāp. 177).—Gen. M. *piṇāṇo* = *pinākinah* (G. 41), *sasiṇo* (G. 60. 953. 1108. 1132; H. 319; R. 10,46), *guṇasālīṇo* *vi kariṇo* = *guṇasālīno'pi kariṇaḥ* (H. 788); AMg. *jasassiṇo* = *yaśasvinah* (Sūyag. 304), *gihiṇo* = *grhiṇaḥ* (Uvās. § 83. 84); JM. *sāmiṇo* (T. 5,12) and AMg. JM. *sāmissa* (Vivāhap. 188; Āv. 32,27); JM. *egāgiṇo* = *ekākinah* (Erz. 9,16). In AMg. JM. more frequent is the ending *-issa*, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AMg. *māyissa*, *amāyissa* = *māyinaḥ*, *amāyinaḥ* (Thāp. 150), *bambhajāriṣsa* = *brahmacāriṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f.), *vatthadhāriṣsa* = *vastradhāriṇaḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), *abhikāṅkhiṣsa* = *abhikāṅkṣiṇaḥ* (Uttar. 921), *tavassissa* (Vivāhap. 231. 233. 236), *hatthissa* (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhap. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AMg. *egantacāriṣsa* *tavassiṇo* (Sūyag. 909); JM. *paṇaissa* = *pranayinaḥ*, *virahissa* = *virahinaḥ* (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), *kāmissa* = *kāminah* (Erz. 71,4), *seṭṭhiṣsa* = *śreṣṭhinaḥ* (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. *kavalanāṇiṣsa* = *kevalajñāninaḥ* (Pav. 381,20); Ś. *virohiṇo* = *virodhinaḥ*, *vāsiṇo*, *paribhoiṇo* = *paribhogiṇaḥ* (Śak. 18,11; 23,8; 38,5), *ahinivesiṇo* = *abhiniveśinaḥ* (Mālav. 41,17), *sohiṇo* = *śobhinaḥ* (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. *sāmiṇo* = *svāminah* (Śak. 117,6), *anumaggagāmiṇo* = *anumārgagāminah* (Venīs. 35,6).—Loc. AMg. *ruppimmi* = *rukmiṇi siharammi* = *śikharīṇi* (Thāp. 75), *cakkavaṭṭimmi* = *cakravartini* (Nāyādh. § 46).—Voc. AMg. JM. *sāmī* (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46. 73; Āv. 32,

26); JM. *sāmi* (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. *kañcui* (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text °i]).—Plural: nom. M. *phaṇiṇo*, *virāviṇo*, *sankiṇo* (G. 390. 611. 863. 880), *guṇiṇo* = *guṇinaḥ*, *cāiṇo* = *tyāgīnaḥ* (H. 673), also *sāmī* = *svāminah* in *sāmi ccia* (H. 91), *vaṇahatthī* = *vanahastinaḥ* (R. 8,36); AMg. *duvālasaṅgiṇo* = *dvādaśaṅgiṇah* (Ovav. § 26), *daṇḍiṇo* *muṇḍiṇo* *sihaṇḍiṇo* *jaḍiṇo* *picchiṇo* beside *daṇḍi* *muṇḍisihaṇḍi* *picchi* in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), *agāriṇo*, *daṁsiṇo* = *darśinaḥ* (Sūyag. 301. 368. 370), *tassankiṇo* = *tacchanikinaḥ* (Sūyag. 936), *abambhacāriṇo* = *abrahmacāriṇah* (Uttar. 351), *pāragāmiṇo*, *dhuvacāriṇo*, *sammattadaṁsiṇo* = *samyaktvadarśinaḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), beside the more frequent nom. in -ī, as *nānī* = *jñāninaḥ*, *akkandakārī* = *ākrandakāriṇah*, *pakkhī* = *pakṣiṇah* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), *hatthī* = *hastinaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), *oṇaṁsi* *teyaṁsi* *vaccaṁsi* *jasāṁsi* = *oṇasvinas* *tejasvino* *varcasvino* *yaśasvinaḥ* (Vivāhap. 185), *rūvī* *ya arūvī* *ja* = *rūpiṇas* *ca cārūpiṇas* *ca* (Vivāhap. 207), *cakkavaṭṭī* = *cakravartinah*, *cakkajohī* = *cakrayodhinaḥ* (Thāṇ. 197. 512). JM. too has both the forms beside one another: *manṭiṇo* = *mantrinah* (Kk. 262,30), *dariddiṇo* = *daridriṇah* (Erz. 50,2), beside *mahātavassī* = *mahātapasvinaḥ* (Kk. 269,24), *hatthī* = *hastinaḥ* (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in -ī is not used so little, as in the case of the *i*-stems (§ 380): Ś. *pakkhiṇo* = *pakṣiṇah*, *sippiṇo* = *śilpiṇah*, *avattabhāsiṇo* = *avyatbhāsiṇah* (Mṛcch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6), *kusumadāiṇo* = *kusumadāyinaḥ*, *dhammāriṇo* = *dharma-cāriṇah* (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), *parivanthiṇo* = *paripanthinaḥ* (Vikr. 8,9), *kañcuiṇo* = *kañcukinaḥ* (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending -io in Ś.: *sāmīo* = *svāminah* (Kaṁsav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. *akālapaḍibohiṇi* *akālapaḍibhoṇi* = *akālapratibodhini* *akālapratibhogiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), *rāyakulagāmiṇi* (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. *pāṇiṇo* = *prāṇinaḥ* (Sūyag. 266), *mauli* = *mukulinaḥ* (Paṇhāv. 119), *thāṇi* = *sthāninaḥ* (Sūyag.); JM. *bharahaṇivāsiṇo* (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. *pakkhihiṁ* = *pakṣibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 289), *savvadarisihiṁ* = *sarvadarśibhiḥ* (Nandis. 388), *paravāsihiṁ* = *paravāḍibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *mehāvihiṁ* = *medhāvibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *hatthihi* (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. *manṭihi* = *mantribhiḥ* (Āv. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. *vamdihiṁ* = *vandibhiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13).—Abl. AMg. *asaṇṇihiṁto* = *asaṇṇibhyaḥ*, *pakkhihiṁto* = *pakṣibhyaḥ* (Jiv. 263. 265); A. *sāmihū* = *svāmibhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. *baraṇiṇa* = *barhiṇām* (G. 349); AMg. *mahāhimavantaruppīṇam* = *mahāhimavadrakmiṇoḥ* (Samav. 114. 117), *pakkhiṇam* = *pakṣiṇām* (Jiv. 325), *gandhahatthiṇam*, *cakkavaṭṭiṇam*, *savvadarisiṇam* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. *kāmatthiṇam* = *kāmārthinām*, *vāiṇam* = *vādinām* (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), *paṇaṇiṇa* = *prāṇayinām* (KI. 15); JS *dehiṇam* (Kattig. 402, 363); Mg. *śāmiṇam* = *svāminām* (Kaṁsav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for °mi°).—Loc. M. *paṇaṇisu* = *prāṇayiṣu* (G. 728); AMg. *hatthisu* = *hastisu*, *pakkhiṣu* = *pakṣiṣu* (Sūyag. 317), *tavassisu* = *tapasviṣu* (Paṇhāv. 430); Ś. *sāmīsu* (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. *samkaragharādhivāsiṇo* (Mālatīm. 128,7); Mg. *vamdiṇo* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5.15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in -in, we find a stem extended by *a*: *sakkhiṇo* = *sākṣī* (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. *sakkhi*, Mg. *śakhi* (Āv. 38,5; Mṛcch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. *sakkhiḥkadua* = **sākṣikṛtvā* (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. *sakkhiṇo* (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Uttar. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. *sihiṇam* = *śikhi*, plural nom. *sihiṇā*, ins. *sihiṇehī* (bosom; Deśin. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. *kimiṇa* = *kṛmin*, *sakimiṇa* = *sakṛmi* (Nāyādh. 995; Paṇhāv. 525. 529); AMg. Ś.

barahiṇa, A. *bamhiṇa* = *barhin* (Paṇṇav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61. 62; p. 914; Uttarar. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8), A. *barihiṇa* (Hc. 4,422, 8), beside M. Ś. *barahi-* (G.; Viddhaś. 51,7); M. JM. *gabbhiṇa* = *garbhin* (Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kī.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246). — In PG. the following forms are found: °*yāji* (5,1), gen. °*ppadāyino* = *pradāyinaḥ* (6, 11), but also *khamdakōṃḍisa* = *skandakunḍinaḥ* (6, 19), *nāganamḍisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *golisa* = *goḍinaḥ* (6,25) from *goḍa* = *goṇḍa* 2) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. °*sāmīhi* = °*svāmibhiḥ* (6,11). °*vāsīhi* = °*vāsibhiḥ* (6,35. 36).

7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -t and -n, those in -s too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -s, 2) after dropping off of s, a stem in -a, -i, -u, i. e. in the vowel that was immediately before the s, and 3) a stem in -sa, formed by extension with a. So: M. *siroampa* = *śirahkampā* (R. 12, 31), *sirakavalāṇa* = *śirahkavalāṇa* (G. 351); AMg. *deviō...°raīyasirasāo* = *devyāḥ...°racitaśiraskāḥ* (Ovav. § 55); Mg. *śilāscālāṇa* (Mṛcch. 126,7). Cf. § 347. AMg. *jōiṭhāna* = *jyotiḥsthāna*, *jōisama* = *jyotiḥsama* (Uttar. 375. 1009); PG. *dhamāyubalayaśovadhāniko* = *dharmāyurbalayaśovardhanakān* (6,9; cf. VG. 101,8); M. JM. *āukkhae* = *āyuhkṣaye* (H. 321; Erz. 24,36), JM. *āudalāṇi* = *āyurdalāṇi* (Kk. 268,22). In M. JM. AMg. the neuter nouns in -as are used as masculine as a rule (§ 356).

§ 408. Nouns in -as. — The forms built from the old s-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMg. *dummaṇā*, *sumaṇā* (Sūyag. 692), Ś. *duvvāsā* = *durvāsāḥ* (Śak. 72,10), the stem also in the compound *duvvāsāsāvo* = *durvāsahśāpāḥ* (76, 5), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. *purūravā* = *purūravāḥ* (Vikr. 40,21), Mg. *samaśśasīdamaṇā* = *samāśvastamanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 134,23). One must consider, M. JŚ. Ś. Mg. *ṇamo*, AMg. JM. *namo* = *namas*, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -as to masc. (e. g. M.: G. H.; AMg.; Vivāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM.: Kk.; Rṣabhap.; JŚ.: Pav. 379,4; 389,4; Ś.: Mṛcch. 128,18,21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mṛcch. 114,10. 22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11). Cf. § 175. 498. Neuter is also JŚ. *tao* = *tapāḥ* (Pav. 387,26). Acc. Ś. *purūravasam* (Vikr. 36,9); neut. AMg. JŚ. *maṇo* = *manas* (Kappas. § 121; Pav. 386, 70). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMg. JM.: AMg. *maṇasā vajāsā* = *manasā vacasā* (Thāp. 40), more often *maṇasā vajāsā kājasā* (§ 364), *na cakkhusā na maṇasā na vajāsā* (Panhāv. 461); AMg. JM. *tejasā* = *tejasā* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Panhāv. 507; Thāp. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39. 59. 118; Erz. 39, 8); AMg. JŚ. *tavasā* = *tapasā* (Sūyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76. 264; Ovav. § 21. 24. 38. 62; Pav. 388,27); AMg. *rajasā* = *rajasā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1. 3,4; Sūyag. 551), *sahasā* (Thāp. 368), *cejasā*, *jasasā* (Samav. 81. 83. 85), *sirasā* (Kappas.; Ovav.), also in Ś. (Vikr. 27,17). On the ins. in -sā of a-stems see § 364. — Loc. *urasi*, *sirasi*, *sarasi* (Hc. 4,448); AMg. *tamasi* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3); Ś. *purūravasi* (Vikr. 35,15), *tavasi* (Śak. 21,5); Mg. *śilāsi* (Mṛcch. 17,1; 116,15).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the a-stem: sing. nom. M. *vimaṇo* (R. 5,16); AMg. *uggatavo* = *ugratapāḥ* (Uttar. 362), *tammaṇe* = *tanmanāḥ* (Vivāhap. 114), *pūmaṇe* = *prīṭimanāḥ* (Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17), *uggatave dittatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave* (Ovav. § 62); °*raījavacche* = °*racitavakṣāḥ* (Ovav. § 19); JM. *tammaṇo* = *tanmanāḥ*, *bhāsurasiro* = *bhāsuraśirāḥ* (Erz. 12,6; 69,6); JŚ. *adhikatejo* = *adhikatejāḥ* (Pav. 381,19); fem. M. *vimaṇa vva* (R. 4,31), AMg. *pūimanā* (Kappas. § 5); Ś. °*saṃkantamanā* = °*saṃkrāntamanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 29, 3); *pajjassuamaṇā* = *pratyutsukamanāḥ*

(Śak. 50,2); neut. M. *dummaṇaṁ* (R. 11,14); AMg. JM. *sejaṁ* = *śreyaḥ* (Uttar. 204, 672, 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333, 482, 574, 609, 616; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. *śila* (Mṛcch. 112,8,9) stands on account of metre for *śile* = *śiraḥ*. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in -yas in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with *a*, as *sejaṁse* = *śreyān*, *pāvijaṁse* (text *pāvaṁse*) = *pāpiyān* (Thāṇ. 314, 315), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. *kaṇiyase* = *kaṇiyān* (Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32), JM. *kaṇiyaso* (Dvār. 501,29), which, however, as the acc. AMg. JM. *kaṇiyasaṁ* (Uvās.; Dvār. 495, 30) too can be equated as = Skt. *kaṇiyasa*, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative *bālīyas* has developed an adjective **bālīya*, nom. Ś. *balio* (Śak. 50,5; 51,2), which has regularly shortened its *i* under the influence of the old accent: *balia* (strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42) and of which the neuter *baliaṁ* is used adverbially in the meaning "very" (Pāyā. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Venis. 34,3).— Acc. AMg. masc. *dummaṇaṁ* (Kappas. § 38), *jāyaveaṇṇaṁ* = *jātavedasam* (Uttar. 365), *jāyatejaṁ* = *jātatejaṁ* (Samav. 81); femin. M. *vimaṇaṁ* (R. 11,49); very frequently in the neuter: M. AMg. *uraṁ* (R. 1, 48; 4,20, 47; Āyār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127); M. AMg. *jaṣaṁ* = *yaṣas* (R. 2, 5; 4,47; Uttar. 170), Dh. *jaṣaṁ* (Mṛcch. 30,9); M. *ṇaṇaṁ*, AMg. *ṇaṇaṁ* (R. 1,7; 5,2, 64; Ovav.); AMg. *tamaṁ* (Sūyag. 31, 170); M. *siraṁ* (R. 11,35, 64, 73, 90, 94); AMg. Mg. *maṇaṁ* (Uttar. 198; Mṛcch. 30,24); AMg. *vayaṁ* = *vayas* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2, 5 beside nom. *vao* in 1,2,1,3); JM. *tejaṁ* = *tejas* (Erz. 3,10; 8,24); AMg. JŚ. *rajaṁ* = *rajas* (Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61); A. *taṭṭi*, *tavv* = *tapas* (Hc. 4,441,1, 2).— Ins. M. *vaccheṇa* = *vakṣasā* (G. 301); *sireṇa* = *śirasā* (Hc. 916), also in A. (Hc. 4,367,4) and Ś. (Bālar. 246,6), AMg. *sireṇaṁ* (Thāṇ. 401); M. *tameṇa* = *tamasā* (R. 2, 33); AMg. *teṇa* (Uttar. 363), *teṇaṁ* = *tejaṣā* (Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94); M. AMg. *raeṇa*, AMg. *raeṇaṁ* = *rajaṣā* (H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovav. § 112); M. *maṇeṇa*, AMg. *maṇeṇaṁ* = *manasā* (G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panhāv. 134); JM. *parituttṭhamaneṇaṁ* = *parituṣṭamanasā* (masc.; Erz. 39,9); Ś. *purūraveṇa* (Vikr. 8,14); A. *chandeṇa* = *chandasā* (Piṅgala 1,15); femin. M. *vimaṇāi* (H. 118); Ś. *taggadamaṇāe* = *taḍgatamanaskayā* (Viddhaś. 43,8).— Abl. M. *sirāhi* (G. 58), *ṇahāhi* (G. 1164; R. 13,51); AMg. *tamaṇ* and metrical *tamaṇ* = *tamasah* (Sūyag. 31, 170), *pejjaṇ* = *preyasah* (Ovav. § 123).— Gen. M. *asuddhamanassa* = *asuddhamanasaḥ* (masc.; H. 35); Ś. *purūravassa* (Vikr. 22,16), *tamassa*, *rajassa* (Prab. 48, 1; 56, 14); JM. *jaṣassa* (KI. 21), A. *jaṣaḥ* = *yaṣasaḥ* (Erz. 86,19).— Loc. M. AMg. *ure* (G. 773; H. 31, 276, 299, 671; R. 11,76; 12,56, 62; 15,50, 53, 64; Vivāgas. 168), M. also *urammi* (G. 1022; R. 11, 100; 15, 46) and AMg. *urammi* (Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās.); M. *ṇahammi* (G. 135, 476, 819, 829; R. 13,53; 14,23, 83), *ṇahe* (R. 13,58), AMg. *ṇabhe* (Sūyag. 310); AMg. *tamaṁsi* (Āyār. 1, 4, 4, 2); Ś. *soṭte* = *srotasi* (Karp. 71, 1); AMg. *tave* = *tapasi* (Vivāhap. 194); AMg. M. *sire* (R. 4,4; Uttar. 664); JM. *sirammi* (Erz. 58,1; Kk. 268,39); M. *sarammi* = *sarasi* (H. 491, 624); M. JM. D. *maṇe* = *manasi* (R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mṛcch. 104,2); AMg. A. *chande* = *chandasī* (Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93); A. *maṇi*, *siri* (Hc. 4,422,15,423,4).— Plural: nom. M. *sarā* = *sarāṁsi* (masc.; G. 524); AMg. *ahosirā* = *adhahśiraḥ*, *mahāyāsā* = *mahāyaśaḥ*, *hāravirāṇiyavacchā* = *hāravirāṇitavakṣasaḥ* (Ovav. § 31, 33), *thūlavajā* = *sthūlavacasaḥ* (Uttar. 15), *pāvacejā* = *pāpacetasah* (Sūyag. 289); A. *āsattamaṇa* = *āsaktamanasaḥ* (Kk. 261,4); femin. M. *gaavaṇḍo* = *galavayaskāḥ* (H. 232); AMg. *raṇiyasirasāo* = *racitaśiraśkāḥ* (Ovav. § 55), *miṇyasirāo* = *mṛgaśirasī* (Thāṇ. 81).— Acc. femin. Ś. *sumaṇḍo* = *sumanasah* (Mṛcch. 3, 1, 21); neut. AMg. *ṣarāṇi* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2),

—Ins. M. *sarehi* (H. 953), *sirehi*, *sirehiṃ* (H. 682; R. 6,60), °*maṇehi* (masc.; G. 88), *urehi* (R. 6,60); femin. M. *vimaṇāhiṃ* (R. 11,17), *maṇḡalamaṇāhi* (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. *sarāṇa* (H. 953); JM. *gayavayāṇa* (KI. 14), femin. M. *gaavaāṇa* (H. 233).—Loc. AMg. *tavesu* (Sūyag. 318), *saresu* (Nāyādh. 412). Like *āpas* becoming *āu* and *tejas* becoming *teu* (§ 355), *vacas* too becomes AMg. *vaū* (femin.): *itthivaū* = *strivacaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369); *puṇvaū* (Paṇṇav. 363), *ḥumavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369), *napuṃsagavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369), *egavaū*, *bahuvaū* (Paṇṇav. 367).—In the case of words in *-as* the stem *-sa* is rare: AMg. *adīṇamaṇaso* = *adīṇamanāḥ* (Uttar. 51); JM. *viuso* = **viduṣaḥ* = Vedic *viduḥ* = *vidvān* (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. *apsaras* is declined in all the dialects as an **ā*-stem, which is found in Skt. too: sing. nom. AMg. JM. *Ś. accharā* (Paṇhāv. 229; Thāṇ. 269. 489; Nāyādh. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); *Ś. aṇaccharā* = *anapsarāḥ* (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMg. *Ś. accharāo* (Ovav. [§ 38], Paṇhāv. 288; Vivāhap. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMg. *Ś. accharāhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 245; Ratn. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to be read also at Vikr. 40,11 for *accharohiṃ*. On the suggested form *accharehiṃ*, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrihi relative to *dharāḥarehiṃ*, see § 328. 376, on the stem *accharā°*, AMg. *acchara°* see § 97. 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem *accharasā* is also formed: nom. sing. *accharasā*, nom. plur. *accharasāo*. To it belongs the acc. M. *accharasam* R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in *-is* and *-us*. The old forms are: sing. ins. AMg. *cakkkhusā* = *cakṣuṣā* (Paṇhāv. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMg. *viusā* = *viduṣā* (Hc. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. *Ś. āuso* = *āyuṣaḥ* (Vikr. 80,4), *dhanuho* = *dhanuṣaḥ* (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly?).—Plur. gen. AMg. *joisam* = *jyotiṣam* (Ovav. § 36; so to be read with the MSS. ABβD), also *joisam* in the combination *joisam ayaṇe* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in *-ū* may be tugged either with it or with the *ū*-stem: AMg. *viū* = Vedic *viduḥ*¹ (Sūyag. 89. 147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,5²), *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *egaviū* = *ekaviduḥ*, *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ*, *maggaviū* = *mārgaviduḥ*, *pāravīū* = *pāraviduḥ* (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), *ekkārasaṅgaviū* = *ekādaśāṅgaviduḥ* (Nāyādh. 967), *bārasaṅgaviū* = *dvādaśāṅgaviduḥ* (Uttar. 691), *cakkkhū*, *ega°*, *bi°*, *ti°* = *cakṣuḥ*, *eka°*, *dvi°*, *tri°* (Thāṇ. 188); *dhanū* = *dhanuḥ* (Hc. 1,22); *Ś. āu* = *āyuḥ* (Vikr. 81,20; cf. *āuo* = **āyukaḥ* 82,13); *Ś. dīhāu* = *dirghāyuḥ* (Hc. 1,20; Mṛcch. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttarar. 71,8 etc.).—From the *i*- or *u*-stem are derived: sing. nom. AMg. *sappi* = *sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291; neuter), *joī* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.).; cf. 358³; M. *haviṃ* = *haviḥ* (Bh. 5,25); M. *dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 603. 620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMg. *āum* = *āyuḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2).—Acc. AMg. *joim* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), *sajoi* = *sajyotiṣam* (Sūyag. 270), *sappiṃ* = *sarpiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. S. § 17; Ovav. § 73), *cakkkhū* = *cakṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also *cakkkhu* (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), *paramāum* (Ovav. § 53; Samav. 112); M. AMg. *Ś. dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 177. 631; Nirayāv. § 5; Venis. 62,17); *Ś. dīhāum* = *dirghāyuṣam* (Uttarar. 132,9).—Ins. AMg. *joīṇā* = *jyotiṣā* (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460. 731), *accīe* = *arciṣā* from *arcis* has become feminine (Ovav. § 33. 56); *Ś. dīhāunā* (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMg. *cakkkhūo* (Āyār. 2,15,5,2).—Gen. AMg. *āussa* (Sūyag. 504), *cakkkhussa* (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMg. *āummi* (Sūyag. 212); JM. *cakkkhummi* (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. nom. masc. AMg. *veyaviū joisaṅgaviū*, *viū* (Uttar. 743. 756), *dhammavidū* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), *anāū* = *anāyuṣaḥ* (Sūyag. 322); neuter *cakkkhūim* (Hc. 1,33); AMg. *cakkkhū* (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. *dhanūhiṃ* (Nirayāv. § 27).—The stem in *-sa* occurs: nom. *Ś. dīhāuso* = *dirghāyuḥ* (Hc. 1,20;

Mālav. 55,13); M. *adīharāuso* (H. 950); *dhaṇuham* = *dhanuḥ* for **dhanuṣam* (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. *dhaṇuḥe* (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. *dhaṇuḥa°* (Prab. 65,5); JM. *cirāusā* (T. 7,8; femin.). *āsīs* forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. *āsī* = *āsīḥ*, or the form *āsīsā*, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in JM. the acc. *āsisaṃ* (Erz. 80,11) and *laddhāsīso* = *labdhāsīḥ* (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. *āsīsāe* (Venis. 23,17), ins. plur. *āsīsāhiṃ* (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form *āsīsā* built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. *āsisaṃ* (Mālatim. 351,7); gen. *āsīsāe* (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for *āsīsāṃ* of the text); gen. plur. *āsīsāṇaṃ* (Mālatim. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. BHĀṆDĀRKAR p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,236.—2. The words *viū* [text *vidū*] *nae dhammapajāṃ aṇuttaraṃ* belong to verse 4. The conjecture of JACOBI with regard to the use of *vidūnate* in the meaning of *vidunvataḥ* (SBE. XII, 212, note 2) is linguistically impossible. *nate* is a false form used for *nae* (§ 203) = *nayet* (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where *sappī* is to be erased.

§ 412. From *pums* are found four stems: 1) *pum-* from *pums-* in M. AMg. JM. *pumgava* (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyādh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. *pumveya* (Samav. 62 [text °veda]; Bhag.), *pumvāu* = **pumvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363), *pumāms-*, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. *pumaṃ* = *pumān* (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem *puma-* deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. *pume* (Thāp. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. *pumaṃ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8. 9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. *pumavāu* = **pumvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363 [text °veū]. 368. 369), *pumaāṇamaṇi* = **pumājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363 ff. 369), *pumapannavaṇi* = **pumprajñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 364), *pumitthiveya* = *pumstriveda* (Uttar. 960), *pumattāṃ* = *pumstvām* (Uttar. 421), *pumattāe* = *pumstvāya* (Ovav. § 102; Thāp. 479. 482. 523), *pumavajāna* = *pumvacana* (Paṇṇav. 370. 388; Thāp. 174 [text *pumma°*]), 4) the stem *pumsa-* extended from *pums-* in AMg. *pumsakoilaga* = *pumsa-kokilaka* (Thāp. 568), *napumsaveya* (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the *s*-stem, is found only *bhūyo* (7,41).

8) THE REMAINING CONSONANTAL STEMS.

§ 413. In addition to those from *t-*, *n-*, and *s*-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the *ś*-stems only, particularly from *dis*, and that mostly in formular phrases, as AMg. *diso disaṃ* (Āyār. 2,16, 6); AMg. JM. *diso disim* (Paṇḥāv. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyādh. 348; Erz. 13,6. 38,26; 63,25), M. JM. *disi disi* (Viddhaś. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. *padiso disāsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. *puvādiso* = *pūrvadisah* (Bālar. 179,2); Mg. *ṇisi* (Mṛcch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), *kāyaggirā* = *kāyagirā* (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the *a-*, the feminine ones to the *ā-* or *i-* declension. Thus *vāc*, through **vācā* becomes M. *vāā* (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. *vāyā* (Sūyag. 931. 936); acc. *vāam*, AMg. *vāyam* (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mg. *vāāe* (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,22), M. *vāāi* (H. 572), AMg. *vāyāe* (Dasav. 631,34; Paṇḥāv. 134); gen. Mg. *vāāe* (Mṛcch. 163, 21); loc. M. *vāāi* (H. 32); plur. nom. M. *vāā* and *vāāo* (G. 93); acc. AMg. *vāyāo* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. *vāyāhi* (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. M. *vāāsu* (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has *vāi* = **vāci* from **vāci* with *a* according to § 81¹: sing. nom. *vāi* (Āyār. p. 132,16. 17; Vivāhap. 70), acc. *vāim* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132, 15. 17; Sūyag. 169 [read *vāi*]. 866), *vāi°* (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jiv. 25. 276; Vivāhap. 1431.1453.1462;

Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]).—*tvac* forms sing. nom. AMg. *taṣā* = **tvacā* (Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529); abl. AMg. *taṣāo* (Sūyag. 639); plur. gen. AMg. *taṣāṇam* (Sūyag. 806); nom. AMg. *taṣāṇi* (§ 358). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. *taṣāppavāla*° = *tvakprabāla* (Paṇhāv.408), *taṣāsuha* = *tvaksukha* (Nāyādh. § 34; Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *taṣāmantā* (Ovav. § 4.15), *saṛittayā* = *sadr̥ktvacāḥ* (Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur.). From *ṛc* is found the acc. plur. Ś. *ricāim* (§ 358). From *bhiṣaj* follows the nom. sing. *bhiṣao* (Hc. 1,18), from *yakṛt*, the gen. sing. AMg. *jagayassa* = **yakṛtasya* (Vivāhap. 869), from *śarad* the nom. sing. *sarao* (§ 355). — From *vid* AMg. forms nom. sing. *saḍaṅgavī* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77), *vejavi* = *vedavit* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742), from *pariṣad*, sing. nom. AMg. *parisā* from **pariṣadā* (Vivāgas. 4.13.15.58.138.242; Ovav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10), ins. gen. loc. AMg. *parisāe* (Kappas. § 113; Ovav. § 56); plur. nom. AMg. *parisāo* (Vivāhap. 303), ins. *parisāhim* (Nāyādh. 1026), gen. *parisāṇam* (Vivāgas. 201). From *sāmpad* the nom. is *sāmpā*, from *pratipad*, nom. *paḍivā* (Hc. 1,15), JM. *sāmpayā*, *āvayā* (Erz. 81,35); A. *sāmpā* = **sāmpadī*, likewise *āvai* = *āpād*, *vivai* = *vīpad* (Hc. 4,335.372.400); cf. AMg. *āvaikālam* = *āpatkālam* (Ovav. § 86); acc. A. *sāmpaa* (Piṅgala 1,81°; GOLDSCHMIDT *maṅgala*), plur. nom. M. *sāmpā*, AMg. *sāmpayā* (H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff.), *āvāio* (G. 988). From *hr̥d* the acc. is AMg. *hiyam* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5).—*kṣudh* forms nom. *chuhā*, *khuhā* (§ 318).—On *āu* see § 355. — *kakubh* builds nom. *kaūhā* (Hc. 1,21), *gir* forms nom. *girā*, likewise *dhur*, nom. *dhurā*, *pur*, nom. *purā* (Hc. 1,16); acc. D. *dhuram* (Mṛcch. 102,2); plur. nom. AMg. *girāo* (Paṇhāv. 287), ins. *girāhim* (Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādh. § 23), gen. *girāṇam* (Uttar. 358). — In AMg. *aho* is the acc. from *ahar* (day; § 342), frequently in the combination *aho ya rāo* or *aho ya rāo ya* (§ 386).—The very frequent *dis* forms mostly in all the dialects *disā*, Mg. *disā* in compounds as in flexion: nom. *disā*, acc. *disam*, ins. gen. loc. *disāe*, abl. *disāo*, AMg. also *ahedisāo*, *aṇudisāo* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574), Ś. *puvvadisādo* (Ratn. 313,7); plur. nom. acc. *disāo*, ins. *disāhim*, gen. *disāṇam*, loc. *disāsu*, AMg. also *vidisāsu* (Thāṇ. 259 ff.). From **disī*, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. *disim*, particularly in the combination *diso disim* (see above), but elsewhere too (Vivāgas. 4.38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. *disam*], *aṇudisim* (Kappas. S. § 61), *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 145), *paḍidisim* (Thāṇ. 135; commentary: *ikāras tu prākṛtatvāt*), and in the composition *disi*° (Vivāhap. 161; Ovav. § 2; Kappas. § 27. 63; Uvās. § 3.7; Āv. 14,10) and *disi*° (Uvās. § 50); so also gen. plur. JŚ. *disiṇam* (Kattig. 402,367) beside *disāṇa* (401,342), loc. JŚ. *disisu* (Kattig. 401,341), A. *disihī* (Hc. 4,340,2).—*prāvṛṣ* becomes *pāuso* (§ 358); from *upānah* the stem is Ś. *uvāṇaha* (Mṛcch. 72,9), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. *pāhaṇāo*, *vāhaṇāo* (§ 141).

1. WEBER (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces *vat*° back to *vacas*.

B. COMPARISON

§ 414. Pkt. employs *-tara*, *-tama*, *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha*, as suffixes of the comparative and superlative wholly as Skt.: M. *tikkhaara* = *tikṣṇatara* (H. 505); JM. *ujjalatara* = *ujjvalatara* (Āv. 40,6), *dadhajāra* = *dṛḍhatara* (Erz. 9,35); AMg. *paḡgahiyatara* = *pragḡhīlatara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,11), *thovatara* = *stokatara* (Jiyak. 92); Ś. *adhiadara* = *adhikatarā* (Mṛcch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālatim. 214,1; Vṛṣabh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5), *nihudadara* = *nibhrtatara* (Vikr. 28,8), femin. *diṇḍadarā* = *dviguṇatarā* (Mṛcch. 22,13), °*ri* (Priyad. 25,7); JM. Ś. *mahattara* (Erz.; Uttarar. 118,5), Mg. *mahattala* (Śak. 118,5); *piama* (H. R.), JM. *pijā ama* (Dvār. 498,26; Erz.), Ś. *piadama* (Vikr.

28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2), A. *piama* (Vikr. 66,16) = *priyatama*; AMg. *taratama* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kaṇṇiyasa* (§ 409), Ś. *kaṇṇasī* (femin.; Mālav. 78, 9); Ś. *kaṇṇiṭṭha* = *kaṇṇiṣṭha* (Mahāv. 3, 14; Kāleyak. 26, 20; Subhadr. 3,18), AMg. *kaṇṇiṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 622); AMg. *seyaṃ* = *sreyas* (§ 94), *seyaṃsa* (§ 409); PG. *bhūyo* (7,41), AMg. JM. *bhujjo* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 787. 789. 979; Uttar. 212,232,238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhap. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *bhūo* (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7), Ś. *bhūiṭṭha* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = *bhūyas*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside Ś. *bahudara* (Mrcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,3; Uttarar. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11); AMg. *pejja-* = *preyas* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paṇṇav. 638; Vivāhap. 125. 1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also *pijja-* (Uttar. 822. 876); AMg. *pāviyaṃse* = *pāpiyān* (§ 409), JM. *pāviṭṭha* = *pāpiṣṭha* (Kk.); AMg. JM. Ś. *jeṭṭha* = *jyeṣṭha* (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhap. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [ji]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Dvār. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarar. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13); AMg. *dharmiṭṭha* = *dharmiṣṭha* (Sūyag. 757); JM. *dappiṭṭha* = *darpiṣṭha* (Kk. 270,9); Ś. *adibaliṭṭha* (Pras. 83,10). On AMg. *heṭṭhima* see § 107. Double formations are: AMg. *uttaratara* (Ovav.), *baliyātaram* (Vivāhap. 839); *jeṭṭhaṃyara*, *kaṇṇiṭṭhaṃyara* (Hc. 2, 172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMg. *bhujjataro* and *bhujjayaro*, in which the comparative suffix *-tara* has been added to the comparative stem *bhujja* = *bhūyas*, and which have retained the ending *-o* of *bhujjo* = *bhūyas*. On their pattern¹, as in numerous other cases², are regulated *appataro*, *oppayaro* = *alpataram* in the combination *appataro vā bhujjataro vā* or *appayaro vā bhujjayaro vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhap. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. *ovaṇṇāhi vi lahuam* “quicker than downward rush” (R. 6,77), *seubandhalahuam* “smaller than a bridge” (R. 8, 15); Ś. *tatto vi...pia tti* “dearer than thou” (Śak. 9,10), *paḍhuma-damṣaṇādo vi savisesaṃ piadaṃsaṇo* “more charming than at the first view” (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *appataro*. — 2. § 355 on *āu*.

C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

Singular.

- Nom. *aham*, *ahaam*, JM. *ahajam*, *ham*, [*amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi*, *ahammi*]; Mg. *hage*, *hagge*, [*hake*, *ahake*]; A. *hañ*.
 Acc. *maṃ*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *me*, [*mi*, *mimaṃ*, *ammi*, *amham*, *amha*, *mamha*, *aham*, *ahammi*, *ṇe*, *ṇam*]; A. *mañ*.
 Ins. *mae*, *mañ*, [*mamae*, *mamāi*, *mañi*], *me*, [*mi*, *mamaṃ*, *ṇe*]; A. *mañ*.
 Abl. [*matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *mañtto*], *mamāo*, [*mamāu*, *mamāhi*], *mamāhinto* etc. (§ 416); P. [*mamāto*, *mamātu*]; A. [*mahu*, *majjhu*].
 Gen. *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *majjham*, *me*, *mi* [*mañ*, *amha*, *amham*]; A. *mahu*, *majjhu*.
 Loc. [*mae*], *mañ*, [*me*, *mi*, *mamāi*], *mamammi*, [*mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *amhammi*]; A. *mañ*.

Plural.

- Nom. *amhe*, [*amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe*]; D. *vaam*; AMg. JM. *vajam* too; Mg. [*hage*] too; P. *vajam*, *ampha*, *amhe*; A. *amhe*, *amhañ*.
 Acc. *amhe*, *amha*, [*amho*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhe*, [*amhañ*].

- Ins. *amhehiṃ*, [*amhāhiṃ*, *amhe*, *amha*], *ṇe*; A. *amhehi*.
 Abl. [*amhatto*, *amhāhiṃto*, *amhāsuṃto*, *amhesuṃto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiṃto*, *mamāsuṃto*, *mamesuṃto*; A. *amhahā*]; J.M. *amhehiṃto*.
 Gen. *amhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *amhaṇ*, *amha*, *mha*, [*amhāhā*], *amhe*, [*amho*, *mamāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *mahāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjhāṇaṃ*, °*ṇa*, *majjha*, *ṇe*], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhahā*.
 Loc. *amhesu*, *amhāsu*, [*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *mahasu*, *majjhesu*, *majjhasu*]; A. *amhāsu*.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48.97.114; Mk. fol. 49.70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful¹. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in the abl. sing. of the all the stems given above the forms: *mamatto*, *mamāto*; *mamāu*, *mamāhi*, *mamāhiṃto*; *mahatto*, *mahāto*, *mahāu*, *mahāhi*, *mahāhiṃto*, *majjhatto*, *majjhāto*, *majjhāu*, *majjhāhi*, *majjhāhiṃto*; *maṭṭto*, *maṭto*, *maṭu*, *maṭhi*, *maṭhiṃto*; *mamā*, *mahā*, *majjhā*; but also the special feminine forms *mamā*, *mamā*, *mamāi*, *mamāe*, likewise from the stems *maha*, *majjha*, *maṭ*, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition *amhattha*, *amhassim*, *amhammi*, *amhamiṃ*, *amhe*, further the feminine forms *amhā*, *amhā*, *amhāi*, *amhāe*, and all these forms also from the stems *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems *tuma*, *tuva*, *tuha*. *tumha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tui*, *taṭi*. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.

1. BLOCH goes too far, Vr. und Hc. 36. Cf. KONOW, GGA. 1894. 478.

§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. Mṛcch. 102, 23; 104, 19; 106,1) employ *aham* = *aham*, Mg. *hage* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6. 16; Śak. 113,5. 9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also *hake* and *ahake*, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has *hake* too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also *hakke*, *hake*, *hagge*. In Mṛcch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, STENZLER has *hagge* elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4. 8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Hāsy. 31,3; Prab. 32,6. 14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. *hakke*) is to be read for *haggo*; so has the ed. P. 58, 17; whilst at 55,15 it has *ham*; the ed. Bomb. has *aham* (55,15) and *hagge* (58,17); the ed. M. has *aham* in both the places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. l. *hage*); 187,1; 193,1 (v. l. *hage*), 267,2; Vaṇis. 35,4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛcch. in GÖPABOLE almost throughout have *hage*, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one **ahakādh* (§ 142. 194) i. e. *ahakām* (Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Aśoka *hakām* with so frequent change of gender in Mg. (§ 357). A. *haṭṭi* (Hc. s. v. *haṭṭi*; Piṅgala 1,104^a; 2,121; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for *haṭ*, *hamiṃ*; cf. v. l. A]) and M. *ahaam* (H. R.), J.M. *ahajam* (Āv. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to *ahakām*. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. AMg. J.M. Mg. *ham* (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575. 623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛcch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mk. have *ahammi* only, Ki. has *amhi*, Hc. alone has *mmi* too. All the four forms are rejected by BLOCH¹, as mistakes of the

grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. *asmi* is used in the sense of "I", a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical *asmi* "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted *rāmo'smi sarvaṃ sahe*. One may compare this with the use of *asti* in B-R. s.v.1 as p. 535, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. *atthi naṃ bhante gihīṇo...ohināṇe naṃ samuppajjā* (Uvās. § 83); *atthi naṃ bhante jīṇavayaṇe...ālojjā* (Uvās. § 85); *atthi naṃ bhante...siddhā parivasanti* (Ovav. § 162); *taṃ atthi jāṃ te kaḥiṃ pi* [ed. vi] *devānuppiyā erisae orohe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1284); *taṃ atthi jāṃ* [ed. jā] *ittha kei bhe* [ed. te] *kaḥiṃ pi* [ed. vi] *accherae diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1376); Ś. *atthi ettha naare...tiṇṇi purisā...sirīṃ na saḥanti* (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise *santi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585) and more often *siyā* = *syāt* (as in Pāli *siyā* and *assa*) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11,2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly *amhi* = *asmi* too is to be used. *ammi* and *mmi* are not made up forms, as AMg. *mi*, *mo*, *mu* (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.³ *ahammi* should be = *aham mi*.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 37.—2. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 478; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz. (Bonn 1897), p. 62, note 2.—3. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 37. In Hc. 3,105 we should with ed. Bomb. read *jeṇa haṃ viddhā for teṇa haṃ diṭṭhā* (WEBER on H. 441). Correct, however, is the analysis *jeṇ' ahaṃ* (§ 173). Cf. § 34.

§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is *maṃ* = *mām* (H. R.; Uvās. s. v. *ma-*; Erz. Kk. s. v. *aham*; Rṣabh. s. v. *ma*¹; Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22. 25; Śak. 16. 10; Vikr. 16,6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5. 15). A. has *maṛ* (Hc. 4,377. 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also *mamaṃ* (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thāp. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for *mama*]. 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 129, 4) we should, in the verse, read *mama*. After *mamaṃ*, AMg. has formed also a feminine *mamiṃ*; *mamaṃ vā mamiṃ vā* (Sūyag. 680). We should read *amhi ahammi* for *asmi asammi* in Kī. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. *mahaṃ* (R. 15. 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often *me* in AMg., as in the Veda², (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thāp. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16). — The ins. is *mae* in all the dialects, except in A., which has *maṛ* (Hc. 4,330, 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). *me* stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; *maṛ* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse.—In the abl. *mamāhinto* alone is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and *mamāo* in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23). — In the gen. *mama* is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read *mamaṃ ti* with the v. l. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. do not have *mama*, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Śak. 55,15). M. uses *maha*, *mahaṃ*, *majjha*, *majjhaṃ*, *me*, JM. AMg. often in addition to *mama* also *mamaṃ* (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Ś. *mama* (Mṛcch. 9,7; Śak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), *maha* (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venīs. 11,25), *me* (Mṛcch. 15,25; Śak. 27,9. 10; Vikr. 8,15); *majjha*, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for *mama* or *maha*; Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8. 12; 30,25), *maha* (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venīs. 33,13), *me* (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3. 5; Venīs. 34,22; 35,2. 8.14); Dh. *mama* (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); Ā. *maha* (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104,2. 11); A. *mahu* (Hc. 4,333. 370,2. 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13. 14), *majjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with *paṛ* also *maṛ* at Vikr. 63,4. — *maha* goes back likewise as *majjha*, to *mahyam*. For *me* stands *mī* metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. *mujjha*, *muha* (Erz.). We should read *yad imam* in the place of P.

yati mam (Hc. 4,323).—Loc. M. JM. *mamammi* (R.; Erz.); Ś. *māi* (Mālav. 41,18); A. *maī* (Hc. 4,377).

1. These references hold good also for the rest of the cases in the sing.; besides one should also see Nāyādh. ed. STEINTHAL s.v. s.v. In places, where nothing has been noted, the old texts, like Āyār., Sūyag., Uttar., Āv., have the same forms. Only a few examples have been given from Ś. Mg., as most of the forms are very frequent. This holds good also for the remaining pronouns.—2. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,714.

§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG. (6,41), is *amhe*, for which in Mg. *asme* is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic *asme*¹: M. (G. 1072; H. s. v. *amha*); AMg. (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāgas. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134); JM. (Erz. 3,28; 12,13,19; Kk. 271,7); Ś. (Mr̥cch. 20,18; Śak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13); Mg. (Mr̥cch. 158,23; 161,14,17; 168,11; Venis. 35,21); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. *vayam* = *vayam* too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 748; Vivāhap. 1180; Dasav. 613,11), which occurs in JM. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit *vaam̐*. It stands in Mr̥cch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts (also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18)². For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too *hage*, as is attested by 4,302 (p. 148) in a quotation from Vikrāntabhīma; A. has also *amhaī* (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches *vayam̐*, *ampha* and *amhe*.—According to C. 2,27 *bhe* may be used in the plural in all the cases.—Acc. M. AMg. *ne* = *nas* with the ending -e of the nouns in -a (§ 367a) (R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ne]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239), but Ś. *no* (Śak. 26,12); JM. Ś. also *amhe* (T. 5,3; Mālatīm. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venis. 70,5), Mg. *asme* (Venis. 36,5), M. *amha* (H. 356), A. *amhe* (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also *amhaī*.—Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *amhehim̐* (H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mr̥cch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatīm. 283,2), M. also *amhehi* (H. R.), as also PG. has (6,29); Mg. *asmehim̐* (Mr̥cch. 11,19; 21,11); in AMg. also *ne* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3); A. *amhehi* (Hc. 4,371).—Abl. JM. *amhehim̐to* (Āv. 47,20).—Gen. M. JM. Ś. *amhāṇam̐* (H. 951 [ṇa]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mr̥cch. 2,18. 19. 24), Mg. *asmāṇam̐* ([text *amhāṇam̐*]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mr̥cch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2); M. AMg. JM. *amham̐* (H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhap. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34), M. JM. also *amha* (H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk.), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either *amhe* and which is to be considered as in the acc. (cf. *mam̐* of the Dvāvid. recen.), or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 *amhāṇam̐*. In M. *mha* too (H.). *amham̐* is in AMg. JM. the prevalent form, which PG. too has (5,3; 7,42). It corresponds to one Skt. **asmām*, i. e. a gen. built from the stem *asma-* with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst *amhāṇam̐* presupposes one **asmānām*, and M. *amhāṇā*, A. *amhāṇā* (Hc. 4,379. 380. 439) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one **asmāsām*, therefore, with the ending of the pronominal declension. On AMg. *asmākam̐* see § 314. AMg. JM. have also *amhe* (Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6), Ś. very frequently has *no* = *naḥ* (Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3), AMg. *ne* (Vivāhap. 132 f.).—Loc. Ś. *amhesu* (Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venis. 70,2). *amhāsu*, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,716 —2. PISCHEL, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. *tumam̐*, *tum̐*, *taṁ*, [tuha, tuvaṁ]; Dh. *tuham̐*; A. *tuhū*.

- Acc. *tumañ*, [*tum̃*, *tañ*], *te*, [*tuha*, *tuvañ*, *tume*, *tue*]; Ś. Mg. *de too*; Dh. *tuham̃*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Ins. *tae*, *taĩ*, *tue*, *tui*, [*tumañ*], *tumae*, [*tumai*], *tumāi*, *tume*, *te*, *de*, [*dī*, *bhe*]; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Abl. *tatto*, *tumāhi*, *tumāhim̃to*, *tumāo*, [*tumāu*, *tumā*, *tumatto*, *taitto*, *tuitto*], *tuvatto*, [*tuhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tumhatto*, *tujjhatto*, further from all these stems with the endings -o, -u, (Ś. Mg. -do, -du), -hi, -him̃to, then *tumā*, *tuvā*, *tuhā*, *tubbhā*, *tumhā*, *tujjhā*, *tumha*, *tuyha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tahim̃to*]; P. [*tumāto*, *tumātu*]; A. *tujjhu*, *taũ*, *tudhra*].
- Gen. *tava*, *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuhāñ*, *tubbha*, *tubbhañ*, *tumha*, *tumhañ*, *te*, *de*, [*taĩ*], *tu*, [*tuva*, *tuma*], *tumañ*, *tumma*, [*tume*, *tumo*, *tumāi*, *dī*, *i*, *e*, *ubbha*, *uyha*, *umha*, *ujjha*]; Ś. *tuha*, *de*; Mg. *tava*, *tuha*, *de*; A. *taũ*, *tujjhu*, *tujjhaha*, *tudhra*, *tuha*.
- Loc. *taĩ*, *tumammi*, *tume*, *tuvi*, *tui*, [*tue*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tumāi*, *tummi*, *tuva-mmi*, *tuhammi*, *tubbhammi*, *tumhammi*, *tujjhammi*]; AMg. *tumañsi*; Ś. *taĩ*, *tui*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.

Plural.

- Nom. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*, [*tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjhe*, *tujjha*, *tuyhe*, *uyhe*, *bhe*]; AMg. *tubbhe*; JM. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*; A. [*tumhe*, *tumhaĩ*].
- Acc. as the nom., and *vo*, AMg. *bhe*.
- Ins. *tumhehim̃*, *tubbhehim̃*, [*tujjhehim̃*, *tuyhehim̃*, *tummehim̃*, *umhehim̃*, *ubbhehim̃*, *ujjhehim̃*, *uyhehim̃*], *bhe*; AMg. *tubbhehim̃*, *tumehim̃*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhehim̃*, *tubbhehim̃*; Ś. *tumhehim̃*; A. *tumhehi*.
- Abl. [*tumhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tujjhatto*, *tuyhatto*, *umhatto*, *ubbhatto*, *ujjhatto*, *uyhatto*]; from the same stems with the endings -e, -u (Ś. Mg. -do -du), -hi, -him̃to, -sum̃to]; A. *tumhahā*.
- Gen. *tumhāñam̃*, *na*, [*tubbhāñam̃*, *na*, *tujjhāñam̃*, *na*, *tuhāñam̃*, *na*, *tuvāñam̃*, *na*, *tumāñam̃*, *na*], *tumhañ*, *tumha*, *tubbhañ*, [*tubbha*, *tujjhañ*, *tujjha*, *tu*], *bhe*, *vo*; AMg. *tubbhañ*, *tumhāñam̃*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhāñam̃*, *tubbhañ*, *tumha*, *tumhañ*; Ś. Mg. *tumhāñam̃*; A. *tumhahā*.
- Loc. [*tumhesu*, *tubbhesu*, *tujjhesu*, *tuhesu*, *tuvesu*, *tumesu*, *tusu*, *tumhasu* etc., *tumhāsu* etc., *tujjhisum̃*, *tumbhisum̃*; A. *tumhāsu*].

Cf. Vr. 6,26—39; C. 1,18—25; 2,26; Hc. 3,90—104; 4,368—374; Ki. 3,59—71; 5,113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is *tumañ* from the stem *tuma* in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: (M. G. H. R.; AMg. e. g. Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [read *tumañ si*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Āv. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mṛcch. 4. 5; Śak. 12, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mṛcch. 19, 8; Prab. 58, 1; Mudrār. 267, 1; Ā. Mṛcch. 99, 18. 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mṛcch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18)¹. In AMg. the nom. *tume* too appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against *tumañ* § 70; p. 448. 450), which would be related to *tumañ*, like Mg. *hage* to *ahakām* (§ 417). In M. *tañ* too (G. H. R.), which AMg. (Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712) and JM. (Ṛṣabhap.; Erz.) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears *tum̃* (H.; Śak. 78, 11 ed. BÖHTL.). Dh. *tuhāñ* (Mṛcch. 34, 24; 35, 1. 3; 39, 8), A. *tuhū* (Hc. s. v. *tu*; Piṅgala 1, 4^b) go back to *tvakām* (§ 206)². At Piṅgala 1, 5^b *taĩ* (GOLDSCHMIDT *taim̃*, text *taĩ*; cf. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 530) has been used as nom.—Acc. *tumañ* as in the nom. in the same dialects (Ś. Mṛcch. 4, 9; Śak. 51, 6; Vikr. 23, 1; Mg. Mṛcch. 12, 10; Mudrār. 183, 6); Dh. *tuhāñ* (Mṛcch. 31, 12); A. *taĩ* (Hc. 4, 370) and *paĩ* (Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58, 8; 65, 3).

On *pa* see § 300. *te* is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368.677.696), likewise in Ś. (Mṛcch. 3,13) and *de* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 128,12. 14)³.—Ins. M. *taī, tae, tui, tue, tumae, tumāe tumāi, tume* (G. H. R.); JM. *tae, tumae, tume*; AMg. *tume* (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. *tae* (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1.2), *tue* (Mṛcch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. *tae* (Lalitav. 566,4), *tue* (Mṛcch. 31,23. 25; Venīs. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramas waver; Mṛcch. Vikr. Venīs., and most others have *tue* (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as *tue* with A.), Śak. Ratn. have *tae*. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. Ā. has *tue* (Mṛcch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. *tue* (Mṛcch. 101,25) and *tae* (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly *tue*.—*te, de*, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mṛcch. 60,24 *na hu de...sāhasam karēntēna...ācaridam = na khalu tvayā...sāhasam kurvātā...ācaritam*, or very probably, as Ś. Mṛcch. 29,14 *sutthū de jānidam = suṣṭhu tvayā jñātam*, compare with 27,21; 28,24 *sutthū tue jānidam*. A. *taī, paī* (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc.—Abl. M. *tumāhi, tumāhinto, tumāo* (G. H.); Ś. *tatto = tvattah* (Śak. 9,10), *tuvatto* (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, *tumhāhinto* (Karp. 53,6; Viddhaś. 71,6; 113,6); P. *tumāto, °tu* (Hc. 4,307. 321).—Gen. M. *tuha, tuham, tujjha, tujjham, tumham, tumma, tu, te, de* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tava, te, tubbham⁴, tuham* (Uttar. 444.597 f.), *tumam* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. *tuha, tumha, tujjha, tava, tujjham* (Āv. 7,11; 22,5), *tuham* (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. *tuha* (Lalitav. 554,5; Mṛcch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); *te* in Ś. only Mṛcch. 3,16 (v. l. *de*); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always *de* (§ 185), hence *te* apparently false.⁵ Against the dialect are also *tava* and *tujjha*. In Vikr. *tava* stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have *tuha*, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mṛcch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śakāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where *tava* or *tua* stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads *tuha*, so that Ratn. has only *tuha* (294,21; 299,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313, 12. 27; 318,26) and *de*. We should read *tuha*, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for *tuva, tua* in Prab. 37,14; 39,5 of the editions. *tujjha* correctly stands in the dramas, Mṛcch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Kārnas. 52, 13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has *tava* (Mṛcch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), *te* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 113,1⁶), for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often *de* (e.g. Mṛcch. 21,22; Śak. 113, 7; Mudrār. 184,2), false *tujjha* (Mṛcch. 176,6, for which we should read *tue* with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should read *te [de]* with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has *ujjha*, and for which, with the v.l., we should read *tuha*; Dh. *tuha* (Mṛcch. 39,5); A. *taū, tujjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372. 425), the noteworthy *tudhra* (Hc. 4,372), *tujjhaha* (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSSEN), *tuha* (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Piṅgala 1,123^a), *tumha* (Piṅgala 1,60^a), *tujjhe* in rhyme with *ujjhe = yudhi* (Piṅgala 2, 5). AMg. *tubbham* is = *tubhyam*; *tuha, tujjha, tuyha* presuppose one **tuhyam* (cf. *mahyam*). From this are deduced the stems *tubbha, tuyha, uyha*, which appear in the plural.⁶ The stems *tuyha, uyha* must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331).—Loc. M. *taī, tui, tumammi, tume* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tumamsi* (Nirayāv. § 15); JM. *taī, tumammi*; Ś. *taī* (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), *tui* (Mālav. 41,19; Venīs. 13,8 [so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p. 26,5]);

A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM. too *paĩ* and *paĩm* have been used by Dhanapāla⁷.

1. See note 1 to § 418. — 2. BOLLENSEN ON Vikr. p. 528 reads *tūhū* and wants to derive it from *tumhām* at p. 529. — 3. FISCHER, GGA. 1877, 1066; BB. 3,250 note; ZDMG. 35, 714. — 4. HOERNLE ON Uvās., Transl., note 262. — 5. Certainly false is *de* in the beginning of the sentence in Śak. ed. BÖHTL. 107,13, as already noted by BOLLENSEN ON Vikr. 176. — 6. Others KERN Jaartelling 102; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge 55, note 1. — 7. KLATT, ZDMG. 33,448.

§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg. the usable form, in all the dialects, is *tumhe* = **tuṣme*: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,15; 70,15; Śak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mṛcch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be **tusme* or even *tuyhe*; cf. *tusmā*^o, EI. 3,313,4, which KIELHORN has correctly equated as = *yuṣmat*. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *°mh*^o stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout *tubbhe* = Aśoka *tuphe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyag. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhap. 132. 332; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for *tumhe*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.). In contemptuous sense is used *tumāim* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside *tumhe*, also *tubbhe* (Āv. 14,28. 30; 41,22; Erz.; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also *tumhāĩ*, according to Kī. 5,113; P. has *tumpha*, *tuppha*, *tumhe*. — Acc. *tumhe*: M. (R. 3,27); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13); JM. *tubbhe* (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and *tumhe* (T. 5,3); AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās.) and *bhe*¹, which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has *tumhe*, *tumhāĩ* according to Hc. 4,369. — Ins. M. *tumhehi* (H.420); AMg. *tubbhehiṁ* (Vivāgas.17; Uttar.579 [*°bhbhe*]); Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359. 361. 363. 419 etc.), also *tumehiṁ* (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct), *tubbhe* (Sūyag. 932) and *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284.1376 [text *te*]); JM. *tumhehiṁ* (Erz.), *tubbhehiṁ* (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz.); Ś. *tumhehiṁ* (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhaś. 48,5); *tumhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Gen. in all the dialects *tumhāṇam*: M. (H. 676, *°ṇa*); AMg. (Sūyag. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mṛcch. 17,22; Vikr. 48,4; Mālatīm. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Śak. 118,4; Mudār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is *tumha* (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is *tubbham* (Sūyag. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhap. 1214; Vivāgas.20.21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v.l. for *tumhām* in also Kappas. § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās. § 68,153 [so to be read]) and often *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyag. 284. 734. 972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhap. 132), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also *vo* = *vaḥ* (G. H. R.; Śak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PG. (7,46), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mṛcch. At Āv. 41,18 we should read *keṇa bhe kiṁ gahiyam*. A. has *tumhahā*. (Hc. 4,373). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. *tumhāhā* too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Śākalya,² according to Mk. fol. 48 f., taught, without any strong justification, the forms *tujjhisum*, *tumbhisum*; A. has *tumhāsu* according to Hc. 4,374. According to C. 2,26 *bhe* is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the ecriure *hha* for *bbha* (*bhbha*) in the MSS. of Sr. see FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. MÜLLER (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that *bhe* is not = Skt. *bho* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,404, note 4; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.). — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2 f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem *sa-*, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects¹. Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JŚ. S. Ā. D. P. *so* (H. s. v. *sa-*; G. R. Erz. Rṣabhap. s. v.

ta-; Kk. s. v. *tad*; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mr̥ch. 6,8; Śak. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mr̥ch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mr̥ch. 100,5. 9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323), seldom *sa* (Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [where, however, with C. we should read *a* = *ca*]); AMg. (Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [where *sa cceva* is to read]; Uttar. 361 [*sa eso* beside *eso hu so* 362]; JM. (Erz. 6, 36; Kk. 258,4); Ś. Mr̥ch. 42,11 [in A. only]; 63,18); AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. *ta²*); Mg. *śe* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mr̥ch. 19,17; Śak. 114,2; A. *su* and *so* (Hc. s. v. s. v.). Falsely stands *so* in AMg. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose (cf. § 17). In conformity with the alteration of gender (§ 356 ff.) one says AMg. *se dīṭṭham ca ne* = *tad dṛṣṭam ca naḥ*; *se duddīṭṭham ca bhe* = *tad durdṛṣṭam ca vaḥ* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3. 4); Mg. *eśe śe daśanāmake* = *etat tad daśanāmakam* (Mr̥ch. 11,1), *śe munde* = *tan mundam* (Mr̥ch. 122,7), *eśe śe suvaṇṇake* = *etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mr̥ch. 165,7), *śe kamma* = *tat karma* (Śak. 114,6); A. *so sukkhu* = *tat saukhyam* (Hc. 4,340, 1). — Acc. AMg. *se* corresponding to *me* (§ 418) and *te* (§ 421) in *se ś evaṃ vajantaṃ* = *sa tam evaṃ vadantaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8. 9,6), whilst in *se ś evaṃ vajantassa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4. 7,5. 9,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,1,10) the second *se* gen. is = *sa tasyaivaṃ vadataḥ*; A. *su* (Hc. 4,383,3; masc.), *so* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; neuter.). — Inst. AMg. *se* (Sūyag. 838. 848. 854. 860). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *se*, Mg. *śe*, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to *me* and *te* (Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kī. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mr̥ch. 12,24; Śak. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; femin. Lalitav. 561,9; Mr̥ch. 25, 8; Śak. 21, 2; Vikr. 46, 1; Mg. masc. Mr̥ch. 36, 10; 161, 7; femin. Mr̥ch. 134,8; Venis. 34,12); AMg. JM. metri causa also *se* (Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Āv. 8,2,16) and AMg. *si* (Sūyag. 282)³. — Plural. nom. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ed. Calc. *te*]; Sūyag. 859); Mg. *śe* (Mr̥ch. 167,1)⁴. — Acc. JŚ. *se* (Pav. 388,4; beside nom. *te*). — Gen. JM. *se* (C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 273,29; cf. § 34) and *sim* (Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22). — Voc. AMg. *se* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1). As in the Atharvaveda 17, 1,20 f.⁵, in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (B.-R. s. v. *sa* p. 452), in Pāli *sace* (when) *sa*, in Pāli *seyyathā se*, so in AMg. *se* is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial *t* of the pronoun *ta-* and *j* of the pronoun *ya-* are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMg. *se itaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2. 4,4. 5,2. 5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7. 8; Jiv. 36ff. 316f.; Vivāhap. 160.596; Paṇṇav. 7 ff. 63.480); *se taṃ* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,5; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se ten' atthenaṃ* (Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,1. 4. 11; 2,1,2,3. 3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,2 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff.); *se jjaṃ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,14. 2,2. 3,10; 2,5,1,4); *se jjaṇ' imāni* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10); *se jje ime* (Ovav. § 70. 71. 73 ff.); *se jjaō* (Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. § 72); *se jaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); *se kiṃ taṃ* (Aṇuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Paṇṇav. 62. 480; Ovav. § 30; Kappas. Th. § 7—9); *se ke naṃ* (Nāyādh. § 138); *se kahaṃ ejaṃ* (Vivāhap. 142); *se kei* (Sūyag. 301); *se kiṃ tu hu* (Sūyag. 846). In contrast to Pāli *seyyathā* in AMg. *j* of *jahā* is never reduplicated after *se*: *se jahā* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134. 161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. § 12. 210; Ovav. § 54; Nāyādh. § 133). The scholiasts explain *se* with *tad*; e. g. Śilāṅka on Āyār. 230 *se tti tacchabāṛthe*; p. 300 *seśabdas tacchabāṛthe sa ca vākṣyopanyāsārthaḥ*, an explanation, that is more correct than that by CHILDERS⁶ and WEBER⁷. The reduplication of *t* and *j* in Pkt. and of *y* in Pāli *seyyathā* shows that *se* should not be taken as the AMg. nom. *se*, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible⁸. *se* is rather = Vedic *se'd* i. e. *sá* = *td*, that is used almost as *sá*. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6 : *se'd ṛbhavo yām dvatha jūyām indrasca mṛtyam | sa' dhībhir astu sánitā medhásātā so' drvatā*, where *se'd yām...sa'*⁵

almost is = AMg. *se jjam se*. Hence one writes in a better way *seṭṭam*, *sejjam*, etc., like Pāli *seyyathā* and *sace*⁹.

1. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. *sasmin*. — 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. *se* is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6, as also *de* (§ 421, note 5). — 4. *se* cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāṇḍālas speak. The Calc. editions (316,10 ed. Calc. 1829; 357,1 ed. Calc. Śak. 1792) and GOPABOLE p. 452,6 read *ese*, that is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPABOLE as *ete*, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DELBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. *sa*. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 f., where also additional examples from Vivāhap. are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9. — 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of *se* and reduplication according to § 196.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflected like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of *tad*, *etad*, *yad*, *kim*, *idam* in *-ā* or *-ī* (Hc. 3,32; Ki. 3,45): *tā-*, *tī-*; *eā-*, *eī-*; *jā-*, *jī-*; *kā-*, *kī-*; *imā-*, *imī-*. *yad*, *tad*, and *kim*, however, have only *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), Ś. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only *ā*. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Ki. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun *ta-*. Sing. nom. acc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. *taṁ* (JŚ. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; Ś. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mṛcch. 2,18; Śak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mṛcch. 40,5; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,4; 32,3.8; 35,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 102,1; D. Mṛcch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of "therefore" also *traṁ* (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and *tu* in the combination *taṁ tu* (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to *ju* (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects *taṁ*. — Ins. *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇaṁ*, A. *teṁ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 3,69 also *tiṇā*; femin. M. *tiē*, *tīa*; AMg. JM. *tiē*, *tāē*; Ś. *tāē* (Lalitav. 555,1; Mṛcch. 79,3; Śak. 40,4 [so to be read for *taē*, as also Mṛcch. 77,10 with D]; Vikr. 45,21); Mg. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 133,21); P. *tiē* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tāē* (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMg. JM. have *tāo* (e. g. Ovav. § 101; Uvās. § 90,125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMg. also as femin. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms *tatto*, *tao*, Ś. Mg. *tado* (Ki. 3,50; where also *tadao*), *to*, *tamhā*, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9.10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66.67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, *tamhā* in AMg. and JŚ. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23.27; 384,36); *to*, that stands, except in M. AMg. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,11), is apparently = *dtas* (§ 142). In addition there comes AMg. *taohimto* (Vivāhap. 1047.1189.1240 f. 1283.1288 f.; Nāyādh. 1178) and *tā* M. JM. JŚ. (Pav. 398,303); Ś. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mṛcch. 2,16.18.22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8.15; 567,1; Mṛcch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mṛcch. 101,1.9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). *tā* = Vedic *tāt*¹, is wrongly translated as = *tānat*. From A. Hc. gives also *tahām* (Hc. 4,355). — Gen. masc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa*, also PG. *tasa* (7,41.45); Mg. *taśsa* (Mṛcch. 14,1.7; 19,10; 37,25) and *tāha* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also *tāsa* (Vr. 6,5.11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 15); A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, *tahō* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); femin. M. *tissā*, *tiē*, *tīa*, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also *tīā*, *tīi*; AMg. JM. *tise* (also in Vr. Hc.), *tāē*, *tiē*; Ś. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 79,3; 88,20; Śak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9.15); Mg. *tāē* (Mṛcch. 133,19; 152,5); P. *tiē* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tahē* (Hc. s. v. *ta*), *tāsu* (acc. in rhyme with *jāsu*; Piṅgala 1,109.115). — Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. *tammi*; AMg. *taṁsi*, *tammi*, *taṁmi* (also Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *tassim* (Mṛcch. 61,24; Śak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.

taṣṣim (Mṛcch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7); according to Hc. 3,11 also *taṁ*. False is JŚ. *taṁhi* (Kattig. 400,322) beside the correct *tammi*. A. has, according to Ki. 5,50, also *tadru*, as in relation with *yadru* (§ 427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is *tahim* (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 3,60) in all the dialects. As *tatra* in Skt., so *tattha* in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too (Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also *taha*, *tahi*). Femin. *tīe*, *tīa*, according to 3,60 also *tāhim*, *tāe*; AMg. *tīse* (Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 1148). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMg. JM. *tāhe* for **tāse* (corresponding to *tīse*, that mostly stands in correlation with *jāhe* and has the meaning "then" = *tadā* (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. *tāhe* and *jāhe*; Uvās. s. v. *ta-* and *ja-*; Nāyādh. § 143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc.). — Plural. Nom. *te*, femin. *tāo*, neuter. *tāim*, in all the dialects, AMg. JM. also *tāni*. Ś. Mg. have, beside *te*, also *de* behind other pronouns²: Ś. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 39,3; Uttarak. 68,8; Mālatim. 243,3 [*ede kkhū de*]; 273,4); Mg. *ede de* (Mṛcch. 38,19), *ye de* (Mudrār. 183,2), elsewhere also Ś. *te* (Uttarak. 77,4,5; Mudrār. 260,1), as *tāo* (Mṛcch. 25,20; 29,7; Mālatim. 80,1; Prab. 17,8) and *tāim* (Uttarak. 60,5). — Acc. *te*, also JŚ. (Pav. 379,3; 381,21) and A. (Hc. 4,336); falsely Ś. *de* in the beginning of the sentence (Uttarak. 72,5); femin. AMg. *tāo* (Nirayāv. 59). — Ins. *tehim*, femin. *tāhim*, in M. AMg. JM. also *tehi*, *tāhi* (Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 25,14; Prab. 10,9; 12,11). — Abl. AMg. *tēbbho* (Sūyag. 19; correct?); AMg. JM. *tehimto* (Pannav. 308 f.; Äv. 48,14) and JM. *tehim* (Erz. 22,5). — Gen. M. *tānam*, *tāna*; Ś. *tānam* (Uttarak. 73,10), also femin. (Prab. 39,1); AMg. *tesim*, *tesi*, femin. *tāsim*, *tāsi*; JM. *tesim*; femin. *tāsim* and *tānam* for masc. and femin.; JŚ. masc. *tesim* (Pav. 379, 5; 383, 44); A. *tāna*, *tāhā*, *tahā* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 4,300 *tāhā* in M. too, according to 3,62 *tāsa* in the plural too. — Loc. *tesu* (Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JM. Erz. 4,3); Ś. *tesu* (Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2) and *tesum* (Śak. 162,13); femin. JM. Ś. *tāsu* (Erz. 15,14; Mālatim. 105,1); A. *tahī* (Hc. 4,422,18). On AMg. *tām*, *tenām* see § 68, on AMg. *se ttam* § 423.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; PISCHEL, BB. 16,171 ff.—2. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits *de*, when he permits it to stand only after *je*; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that *de* was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun *eta-* is essentially inflected like *ta-* (G. s. v. *etat*; H. R. s. v. *ea-*; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. *eya-*). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā. D. *eso* (JŚ. Kattig. 398,314; Ś. Mṛcch. 6,10; Śak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mṛcch. 102,16), AMg. *ese*, in verses also *eso* (Uttarak. 361 f.) Mg. *ese* (Lalitav. 565, 6. 8; 567,2; Mṛcch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Śak. 113,3; Venis. 33,15), Dh. *esu* (Mṛcch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15), A. *ehō* (Hc. s. v. *eha*). Unlike *sa* (§ 423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, *esa* (Hc. 3,3), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: *esa*, *mahī*, *esa siram*. *esa* does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŚ. Pav. 379,1; Ś. Mṛcch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In Mg. *esa* is seldom (Mṛcch. 139,17); in Dh. stands *esa* (Mṛcch. 36,23). The femin. is *esā* (Ś. Lalitav. 555,2; Mṛcch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Śak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. (Mṛcch. 102,23), Mg. *esā* 10,23.25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9), A. *eha* (Hc. s. v.; Piṅgala 2,64), the neut. PG. *etam* (6,30), M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*, Ś. Mg. Ā. D. *edam* Ś. (Lalitav. 555,18; Mṛcch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mṛcch. 49,8.14; Śak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mṛcch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mṛcch. 29,24; 132,21; Ā. nom. Mṛcch. 100,18; D. acc. Mṛcch. 100,16); A. *chu* = **esam* (Hc. s. v. *eha*), also acc. *ehāṇi* = **esakam* (Hc. 4,362). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*. Ś. Mg. *edam*; A. masc. *ehu* (Piṅgala 1,81). — In the

ins. M. has *eena* (H. R.), AMg. *eenam*, JM. beside *eena* also *eiṇā*, Ś. Mg. beside *edena* (Ś. Mṛcch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarar. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9) much more frequently *edinā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 5,5; 18,3; Śak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarar. 13,11; Mālatīm. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mṛcch. 39,25; 40,11; Venīś. 36,1). See § 128. In the femin. beside *eyāye* JM. has also the form *ēie*, from the femin. stem *ēi* = **elī*-, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Ś. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as *edāe*: ins. (Ś. Mṛcch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7); gen. (Mg. Mṛcch. 123,3); loc. (Ś. Mṛcch. 9,9; 42,11). — For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives *ētto*, *edādo*, *edādu*, *edāhi*; Hc. 3,82: *ētto*, *ēttāhe*, *eāo*, *eāu*, *eāhi*, *eāhimto*, *eā*; Kī. 3,51: *etto*, *edo* [sic], *edādu*, *edāhi*, *ēttā*. From it is *ētto* = **etatah* (§ 197); it is used in AMg. M. JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: *ētto uvasaggāo* = *etasmād upasargāt* (Nāyādh. 761); *ētto annayaram* = *etasmād anyataram* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4. 6,4. 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5). This use is wrong in Ś. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatīm, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read *imādo*, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHĀṆDĀRKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. *itto* too (Sūyag. 360; Uttar. 599). *ēttāhe*, however, is derived from the stem *ēttā* = *etā*¹, and like *tāhe* (§ 425) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now” (Hc. 2,134; G. H. R.), in A. as *ēttāhe* in the meaning “hence” (Hc. 4,419,6. 420,6) and of “hither” (Hc. 4,436). According to it is built A. *tēttāhe* “thither” (Hc. 4,436). JM. *eyāo* (Dvār. 495,27). — Gen. M. *eassa*; AMg. JM. *ejassa*; Ś. *edassa* (Śak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarar. 67,6); Mg. *edaśsa* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 19,5; 79,19) and *edāha* (Mṛcch. 145,4; 164,4). — Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 *eassim*, according to 3,84 *eammi*; AMg. JM. *ejammi*, *eyammi*; in AMg. also *eyāmsi* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 [text *eesi*, correctly in the commentary]. 1119); Ś. *edassim* (Śak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1); Mg. *edaśsim* (Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1). On *aammi*, *īammi* see § 429. — Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. *ee*; JŚ. Ś. *ede* (Pav. 386,8; 389,1; Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; Mālatīm. 243,3; 284,10); Mg. *ede* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22); striking *ede akkhalu* Mṛcch. 40,2 (all editions) = *etāni akṣarāṇi*; A. *ei* (Hc. 4,330,4.363); femin. M. *eāo*; AMg. JM. *ejāo*, Ś. *edāo* (Caṇḍak. 28,10; Mallikām. 336. 8. 13), JM. also *eyā*; neutr. M. *eāi*; AMg. JM. *eyāim*, AMg. JM. also *eyāṇi* (Sūyag. 321; Erz.), Ś. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 128,4; 153,9. 13); Mg. *edāim* (Mṛcch. 132,16; 169,6). — Acc. masc. AMg. JM. *ee*, A. *ei* (Hc. 4,363). — Ins. masc. neuter. M. JM. *eehim*, *cehi*; Ś. Mg. *edehim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15); femin. AMg. JM. *ejāhim*. — Gen. masc. neuter. M. *eāṇa* (Hc. 3,61; G.H.); PG. *etesi* (6,27); AMg. JM. *eesim*, *eesi*, JM. also *eyāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Mṛcch. 38,22; Uttarar. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10); femin. M. *eāṇa* (H. 89), according to Hc. 3,32 also *eiṇam*, *eāṇam*; AMg. JM. *eyāsim*, JM. also *eyāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* (Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3.4). — Loc. M. AMg. (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3); JM. *eesu*, *eesum*; Ś. *edesum* (Śak. 9,12.14) and *edesu* (Mudrār. 72,3).

1. Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22.

§ 427. The relative pronoun *ja-*, Mg. *ya-* is inflected almost wholly like the demonstrative *ta-*. In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A. has *ju* too (Hc. 4,350,1; 418,2), beside the frequent *jam* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); both the forms stand beside one another in *jam ju* (Vikr. 55,19; cf. *taṁ tu* § 425). Besides A. uses *dhrum* too (Hc. 4,360; cf. *tram* § 425). According to Kī. 5,49 *jrum* is used in the acc. sing. for the demonstrative *drum*. The example is: *jrum*

cintesi drum pāvasi = *yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi*. The old form *yad* has been retained in AMg. *jad atthi* and Mg. *yad iścaṣe* (§ 341). — In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also *jinā*; A. has *jem* (Hc. 4,350,1) beside *jena* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands *jini*, for which probably we have to read *jina* = *jinā*. — In the abl. is found also *jā* = Vedic *yāt* (BB. 16,172), in A. also *jahām* according to Hc. 4,355, beside *jāo*, *jao*, *jado*, *jatto*, *jamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good. — In the gen. Mg. has also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9), beside *yaśśa* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 165,7) also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9); A. *jāsu*, *jasu* (Hc. s. v. *jo*; Piṅgala 1,68.814.89^a etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109.111 ff.), for which are used *jīa*, *jīe* (G.H. s.v. *ja-*), *jissā* (Vr.6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp.49,4.7;84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also *jīā*, *jūi*, *jīse* in M.; A. has *jāhe* for **jāse* (Hc.4,359); Ś. *jāe* (Mṛcch.170,25;172,5; Prab.39,6). — In the loc. is used in AMg. *jam̐si*=*yasmin*, in verses also *jam̐si* (§ 75), sometimes for the fem. too: *jam̐si guhāe* (Sūyag. 273) and in relation to *naī* = *nadī* (Sūyag. 297), in relation to *nāvā* = *nauh* (Uttar. 716); in A. stands *jassam̐mi* = *yasyām* (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. *jassam̐mi* in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside *jāe*, *jīe*, also *jāhim* is used in the femin., as *jāhim* in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also *jahi*, *jahi* (§ 75), according to Kī. 5,50 also *yadru*, as in the demonstrative *tadru* (§ 425). Presumably *jadru* is to be written. On *jāhe* see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even *jattha* is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also *jahi*, *jaha* in the sense of *yatra*. In the nom. plur. beside the usual *je* (Hc. s. v. *jo*) A. has also *ji* (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has *jāim* too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4. 5,5. 9,1; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10. 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450.1248; cf. 1376), beside *jāim*; the adverbial *yāim*=*yad* stands, and may be comprehended as *āim* with the scholiasts on Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after *i* (*pi*, *avi*, *ii*, *atthi*), and *y* would be explained as that in *yāvi* (§ 335). — In the abl. plur. AMg. has *jehim̐to* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. JM. *jāṇa*, *jāṇam̐*, JM. also, as always AMg. *jesim̐*, *jesi*, Ś. *jāṇam̐* (Uttarar.68,9), A. *jāhā* (Hc.4,353.409); in the fem. AMg. has *jāsim̐* (Vivāgas.189). On AMg. *jām̐*, *jenām̐* see § 68, on AMg. *se jām̐*, *se jāhā* §423. In PG. we find only the nom.sing. *jo*(7,44).

§ 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: *ka-* and *ki-*. — The stem *ka-* is inflected like the stems *ta-* and *ja-* (§ 425. 427). The abl. *kāo*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kamhā* (Vr.6,9; Hc.2,160;3,71; Kī.3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of *ta-* and *ja-*. A. has also *kai* (Hc.4,416—418) and *kahām* (Hc.4,355), AMg. also *kaohim̐to* (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇṇav. 304; Vivāhap.1050ff.1340.1433.1522.1526.1528.1603ff.). In the gen. Vr.6,5; Hc.3,63; Kī.3,47; Mk. fol.46 give, beside *kassa*, also *kāsa* (Kī. ed. *kāsō*), that occurs as *kāsu* in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as *kāha* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. *kam̐mi*, AMg. *kaṁsi* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and *kam̐hi* (Uttar. 454; Paṇṇav. 637), Ś. *kassim̐* (Mṛcch. 81,2; Mahāv. 98,14), Mg. *kaśsim̐* (Mṛcch. 80,21; Prab.50,13); in all the dialects *kahim̐*, *kattha* (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where?”, beside which Hc.2,161 mentions also *kahi*, *kaha*, as *kāe kahim̐* for the fem. 3,60. are frequent. AMg. *kāhe* “when?” (Vr.6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kī.3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as *tāhe jāhe* (§ 425.427). As the gen. there occurs in A. *kahē* (Hc.4,359). In the nom. plur. femin. is found many times in Ś. *kā* instead of *kāo* in the phrase *kā amhe* [*kā vaam̐*] with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12;65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as *kāo* (§ 376)¹. The neuter A. *kāi* (Hc.s.v.) Prabandhac.109,5) is used like *kim̐*, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”; likewise *kāi* (Hc. 4,426; Vikr. 62,11). The gen.

is M. *kāṇam*, *kāṇa* (G. s. v. *kim*); AMg. JM. *kesim*. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. *ko* in *ko ci* (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *kiṃ* = *kim* from the stem *ki-*. Ś. *kitti* (Lalitav. 555,4), that occurs as a v. l. also in Śak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with JOHANSSON² and KONOW³ to be considered as **kidti*, but as an erroneous ecriture for *kiṃ ti*⁴. The ins. *kiṇā* (Hc. 3,69; Kī. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. *kiṇā vi* (G. 413), and as adverb “in which manner?”, “by what means?” in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). *tiṇā*, *jiṇā* might be formed accordingly. — *kiṇo* and *kisa* are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, *kiṇo* as an interrogative particle also by Hc. 2,216; Kī. 4,83, as it is in M. (G. 182; H. s. v.), is used⁵. *kisa*, Mg. *kīsa* occur in M. (H. R. but not G.), JM. (Av. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Nirayāv. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially frequent in Ś. and Mg. (Ś. Mṛcch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16; Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23.30; 305,24; 310,29; 314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mallikām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 113,17; 114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Venis. 33,16), but not in Kālidāsa (PISCHEL on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg. *kīsa kālaṇādo* = *kasmāt kāraṇāt* (Kāṇsav. 49,6), nevertheless according to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli *kissa*, as also Kī. 3,46 mentions, and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning “why?”, as Kī. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning “what?” in Mg. Mṛcch. 112, 8. *kiṇo* too is to interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. femin. Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Kī. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms *kissā*, *kīse*, *kīa*, *kīā*, *kīi*, *kīe*, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. *kīa* stands at H. 604 and so we have to read for *kīe* in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.—A. has as interrogative also *kavaṇa*, from which are found the nom. sing. masc. *kavaṇu*, feminine *kavaṇa*, ins. sing. neut. *kavaṇeṇa*, gen. sing. masc. *kavaṇahe* (H. s. v. *kavaṇa*), acc. sing. neutr. *kavaṇu* (Prabandhac. 70,11.13). Cf. therewith also Skt. *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṣṇa* and Pkt. *kavaṭṭi* (§ 246).

I. So rightly LASSEN, Inst. p. 326; wrongly BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 191. — WEBER, IS. 14,262 ff. has overlooked that in the Devanāgarī-recension of Śakuntalā too, in all the places referred to by him at p. 263, the MSS. have only *-ā*, and that *-āo* is just a conjecture of BÖHTLINGK.—2. Shāhbāzgarhī 1,176. — 3. GGA. 1894, 480. — 4. So rightly BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5. Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: *kiṇo iti kas-mādarthe deśinipātaḥ*.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun *idam* in Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The *a*-stem is very much restricted in its use, the stem *ima-*, except in A., where it is almost completely wanting became prevalent. From the *a*- and *i*-stems are found to have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. *ayaṃ* (Uvās. Nāyādh. Nirayāv. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. *ima*); Ś. Dh. *aam* (Ś. Mṛcch. 3,24; Śak. 13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 34,9. 12). Whilst *aam* is very frequent in Ś., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 14, 44 *ahavāam kaakajjo* = *athavāyaṃ kṛtakāryaḥ*, a passage, that is cited as example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere *imo* occurs for it. It is completely wanting in Mg., where *eṣe* is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites *ayaṃ dāva śe āgame* = Śak. 114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions read *aam*, as throughout, offending against the dialect. The Bengali recension has *ēttake*, the Kashmirian *ittake*. In AMg. *ayaṃ* in the combination *ayaṃ eṣārūve* = *ayam etadrūpaḥ* has become completely indeclinable, so that one says also *ayameṣārūvaṃ*, *ayameṣārūvassa*, *ayameṣārūvaṃsi* too¹. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, *ayaṃ* is used as femin. at the same time: *ayaṃ koṣī* = *iyam koṣī*, *ayaṃ araṇī* = *iyam araniḥ* (Sūyag. 593. 594), and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also *ayaṃ aṭṭhi* =

idam asthi; *ayaṁ dahī* = *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. *ayaṁ tēllam* = *idam tailam* (Sūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the *aya*-stem. The femin. *iyam* has been attested by Ś. only: *iam* (Mr̥ch. 3,5,21; Śak. 14,1; Vikr. 48,12). Since Mg. employs elsewhere only *eṣā*, *iam* is a false reading in Mr̥ch. 39,20 (all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. *iam* in the same combination with *kalā*. The neut. *idam* has been retained in AMg. M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6 [rightly?]; Sūyag. 847 [rightly?]; Mr̥ch. 3,20 [so to be read with C for *imam*]; 7,8; 42,8; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used *imam* (Mr̥ch. 24,21; 38,23; 39,14; 42,3; 61,24; 105,9; 147,18; Śak. 57,8; 58,13). For *idam* (Vikr. 40,20) we should read, with A *edam*, and for *iam* at Vikr. 47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. PANDIT 94,7, read *imam*. In Mg. *idam* appears in *taṁ nidam* at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for *taṁ nedam*; Mg. has as nom. and acc. neut. only *imam* (Mr̥ch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323). — Ins. M. *eṇa* (R. 14,47); A. *eṇ* (Vikr. 58,11). — Abl. M. *ā* = Vedic *āt* in the sense of *tāvat*². — Gen. M. JM. *assa* = *asya* (Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvaṭip. 30,15; Kī. 4. 5); falsely assumed for *jassa* of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr. 21,1, where we have to read °*sūidassa* for °*sūidam assa* with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab. 8,7, where we should read *jado se* for *jado ssa* (so all the four editions). — Loc. *assim* = *asmin* (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Sūyag. 328. 537. 938. 941. 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,3; 2,2,1,2; 2,2,9; Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 163; Jīv. 797,801), as already *casi* = *cāsmīn* in PG. 7,46³. For Ś. *kaṣiṭṭhamādāmaha assim* (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read °*mādāmahassa*. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvaṭip. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23. — Ins. plur. *ehi*, AMg. Dh. *ehim* (Rāyap. 249; Mr̥ch. 32,7), femin. *āhi*, loc. JM. *esu* (Hc. 3,74; T. 7,16), gen. M. *esim* (H. 771). — Probably *aammi* and *iammi* are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from *etad*. For *iammi* Triv. 2,2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, *iammi*, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from *adas* both *aammi* and *iammi*. Therefore *aammi* is to be derived from *ada*- = *adas*, but also from *aa*- = *aya*- (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. *ayaṁsi* (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. *ayaṁ* (Sūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. *āa*-, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. *āeṇa* = *anena*, *āaho* = *asya*, *āahim* = *asmin*, *āai* = *imāni* (Hc. 4,365. 383,3). *iammi*, however, belongs to *idam*, hence to the stem *ia*- = *ida*-. Loc. from one *i*-stem are *iha* “here”, “hither” = **itha* (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75. 76), A. as masc. and femin. = *asmin* and *asyām*, *ithi*, in all the dialects *ēṭṭha* = Vedic *itthā* (§ 107), and M. AMg. JM. *ēṇhim* “now” (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. *iṇhim* (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as *ittha*, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read *ēṭṭha*. In Mg. is used *ēṇhim* in verses only (Mr̥ch. 29, 22; 40, 6), in Ś. not absolutely, but *idāṇim*, *dāṇim* (Hc. 4,277; § 144). Hence falsely in Hāsy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where *ēvahi* stands in the sense of “now” (Hc. 4, 420). Deśin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun *ajjho* (according to Droṇa), femin. *ajjhā*, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. *asya* through **ahya*.

1. STEINTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. PISCHEL, BB. 16, 172. — 3. PISCHEL, GN. 1895, 211 ff.

§ 430. The stem *ana*- has been retained in the ins. only and indeed

only in prose of AMg. (Āyār. 1,6,4,3), JM. (Erz. 30,14), in Ś. (Mṛcch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3); AMg. also *aṇeṇaṃ* (Uttar. 487).—The most usual stem is *ima-*, femin. *imā-* or *imī-* (Hc. 3,32), in Ś. Mg. only *imā-*, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. *ima-*; Hc. s. v. *imaṃ*). Sing.: nom. *imo*, AMg. *ime*, in verses also *imo* (Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84), femin. *imā*, also *imiā* = **imikā* (Hc. 3,73), neut. *imaṃ*. In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter (§ 429), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas *imo* is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12. 18; 12,5. 9. 13; 14,9; 17,9; 34,6; 35,1; 45,1. 12. 14; 46, 1. 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15. 17; 19,14; 70,15; Unmattar. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26,5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. *imu*. In AMg. *ime*, like *ajām* (§ 429), in the combination *im' ejārūva*, has wholly weakened, so that one says also *im' ejārūvā* (nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113. 167 [so to be read; see v. l.]. 168), *im' ejārūveṇaṃ* (v. l. to Uvās. § 72). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the weakening of the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. *imaṃ* (masc. Ś. Mṛcch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mg. Mṛcch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mṛcch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429); A. neut. *imu* (Hc.; Ki. 5,10).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. *imeṇa*; AMg. *imeṇaṃ*, *imeṇa*; JM. *imeṇa*, *imiṇā*; Ś. Mg. only *imiṇā* (Ś. Mṛcch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venis. 35,1); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (also Śak. 101,13), Ś. *imāe* (Mṛcch. 90,15; Śak. 81,10; Ratn. 291,2). At Viddhaś. 96,8, where *imiā* stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read *iam*, as *ṇijjhādi* = *nirdhyāyati* shows.—Abl. AMg. (Sūyag. 630. 635), JM. *imāo*, Ś. Mg. *imādo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 12,25; 74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 565,8), also femin. (AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 162,23).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. *imāe* (Vikr. 17,1) holds good in this place too.—Gen. *imassa* (Ś. Mṛcch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4); Mg. *imaśśa* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 152,6; Śak. 118,2); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* (Karp. 27,12); AMg. *imīse*; JM. *imīe*, *imāe*; Ś. *imāe* (Śak. 168,14).—Loc. masc. neut. M. *imammi*; AMg. *imammi* (in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12), *imaṃsi* (prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5,2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105); Ś. *imassim* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4); Mg. *imaśśim* (Venis. 33,7); femin. AMg. *imīse* (Vivāhap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257; Thān. 31. 79; Samav. 66); JM. *imāi* (Rṣabh. 7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for *imāim*, as at Erz. 35,18 for *imāe*); Ś. *imassim* (Śak. 18,5), for which *imāe* would be expected.—Plural nom. masc. *ime* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatim. 125,5; Mg. Mṛcch. 99,8); femin. *imāo* (Ś. Mṛcch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for *imā*); M. also *imā* (Karp. 101,4) and *imīu* (Karp. 100,6); neut. *imāim* (Ś. Mṛcch. 69,16; Mālatim. 125,3), AMg. JM. also *imāṇi* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Āv. 31,21).—Acc. masc. *ime*; femin. JM. *imīo*; ins. masc. neut. M. *imehi*; AMg. Ś. *imehim* (Sūyag. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296,23), fem. AMg. *imāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,7,2,7).—Gen. masc. neut. *imāṇa*; AMg. *imesim* (Hc. 3,61); femin. M. *imāṇaṃ*, *imīṇaṃ* (Hc. 3,32); AMg. *imāsim* (Uvās. § 238); Ś. *imāṇaṃ* (Śak. 119,3; Vṛṣabh. 15,8).—Loc. M. *imesu*; Ś. *imesum* (Śak. 53,9; Vikr. 52,1) and *imesu* Mālatim. 125,1).

§ 431. The stem *ena-* exists in the acc. sing. only, and indeed only in M.Ś. Mg., but even here it is seldom: masc. M. *eṇaṃ* (R. 5,6); Ś. (Mṛcch. 51,9); Mg. (Mudrār. 265,1); femin. *eṇaṃ* Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,2, in repetition

of the word of Śākāra in Mg.); Mg. (Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg. JM. either under the influence of accent (*enā-*) or that of the early loss of accent *ena-* has become *ina-*, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *inaṃ* (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57), especially in AMg. (G. s. v. *idam*; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. *inaṃ*; Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 4; 1,1,3,4. 5,4. 6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. *inaṃ* is also acc. masc. (Sūyag. 142. 307). Perhaps *imaṃ* is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. *inamo* too is used as the nom. acc. neut. (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Ki. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. *idam* and *etat*; Sūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Āv. 7,21. 29; 13,11). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: *inamo udāharaṇā*. LEUMANN writes in Āv. *inaṃ-o*, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through *ina-* the stem has been weakened further to *na-*, P. *na*, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. (Hc. 3,70. 77). Sing. acc. masc. *naṃ* (M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. *na*; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,2; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396); fem. *naṃ* (M. H. R. s. v. *na*; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23); neut. *naṃ* (M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. *neṇa* (R. Erz. s. v. *na*; Āv. 11,21; 15,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Piṅgala 1,17), P. *nena* (Hc. 4,322)¹; fem. *nāe* (Hc. 3,70; Erz. s. v. *na*); P. *nāe* (Hc. 4, 322). — Plur. acc. *ne* (Hc. 3, 77). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. *nehiṃ* (Āv. 18,4; Erz. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31. 35; 505, 27); fem. *nāhiṃ* (Hc. 3,70). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is *neṇa* Śak. BÖHTL. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For *tattha ca nena* | *kataṣiṇā nena* we should read *tattha ca nena katasinānena* = *tatra ca tena kṛtasnānena*. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun *adas* according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Ki. 3, 58; Mk. fol. 47 is inflected: sing.: nom. masc. fem. *amū*, neut. *amuṃ*; acc. *amuṃ*; ins. *amuṇā*; abl. *amūo*, *amūu*, *amūhiṃto*; gen. *amuṇo*, *amussa*; loc. *amummi*; plur.: nom. *amuṇo*, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for *amūo* (cf. v. 1.); fem. *amūu*, *amūo*; neut. *amūṇi*, *amūiṃ*; ins. *amūhi*; abl. *amūhiṃto*, *amūsuṃto*, gen. *amūṇa*; loc. *amūsu*. A few forms only have as yet been found in the text. Sing. nom. AMg. *aso* = *asau* (Sūyag. 74) and *amuge* = **amukaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; Nandis. 361.363.364), JM. *amugo* (Āv. 34,30); acc. masc. A. *amuṃ* (Hc. 4,439,3); neut. Ś. *amuṃ* (Mṛcch. 70,24); ins. M. *amuṇā* (Karp. 27,4); loc. AMg. *amugammi* = **amukasmin* (Panhāv. 130); plur. nom. masc. M. *amī* (G. 246). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be *aha*: *aha puriso*, *aha mahilā*, *aha vaṇaṃ*. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) *aha* is = *atha*, likewise in all the places in G. (s.v. *etat*) and H. (s.v. *aha*), where the scholiasts assume it as = *ayam*, *iyam*, *eṣaḥ*, *eṣā*, *asau*, so that upto the present day the assumption for a pronoun *aha* is nowhere necessary. Ki. 3,58 has the nom. sing. *aho*, which may be = *asau* according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as *oi* (Hc. 4,364); it is = **ave* from the stem *ava-*, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. *parāhiṃto* = *paraśmāt* (G. 973), AMg. *savvāo* = *sarvasmāt* (Sūyag. 743), and also in the

femin. (Āyār. 1,1,1,4); femin. AMg. *annayāri* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2, 4); in the loc. JM. *annammi* (Āv. 25,5; Sagara 10,15), *aṇṇassim* = *anyasmin* (Mahāv. 98, 14; Mālatim. 111, 7; Ratn. 298, 24); JŚ. *kadarassim* = *katarasmin* (Anarghar. 271,9), but AMg. *kajaraṇsi* (Vivāhap. 227) and *kajarammi* (Ovav. § 156 ff.); Ś. *kadamassim* = *katamasmin* (Vikr. 35,13); Ś. *avarassim* = *aparasmin* (Cait. 40,10); Ś. *parassim* = *parasmin* (Lalitav. 567,18), but AMg. *paraṇsi* (Sūyag. 750), JŚ. *parammi* (Pav. 387,25); AMg. *saṇsi* = *svasmin* (Vivāhap. 1257) beside abl. *sāo* = *svāt* (Vivāgas. 84); AMg. also *annayāre* = *anyatarasmin* (Ovav. § 157). Plural: acc. PG. AMg. *anne*, JŚ. Ś. *aṇṇe* = *anyān* (PG. 5,6; 7,43; Āyār. 1,1,6,3; 1,1,7,2; Pav. 383,24; Bālar. 229,9); abl. AMg. *kajarehinto* = *katarebhyah* (Paṇṇav. 160 ff.; Vivāhap. 260. 262. 460. 1057 f.), *saehim* = *svakebhyah*, *savvehim* = *sarvebhyah* (§ 369); gen. AMg. JM. *annesim* = *anyeśām* (Āyār. 1,1,4. 7,1; 1,5,6,1; 1,7,2,3; 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 387. 663; Nāyādh. 1138. 1140; Kappas. § 14; Āv. 14,7); AMg. JM. *savvesim* = *sarveśām* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,3,4; 1,4,2,6; 1,6,5,3; Uttar. 625. 797; Āv. 14,18); AMg. JŚ. *paressim* = *pareśām* (Uttar. 625. 797; Pav. 385,65), but M. *aṇṇānam* (Mudrār. 83,3; Karp. 1,2), also femin. Ś. (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *savvāṇam* (Vikr. 83,8); *avarāṇam* = *apareśām* (Mṛcch. 69,10). According to Hc. 3,61 *aṇṇesim* and *savvesim* are used for the femin. too, and so JŚ. has *savvesim* *itthiṇam* = *sarvāsām* *strīṇām* (Kattig. 408,384). The regular forms in AMg. JM. are *aṇṇāsim*, *savvāsim*. I oc. plur. in A. is *aṇṇahi* (Hc. 4,422,9). On *kati* see § 449.

§ 434. Of the nouns *ātman* (§ 401) and *bhavat-* (§ 396) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives *-iya*, Hc. 2,147 mentions *maia madiya*. Besides, for it are used *kera*, *keraa*, *keraka* (§ 176). Without epenthesis *kārya* would become **kara*, and from it have originated in A. *mahāra*, *mahārai* = **mahakāra* from the gen. *maha* (§ 418) + *kāra* (Hc. 4,351. 358,1. 434) in the sense of *madiya*, likewise *tuhāra* = *tvadiya* (Hc. 4,434), *amhāra* = *asmadiya* (Hc. 4,345. 434). A. *hamāra* (Piṅgala 2,121), metri causa also *hammāra* (Piṅgala 2,43) has originated through the line of development **mhāra* (§ 141), **mahāra* (§ 132), *hamāra* (§ 354). A. *tohāra* = *yusmākam* (Piṅgala 2,25 stands metrically for **tohāra*, and has arisen from *tumhāra*, **toṃhāra* (§ 125), **t̃hāra*, *tohāra* (§ 76. 89. 127), exactly as *kohaṇḍi* from *kūsmāṇḍi* (§ 127). On the derivatives in *-drś*, *-drśa*, *-drkṣa* see § 121.122.245.262, on *ēttia*, *ittia*, *ēttila*, *ēttula*, *tēttia*, *tittia*, *ettilla*, *tēttula*, *iēttia*, *jittia*, *jēttila*, *jēttia*, *jēttula*, *kēttia*, *kittia*, *kēttila*, *kēttula* see § 153, on A. *sāha* = *śasvat* § 64. 262, on AMg. *evāiya*, *kevaīya* § 149. A. *evaḍu* in the sense of *iyat* (Hc. 4,408) is = **ayavaḍra* = JM. *evaḍḍa* (§ 149), as *kevaḍu* (Hc. 4,408) = **kayavaḍra*. Analogical formations are *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (Hc. 4,395,7. 407). At Mṛcch. 164,5 we should read *evaḍḍe* for Mg. *evaḍḍhe*.

D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is *ēkka* = *eka* in all the dialects (§ 91), femin. *ēkkā*, in AMg. JM. frequently *ega*. It is inflected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. *ēkkammi* (G. 153. 441; H. 827), very seldom *ēkke* according to the nominal declension (H. 846), AMg. *egamsi* (Vivāhap. 1394 ff.); AMg. JM. *egammi* (Paṇṇav. 521; Erz. 2,21), AMg. JM. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 922f. 928. 931. 1658. f. 1736. 1752; Āv. 10,22; 11,12.18; 17,22; 19,9.18; 22,10; etc.); JM. *ēkkammi* (Āv. 27,19); Ś. *ēkkassim* (Karp. 19,17); Mg. *ēkkaśsim* (Mṛcch. 81,13); A. *ēkkahi* (Hc. 4,357,2), also as femin. (Hc. 4,422,9); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. *ēkke* (G. 721. 866. 909; Kk. 273,23); AMg. *ege*

(Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4. 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. *egesim* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2. 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.; Sūyag. 46. 81) and *egesi* (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. *ēkkenaṁ* (Vivāhap. 258 ff.), JM. *egeṇaṁ* (Āv. 33,24); gen. Mg. *ēkkāha* (Mṛcch. 32,4). In JŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: *ēkkaṁ* (Kattig. 403.370.377; Mṛcch. 30,5). Before other numerals *ēkka°*, AMg. JM. also *ega°* appear as stems; but *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *egā°*; A. *eā°*, *eggā°* in *ēkkārasa*, AMg. JM. *egārasa* A. *eāraha*, *eggāraha* (11), *ēkkārasama* (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. *ēkkāṇaṁ* (91) (§ 446). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In PG. is found *aneka* (6,10), in which *k* is never duplicated: M. Ś. *aneā* (G. H.; Mṛcch. 23,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. *aneā* (Vivāhap. 145.1285; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *aneja* (Erz.); AMg. *neja* (§ 171); Ś. *aneāso* = *anekaśaḥ* (Śak. 160,3); AMg. *negasō* (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is *do*, *duve*, *be*, neuter *dōṇi* *duṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi* (Vr. 6,57, where *dōṇi*; C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,119. 120; Kī. 3,85. 86; Mk. fol. 49)¹. *do* = *dvau* and *duve*, *be* = *dve* (neuter) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. *do* is frequent in M. (G.H.R.), AMg. Uvās. s. v. *du*; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424), JM. (Erz.)¹; traceable in A. too (Piṅgala 1,5), and in D. (Mṛcch. 101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. *do vi* (Pras. 84, 4; Bālar. 216,20; 246,5) is an error for *duve vi*, as at Śak. 106,1 stands. *do* is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands e. g. in M. *do tiṇṇi* [*mahilāo*] (H. 587), *do tiṇṇi rehā* = *dvitrā rekhāḥ* (H. 206); AMg. *do guhāo* = *dve*, *guhe*, *do devayāo* = *dve devate*, *do mahāṇāo* = *dve mahānadyau*, *do kattiyāo*, *do rohiṇāo*, *do migasirāo*, *do addāo* = *dve kārṭṭikyaū dve rohiṇyaū dve mṛgasirāsī dve ārdre* (Thān. 73. 75. 76. 77. 79. 81); *do disāo* = *dve disau* (acc.; Thān. 55); as neuter.: M. *do vi dukkhāi* = *dve api dukkhe* (H. 24); AMg. *do do pa jāṇi* = *dve dve pade* (Thān. 27), *do sa jāṇi* = *dve śate* (Samav. 157), *do khuddāṇi bhavaggahaṇāṇi samajjāṇi* = *dve kṣudre bhavagrahaṇe samayone* (Jiv. 1027. 1110), *do nāmadhējjā* = *dve nāmadheye* (Āyār. 2,15. 15). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. *doaṅgula* = *dvaṅgulaka* (H. 622); AMg. JM. *domāsiya* = *dvimāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhap. 166; T. 4,6); AMg. *dokiriya* = *dvikriyā* (Vivāhap. 52; Ovav. § 122); M. JM. *dōjiha* = *dvijihva* (Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17), *domuha* = *dvimukha* (Erz. 39,21), *dovajana* = *divadana* (Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13). So also *doghaṭṭa* (elephant; Pāiyāl. 9; Prakṛtamañjarī on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1; 86,12), that is read as *dōgghaṭṭa* in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as *dugghuṭṭa* in Deśin. 4,44 and as *dugghōṭṭa* in Triv. 2,1,30 from *ghaṭṭa*-, *ghuṭṭa*-, *ghōṭṭa*-(to drink)²; *dohada*, *dohaḷa* (§ 222. 244) = **dvihrd*³. Beside *do*, there occurs frequently in this case *du*, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. *duṇṇa* = *dviguṇa* (R. 11,47); AMg. *duguna* (Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhap. 969); *duāi* = *dvijātīḥ* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79); AMg. JM. *dupaja* = *dvipada* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32); AMg. *duviha* = *dvididha* (Thān. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2; 1,8,1,15; Uvās.), *dukhura* = *dvikhura* (Uttar. 1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75), *dupakkha* = *dvipakṣa* (Sūyag. 456), *du-j-āheṇa* = *dvyahena* (Āyār. 2,5, 2,3. 4), *du-j-āham* = *dvyaham* (Jiv. 261. 286. 295), *duhattha* = *dvihasta* (Thān. 208); JM. *dugāyā* = *dvigavyūta*, *du-y-aṅgula* = *dvaṅgula* (Erz. s. v. *du*). Beside M. *dohāia*, *dohāijjai* = *dvidhākṛta*, *dvidhākriyate* (R. s. v. *duhā*); AMg. *dodhāra* = *dvidhākāra* (Thān. 401) stands AMg. *duhā* = *dvidhā* (Sūyag. 351. 358); M. *duhāia* (R. 8,106); AMg. *duhākijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 137); AMg. *duhao* = **dvidhātāḥ* (twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;

1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Thāṇ. 186; Vivāhap. 181.282) etc. The regular successor of *doi* are *bi* (§ 300) and *di*, which always occurs in certain words like *dia*, JM. *diya* = *doiya*, *diraa* = *dvirada* (§ 298), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals (§ 449). Ś. *dudhā* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 78,8) is false, in the same way *duṇṇia* (Mallikām. 224,5) for *diunida*.—The neut. *dōṇṇi*, sometimes also *duṇṇi*, is formed according to *tiṇṇi*⁴. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. *dōṇṇi vi bhinṇasarūā* = *dvāvapi bhinṇasarūpau* (G.450), *dōṇṇi vi bāhū* = *dvāv api bāhū* (Hc. 3.142); AMg. *dōṇṇi vi rāyāṇo* = *dvāvapi rājānau*, *dōṇṇi vi rāṇaṁ aṇijā* = *dvāv api rājāṇaṁ anikau* (Nirayāv. § 26. 27), *dōṇṇi purisajāe* = *dvau *purisajātau* (Sūyag. 575); JM. *dunni muṇisihā* = *dvau munisinhau* (T. 4,4), *te dōṇṇi vi* (Erz. 78,35); Ś. *dōṇṇi khattiakumārā* = *dvau kṣatriyakumārāu* (Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4); femin. AMg. *dōṇṇi saṁgahanagāhāo* = *dve saṁgrahanagāthe* (Kappas. § 118); Ś. *dōṇṇi kumārīo* = *dve kumāryau* (Pras. 48,5).—Of *do*, the ins. is *dohim*, *dohi* (in C. 1,7 p. 40), in the fem. too, as in M. *paṁtūhū dohim* = *paṁktibhyām dvābhyām* (Karp. 101,1); AMg. *dohim ukkhāhim* = *dvābhyām ukhābhyām* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); JM. *dohi vi bāhāhim* = *dvābhyām bāhābhyām* (Dvār. 507,33). — The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119. 130, *dohimto*, *dosumto*, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 *dohimto*, according to Mk. fol. 49 *dosumto*.—In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also *kati*, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according and to Kī. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings *-nha*, *-nham*. So M. AMg. JM. *dōṇha*, *dōṇham* (also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Thāṇ. 47. 67. 68; Kī. 10), also in the fem. AMg. *tāsim dōṇham* (so rightly in the commentary; text *duṇhim*) = *tayor dvayoh* (Uttar. 661). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is *-nham*, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pālī⁵: *dōṇnam* (Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venis. 60,16 [so to be read with v. l. for *dohinam*]; 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v.l. (H. s.v. *do*), and in Mk. fol.49 the MSS. give. Whilst *dōṇnam* has followed the analogy of *tiṇnam* = *triṇām*, the ending *-nham* seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the pronominal forms **dōnam* and **dosam* respectively, since it presupposes one **dvauṣṇam*.—The loc. is *dosum*, *dosu* (in C. 1,3 p. 39), also JŚ. (Kattig. 402,359), and in the femin., as M. *dosum dokandalisum* = *dvayor doḥkandalyoh* (Karp. 95,12), A. *duhū* (Hc. 4,340,2).

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of Kī. there stands *dohi* (3,85), *dopī* (3,86); *be* is wanting.—2. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,10; also Kī. 4,46.—3. LÜDERS, GN. 1898,2 ff.—4. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,144.—5. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,144 f.

§ 437. *duve* = *dve* is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. (H. 846; neut.); AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc.); Sūyag. 293 (acc.). 620.853.972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. *du*), as femin. *bhājā duve* = *bhāryā dve* (Uttar. 660); JM. *due vi* (Āv. 8,49); *duve vi* (Erz. 21,6); *duve janā* (Āv. 19,10); *duve corase nāvāṇo* = *dvau corasenāpatī* (Erz. 13,4); A. *dui* (Piṅgala 1,31. 42). Whilst in comparison with *do*, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. (Mṛcch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatīm. 358,1; Viddhaś. 66,1; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20), femin. (Viddhaś.44,7), neut. (Mṛcch.61,10; Mālav. 54,7), masc. or neut. (Mṛcch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3); Mg. (Mṛcch. 81,13; acc., neut.). From it builds Ś. also the ins. *duvehim* (Mṛcch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mudrār. 232, 7) = **dvebhiḥ*, the gen. *duvenam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has *dōṇham*, the Bengali recension has *dōṇnam*];

Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. *duvesu* (Mallikām. 335, 10). — *be* is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as *beindiya*, *bēndiya* = *dvīndriya* (§ 162), *bedoriya* = *dvidronika* (Uvās. § 235); in JŚ. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.); in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to *bi* (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is *biñni* (C. 1,10^a p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39; 1,6 p.40; 1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 *be* is inflected as: ins. *behi*, abl. *behimto*, gen. *bēṇham*, loc. *besu*, *besuñ*. A. has ins. *biñ* (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. *biñ* (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. *beh* (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. *dvā*° stands *bā*° before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. *bārasa* (12), *bāvisam* (22), *bājālisam* (42), *bāvattarim* (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin. is *tao* = *trayaḥ*, neut. *tiñni* = *trīni*, with *ññ* according to the gen. *tiññam*. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; *tao* is not mentioned by the grammarians (Vr. 6, 56; Hc. 3, 121; Kī. 3, 85 [text *tiñhi*]; Mk. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Thān. 110. 112. 118. 197; Kappas. s. v. *ti*; Sūyag. 293 [acc.] and often); metrically *taū* too in *taū āyānā* = *trīny ādānāni* (Sūyag. 65); femin. *tao paṛisāo* = *tisraḥ paṛisadaḥ* (Thān. 138; Jiv. 905. 912. 914. 917); *tao kammabhūmīo* = *tisraḥ karmabhūmayah* (Thān. 165; cf. 176); *tao antaranaio* = *tisro 'ntaranadyah* (Thān. 177); *tao uccārapāsavaṇabhūmīo* (Kappas. S. § 55; acc.); neut. *tao thāñāni* = *trīni sthānāni* (Thān. 143), beside *tao thāñām* (158) and *tao thāñā* (163. 165); *tao pāṇagāim* = *trīni pānakāni* (Thān. 161.162; Kappas. S. § 25); *tao vatthāim* = *trīni vastrāni*, *tao pāyāim* = *trīni pātrāni* (Thān. 162). Likewise *tiñni* is used in all the dialects: M. *tiñni rehā* = *tisro rekḥāḥ*, *tiñni* [*mahilāo*] (H. 206. 587); neut. (R. 9,91); AMg. masc. *tiñni purisajāe* = *trīn *purisajātān* (Sūyag. 575); *jāmā tinni* = *yāmās trayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4); *tinni ālāvagā* = *traya ālāpakāḥ* (Sūyag. 814. 815 [*ññ*°]); *ime tinni nāmadhējjā* = *imāñi trīni nāmadheyāni* (Āyār. 2,15,15); *tiñni vi uvasaggā* = *trayo 'py upasargāḥ* (Uvās. § 118); *tiñni vañiyā* = *trayo vañiyah* (Uttar. 233); femin. *eyāo tinni paḇaḇio* = *etās tisraḥ prakṛtayah* (Uttar. 970); *tinni leṣṣāo* = *tisro leṣyāḥ* (Thān. 26), *tinni sāgarovamakodākoḇio* = *tisraḥ sāgaropamakotākoṇyah* (Thān. 133); neut. (Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhap. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1); JM. femin. *tinni dhūyāo* = *tisro duhitaraḥ* (Āv. 12,1); *tinni bherio* = *tisro bheryah*, *tinni vi gosīsacandanamaio devayāpāri-ggahiyāo* = *tisro 'pi goṣīsacandanamayyo devatāparigrhūtāḥ* (Āv. 34,7,8); neut. *tāni tiñni vi* = *tāni trīny api* (Erz. 37,11); Ś. masc. *tiñni purisā* = *trayah puruṣāḥ*, *ede tiñni vi* = *ete trayo 'pi*, *edē kkhū tiñni alamkārasamjoā* = *ete khalu trayo 'lamkārasamyogāḥ*, *tiñni rāāno* = *trayo rājānah* (Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 108,9; 204,4), *ime tiñni miāngā* = *ete trayo mṛdaṅgāḥ*, *bālataruno tiñni* = *bālataravas trayaḥ* (Karp. 3,2; 62,3); femin. *tiñni āidio* = *tisra ākṛtayah* (Śak. 132,6); JŚ. neut. (Kattig. 402,363); A. *do tiñni vi* = *dvau trayo 'pi*, *tiñni rehām* = *tisro rekḥāḥ* (Piṅgala 1,5. 52). — The ins. is *tihim* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1, 7 p. 40; Hc. 3,118; Kī. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyādh. 1026; Uttar. 987), more often in AMg. JM. printed as *tihim* (Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Thān. 114. 116. 117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49, 22), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodical requirement, as in A. (Hc. 4,347); cf., however, *caūhim* § 439. — Ablative *tihimto* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; Mk. fol. 49); according to Kī. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49 also *tisumto*. — For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3, 118. 123 teach *tiñham*, *tiñha*, and so *tiñham* in AMg. JM. (Thān. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhap. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114; Erz. 28,21); also as femin. AMg. *paṣatthalesāna tiñham pi* = *praśastaleśyānām tisṛṇām api* (Uttar. 986 f.); JM. *tiñham paṛisāna* = *tisṛṇām paṛisādām* (Kk. 275,31).

Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, *tiṇṇam* = *triṇḍm*, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. *tisu* (Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also *tisum* (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa *tisu* (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects *ti°*, in AMg. also *te°* = *traya-* in *teindiya*, *tēndiya* = *trindriya* (§ 162), and before other numerals, as *teraha* = *trayodaśa*, *tevīsaṃ* = *trayovimsati*, *tēttisa* = *trayastrimsat*, *teālisā* = *trayaścatvārimśat* etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also *tāyattisā* (33; Kappas.; Thāṇ. 125) and *tāvattisā* (Vivāhap. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called *tāyattisagā*, *tāvattisajā*, *tāvattisagā* = *trayastrimsakāḥ* (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 215.218.223; Kk. 275,34). See § 254.

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. *cattāro* = *catvārah* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttarar. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. *caūro* = *caturah* (C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttar. 768) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar. 1033; Vivāhap. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also *caūo*, *caūo* from the stem *caū-*. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. *catasso* (all editions) edited, for which at least *cadasso* = *catasrah* is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436.438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. *cattāri* = *catvāri* (Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. *cattāri patibhāgā* = *catvārah pratibhāgāḥ* (6,18); *addhikā cattāri* = *ārdhikāś catvārah* (6,39); M. *cattāri pakkalabaṭṭā* (H. 812); AMg. *cattāri ālāvagā* = *catvārah ālāpakāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1,11; Sūyag. 812); *cattāri thāṇā* = *catvāri sthānāni* (Sūyag. 688); *cattāri purisajāyā* = *catvārah *puruṣajātāḥ* (Sūyag. 626); *ime cattāri therā* = *ime catvārah sthāviraḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5. 11), *cattāri hatthi* = *catvāro hastinaḥ* (Thāṇ. 236); acc. *cattāri aganiṃ* = *caturō 'gnin* (Sūyag. 274); *cattāri māse* = *caturō māsān* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *cattāri mahāsumiṇe* = *caturō mahāsvapnān* (Kappas. § 77; Nāyādh. § 49); JM. *mahārājāno cattāri* = *mahārājāś catvārah* (Erz. 4,36); Mg. *cattāli ime* (Mṛcch. 158,4); femin.: AMg. *imāo cattāri sāhāo* = *imāś catasrah śākhāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5); *cattāri kiriyāo* = *catasrah kriyāḥ* (Vivāhap. 47); *cattāri aggamahisō* = *catasro' gramahisyaḥ* (Thāṇ. 228 ff.); acc. *cattāri saṃghāḍiṃ* = *catasrah saṃghāṭiḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1); *cattāri bhāsāo* = *catasro bhāsāḥ* (Thāṇ. 203); neutr. AMg. *cattāri samosaraṇāni* = *catvāri samavasaraṇāni* (Sūyag. 445); *cattāri sayāim* = *catvāri śatāni* (Samav. 158); JM. *cattāri aṅgulāni* (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. *caūhim* throughout in AMg. (Hc. 3,17; Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhap. 437; Thāṇ. 207; Samav. 14; Uvās. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin. : *caūhim paḍimāhim* (Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); *caūhim kiriyāhim* = *catasrbhiḥ kriyābhiḥ* (Vivāhap. 120 ff.); *caūhim ukkhāhim* = *catasrbhir ukkhābhiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *caūhim hirannakoḍiḥim* = *catasrbhir hiranyakoḍibhiḥ* (Uvās. § 17). In prose *caūhim*, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside *caūhi*, *caūhi*, *caūhim*, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions *caūhi* beside *caūhi*. Cf. *tihim* § 438.—Abl. *caūhimto* (Mk. fol. 49), *caūsumto* (Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), *caūsumto* (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. *catuṇham* (6,18), M. AMg. JM. *caūṇham* (Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also °pha]; Kī. 3,89; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10. 14; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Erz. 9,18], also feminine *eyāṇam* (*eyāsim*) *caūṇham paḍimāṇam* = *etāsām catasrṇām pratimāṇām* (Āyār. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), *porisīṇam caūṇham* = *pauruṣīṇām catasrṇām* (Uttar. 893). According to the analogy of *doṇṇam*, *tiṇṇam*, expected is in Ś. Mg. *caduṇṇam*, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg. JM. *caūsū* (Uttar. 769; Vivāhap. 82; Erz. 41,35); *caūsūm* (Erz. 44,8), also as femin. *caūsū vidisāsū* = *catasrṣu vidikṣu* (Thāṇ. 259; Jīv. 228; Vivāhap. 925. 927); *caūsū vi gaisū* = *catasrṣv api gatiṣu*

(Uttar.996). The expected *caṣu* is mentioned by Hc.3,17 beside *caṣu* and by Sr. fol. 18 beside *caṣum*, *caṣum*, *caṣu*.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears *caūr°*, as AMg. *caūraṁsa* = *caturāśra* (Thāṇ. 20. 493; Uvās. § 76), *caūraṅguli* (Thāṇ. 270), *caūrindiya* (Thāṇ. 25. 122. 275. 322; Samav. 40. 228; Vivāgas. 50 etc.); M. *caūrāṇa* (G.); also before other numerals, as AMg. *caūrāsiṁ* (84; Kappas.). Before consonants partly appears *caūra°* with regular assimilation, as M. *caūddisaṁ* = *caturdisaṁ* (R.), AMg. JM. *caūmmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśālaka* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 16,11 [°sāla]; 45,25), *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly *caū°*, as M. *caūjāma* = *caturyāma* (H. R.), *caūmuḥa* = *caturmukha* (G.), AMg. *caūpaya* = *catuṣpada* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9) beside *caūppaya* (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. *caūmuḥa* (Hc. 4,331), *caūppaa* (Piṅgala 1,118) D. *caūsāra* (verse; Mṛcch. 101,12) = *catuḥsāgara*. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AMg. *caūddasa* = *caturdaśan* (Kappas. § 74), beside *caūdasa* in the verse (Kappas. § 46^b) and with contraction, *cōddasa* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.), M. *cōddaha*, *cōddasi*, as also *cōgguṇa* beside *caūgguṇa* = *caturguṇa*, *cōvvāra* beside *caūvvāra* = *caturvāra* etc. (§ 166.443 ff.). In A. *co* appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Piṅgala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. *cāri* (Piṅgala 1, 68. 87. 102) from *catvāri*, **cātvāri* (§ 65), **cātāri* (§ 87), **cāāri* (§ 186), *cāri* (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: *cāripāa* = *catuṣpāda*, *cāridahā* = *caturdaśa* (Piṅgala 1,102. 105. 118). as also *caūro* in AMg. *caūropañcindiya* = *catuṣpañcendriya* (Uttar.1059), A stem *caūra-* occurs in AMg. *caūrāsiṁ*, *corāsiṁ* = *caturaśiti*, *caūrāsiima*, *caturaśita* (Kappas.; Samav. 139—142). On *cāur°* see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. Ś. *pañca* (Vivāhap. 138. 141; Thāṇ. 361; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AMg. *pañcahiṁ* (Uttar. 374; Vivāhap. 120 ff.; Thāṇ. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.), A. *pañcahi* (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AMg. *pañcaṇṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16), A. *pañcaḥa* (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. JM. *pañcasu* (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AMg. *pañce* (Uttar. 704). Rāmatarakavāgīśa in LASSEN, Inst. p 319 note ** mentions also the abl. *pañcahinto*, *pañcasumto*, gen. *pañcaṇṇam*, loc. *pañcasum* and a loc. femin. *pañcāsum*, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. *pañcā*, ins. *pañcāhiṁ*. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears *pañca°*, in AMg. JM. also *pañcā°* in *pañcāṇaṁsiṁ* (95), Thāṇ. 261; Samav. 150. 151; Kk. 263, 11. 16. 17; many times false °*ṇaṁsiṁ*); likewise in *pañcāvāṇṇā* (55; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In combination with other words there appears *pañca* in AMg. JM. A. also as *pañṇa* (*pañna*), *pañṇa*, *pañṇu* (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 *ṣaṣ* becomes *cha* according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *cha* (Kappas. § 122; Vivāhap. 54; Samav. 159. 163; Uvās.); ins. AMg. *chahiṁ* (Sūyag. 380. 844; Samav. 232; Thāṇ. 194; Bhag.1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768. 778); gen. AMg. JS. *chaṇṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Vivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Jiv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also *chaṇḥa* (Hc.3,123); loc. *chasu* (Thāṇ. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. *ṣaṣ* has been retained before enclitics: AMg. *chap pi* = *ṣaḍ api* (Āyār.1,8,4,6; Nirāyāv. 81; Vivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.), *chac ceva* (Uttar. 1065), *chac ca* (Āṇuog. 399; Jiv. 914; Jiyak. 61; Vivāhap. 82.1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmatarakavāgīśa, according to LASSEN, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. *chā*, femin. *chāo*; ins. *chaḥiṁ*; *chāhiṁ*; abl. *chāhinto* (so to be read); gen. *chaṇṇam* (read *chaṇṇam*); loc. *chasu* (*chāsu*), *chisu*. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears *cha°*, as JM. *chakhaṇḍa* (Erz. 18,8;

probably a false reading for *chakkhaṇḍa*), mostly *ṣaṭ*°, before vowels as *chaṭ*°, as *chaṭakkhara* = *ṣaṭakṣara* (Skanda; Deśin. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣaṭ*° in *ṣaṭaṅgavī* = *ṣaṭaṅgavid* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas.; Ovav.), or *chaṭ*°, as *chaṭaṇṣa* = *ṣaṭaṣṭra* (Thān. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (§ 270), as M. Ś. *chagguṇa*, *chagguṇa* = *ṣaḍguṇa*, °*guṇaka* (Mudrār. 233,9; Anarghar. 67,11); AMg. *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya* = *ṣaḍbhāga* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [°ga]); M. *chappaa*, JM. *chappaya* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala* = *ṣaṭtala* (Thān. 495); M. A. *chammuha* = *ṣaṇmukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25. 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. JM. *chammāsa* = *ṣaṇmāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *chammāsiya* = *ṣaṇmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *chammāsia* = *ṣaṇmāsika* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *chaccaraṇa* (Bālar. 66,7). Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chalasi* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhap. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chavvisam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisam*, °*sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappannam* (56; § 273); AMg. *chappanūim* (Samav. 151), JM. *channavaī* (Kk. III, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā*°, with *ā* according to § 70; *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.), *chāvattim* (66; Samav. 123), *chāvattarim* (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chaha* = **ṣaṣa* (§ 263) in *chahaviṣa* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [GOLDSCHMIDT *chavviṣa*]. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT] *caūvviṣa*) and *chaha* (6; Piṅgala 1,96). In agreement with Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* Pkt. has *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha* (§ 443).

§ 442. 7 is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thān. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *sattahim* (Thān. 446); gen. AMg. JM. JŚ. *sattapham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 26. 222; Thān. 445; Kk. 275, 33; Kattig. 399.308), also *sattapha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasu* (Thān. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appear *satta*°, *sattā*°, Mg. *satta*° (Mṛcch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavanna*, *chattivanna* = *ṣaṭtaparna* see § 103. - 8 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *aḍha* (Vivāhap. 82; verse; text *aṭṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭhā* (Piṅgala 1,9. 83) and *aṭṭhā* (1,116); ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahim* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhap. 447; Uttar. 768; Thān. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhapham* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 416. 417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhapha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. *aṭṭhasu* (Vivāhap. 416. 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha*°: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha* = *aṣṭavidha* (Uttar. 895); Ś. *aṭṭhapaṭṭha* = *aṣṭaprakoṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,2) and *aṭṭhā*°: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvaya* = *aṣṭāpada* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha*° stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarim* (78; Samav. 134.135); JM. *aṭṭhatisam* (38), *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi* (68); Erz. p. xli, against this *aṭṭhā*° in *aṭṭhārasi*, A. *aṭṭhārasi* (18; § 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvisam* (28), *aṭṭhāvanna* (58), *aṭṭhānūim* (98; Samav. 78. 79. 117. 152. 153; Erz. xli), and *aḍha*° in AMg. *aḍhāyālisam* (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *aḍhājāla* (Samav. 210), *aḍhasaṭṭhim* (68; Samav. 126; text, mostly *aḍha*°). So also A. *aḍhāisa* (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, BOLLESEN, Vikr. 549, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa*]. 144 [text *aṭṭhāisa*, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa* for *aṭṭhāisa pāa bho* of the text]), *aḍhāilisa* (text *aṭṭhāilisa*; 48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside *aṭṭhāisa* (28; Piṅgala 1,64. 86) and *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhā* (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. - 9 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navahim* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navapham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas.; Nāyādh.), also *navanpha* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava*° enters: *navanavāṇa* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navanūim* (99; Samav. 154). - 10 M. *dasa* or *daha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *daśa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162. 165. 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha* for *daśa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahim* (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasahi* (R. 11,31; 15.81). Mg. *daśehim* (Mṛcch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasapham* and *dasapha* (Hc.

3,123; Uvās. § 275; Erz. 28,22), Mg. *daśāṇam* (Mṛcch. 133,20). In AMg. *uvāsagadasāṇam* (Uvās. § 2. 91), the gen. in the femin. *daśā* = **daśā* occurs. Loc. M. AMg. *dasasu* (R. 4,58; Uvās. p. 168,7), CP. *tasasu* (Hc. 4,326). In compounds appears M. A. *dasa°* and *daha* AMg. JM. *ś. dasa°*, Mg. *daśa* (§ 262); A. *daha°* is found also in combination with other numerals: *ēkkadaha* (11; Piṅgala 1,114), *cāridahā* and *dahacāri* (14; Piṅgala 1,105. 110), *dahapañca* and *dahapañcāi* (15; Piṅgala 1,49. 106. 113), *dahasatta* (17; Piṅgala 1,79. 123), *ṇavadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111).

§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are : 11 AMg. *ēkkārasa*, *ikkārasa* (Vivāhap. 82. 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. *ēāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,66. 109–112) and *ēggāraha* (Piṅgala 1,77.78.106. 134), also *gārahāi* (2,111) and *ēkkādaha* (§ 442); CP. *ekātaśa* (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMg. JM. *JS. bārasa* (Āyār. 2,15,23.25; Paṇṇav. 52; Vivāhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,369; 403,371 [text *vā°*]), femin. JM. *bārasī* (T. 6,7), and AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244); M. A. *bāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,49. 69 etc.). —13 AMg. *terasa* (Sūyag. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. *terasī* (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. *teraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,9. 11. 58. 66). —14 *cōddaha* (Hc. 1,171), AMg. JM. *cōddasa* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.¹, and *caūddasa* (Kappas.), metri causa also *caūdasā* (Kappas. § 46^b), A. *caūddaha* (Piṅgala 1,133.134), also *caūddahā* (2,65) and *cāridahā*, *dahacāri* (§ 442). —15 AMg. JM. *pañṇarasa* (§ 273), A. *pañṇaraha*, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also *dahapañca*, *dahapañcāi* (§ 442). —16 AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, also AMg. *soḷasaja* (Jiv. 228), A. *soḷaha* (Piṅgala 1,103. 104. 105), also *soḷā* (2,67. 97). —17 AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *dahasatta* (§ 442). —18 AMg. JM. *aṭṭhārasa*, as also PG. 6,34, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (Piṅgala 1,79). On *ra* for *da* see § 245, on *la* for *da* § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of *daśan* (§ 442), e. g. ins. A. *ēārahahī* (Piṅgala 1,66 [°hi], 109 ff.; BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 538 *eggārahahī*), AMg. *bārasahim* (Sūyag. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. *bārahahī* (Piṅgala 1,113); AMg. *cōddasahim* (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMg. *pañṇarasahim* (Jiv. 228); gen. AMg. *duvālasaṇham* (Uvās.); AMg. *caūddasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 952), *cōddasaṇham* (Kappas.); *pañṇarasasṇham* (Hc. 3,123); AMg. JM. *soḷasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28,20), *aṭṭhārasaṇham* (Hc. 3,123) and *ṇha* (Erz. 42,28); loc. *pañṇarasasu* (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11–100 are frequently found mostly in Mg., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JM.A. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMg. *egūṇavīsam* = *ekonaviṃśati* (cf. § 445; Vivāhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. *egūṇaviṃśā* (Piṅgala 2,238) and *ṇavadaha* (§ 442). Beside it AMg. JM. have also *aūṇavīsai* and *aūṇavīsam* (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XLI). The same forms occur in AMg. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: *egūṇapañnāsaiṃ* (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and *aūṇāpanṇa* (49; Ovav. § 163; Vivāhap. 158); *egūṇasatṭhim* (59; Samav. 118) and *aūṇatṭhim* (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.); *egūṇasattarim* (69; Samav. 126) and *aūṇattarim* (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMg. JM. *aūṇatisam*, *aūṇattisam* (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMg. *egūṇāsiim* (79; Samav. 136), *egūṇaṇaūim* (89; Samav. 146). *aūṇa°*, *aūṇā°* (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. MÜLLER¹ and LEUMANN² from *ekona*, but is = *aguṇa*, corresponding to *dviguṇa*, *triguṇa* etc., M. *duṇa*, AMg. *duguṇa* (§ 436), AMg. *anantaguṇa* (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindi. *agunīs*, *gunīs* (19), Gujarātī *oganīs*³, which is = **apaguṇaviṃśati*.

1. Beiträge p. 17.—2. Aup. S. s. v. *aūṇāpanṇa*.—3. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 257.

§ 445. The numerals for 19—58 form in AMg. JM. the nom. as the neut. in *-am* or as the fem. in *-ā*, in A. in *-a*, and those for 59—99 as the neuter in *-im* or the femin. in *-ī*. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also *visai* = *vimśati* (Kappas.; Uvās.), nom. *visai* and *visaim* (Erz. XLI¹) AMg. *aiṇavisai* (19), *visai* (20), *e'kkavisai* (21), *paṇavisai* (25), it *sattavisai* (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. *caivisai* (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, *visam* (Kappas.; Erz.) or *visā* (Hc. 1,28.92; Erz.), A. *visa* (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423,4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also *tisai* = *triṃśat* in AMg. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with *visai* = *vimśati*. If other numbers enter before it one says: AMg. JM. *e'kkavisam*, *egavisā*, *igavisam* (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.); *bāvisam* (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *bāisa* (Piṅgala 1,68); *tevīsam* (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. *teisa* (Piṅgala 1,150); *caivīsam* (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thāp. 22), *caivīsam* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *caivīsa* (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT]), *covīsa* (2,291) and *covisa* (2,279); *paṇavisam*, *paṇuvīsam* and *paṇuvīsa* in *paṇuvīsāhi* (25; § 273), A. *pacīsa* (Piṅgala 1,120); *chavīsam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. *chavīsa* and *chavīsa* (§ 441); AMg. *sattavisam* (27; Uttar. 1093), and *sattāvisam* (Vivāhap. 85 ff.); *sattāvisā* (Hc. 1,4); A. *sattāisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.52.58); *aṭṭhāvisam*, *visā* (Vivāhap. 82), A. *aṭṭhāisa*, *adhāisa* (28; § 442); *aṇṇatisam*, *aṇṇattīsam* (29; § 444).—30 is *tisam* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.) and *tisā* (Hc. 1,28.92), A. *tisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.60), also in *tisakkeharā* = *triṃśadakṣarā* (1,52), *tisam* (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So *battīsam* (32; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.), *battīsa* (Kappas.), A. *battīsa* (Piṅgala 1,62.69), for which in M. also *doṣoḥa* = *diviṣoḥa* is said (Karp. 100,8); *tēttīsam*, *tittīsam* (33; Kappas.; Vivāhap. 18.33.391; Uttar. 909.994.1001.1094; Erz.), AMg. also *tāyattīsa*, AMg. *tāvattīsoga*, JM. *°ja* (§ 438); *cōttīsam* (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); *paṇattīsam* (35; Vivāhap. 200); *chattīsam*, *°sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.), *aṭṭhattīsam* (Kappas.) and *aṭṭhattīsam* (Erz.).—40 *cattālīsam* (Kappas.; Vivāhap. 199; Erz.) and *cattālīsa* (Vivāhap. 82), *cāyālīsam* (Erz.) and contracted *cālīsa* in JM. *cālīsasāhasa* = *catvāriṃśatsāhasa* (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153.155), a form, which in AMg. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. *iālīsa* (41; Piṅgala 1,125), AMg. JM. *bāyālīsam* (42; Vivāhap. 158; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Thāp. § 262; Erz.); *teālīsa* (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. *teyālīsam* (Erz.); AMg. *caūyālīsam* and *coyālīsam*, *coyālīsa* (44; Samav. 108.109; Vivāhap. 218; Paṇṇav. 105 f.). A. *caūālīsa* (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT *pañcatālīsa*]). 97) and *coālīsa* (2,238); AMg. *paṇayālīsa* (Paṇṇav. 55), *paṇayālīsam* (45; Vivāhap. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. *pacatālīsa* (Piṅgala 1,93.95) we should read *pacaālīsa*; AMg. *chāyālīsam* (46; Kappas.); AMg. *siyālīsam* (47; Vivāhap. 653)²; AMg. JM. *adhayālīsam*, A. *adhāālīsa* (48; § 442), but AMg. also *aṭṭhacattālīsam* (Vivāhap. 372); AMg. *e'kkūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AMg. even the abridged form *cālī* (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AMg. JM. *cattā* (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. *bicatta* (Erz.) and as *cāla* in AMg. *igayāla* (text *igu*°; Vivāhap. 199); JM. *bāyāla* (42; Erz.); A. *beāla* (Piṅgala 1,95); AMg. *paṇayāla* (45; Samav. 109); *paṇayālasaṣasahasā* (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AMg. *adhayāla* (48; Samav. 210; Paṇṇav. 99 [ada°]; Vivāhap. 290 [ada°]).—50 *paṇṇāsam*, *paṇṇāsā*, *paṇṇā* in the rest of fifties °*paṇṇam*, °*vaṇṇam*

(§ 273). The shortened forms are derived probably from **pañcāśat*, **pañcāśat*, **pañcāśat*, **pañcat* (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of JACOBI are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they cannot generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. *śajārī* § 446.

§ 446. 60 AMg. *saṭṭhiṃ* (Samav. 118. 119), in compound *saṭṭhi*: *saṭṭhitanta* (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. *saṭṭhiṃ*, *saṭṭhī* (Erz.); Ś. *chaṭṭhiṃ* (acc.; Mrcch. 54,16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as *saṭṭhiṃ*; A. *saṭṭhi* (Piṅgala 1,105; in composition 1,61). In compounds with other numerals in AMg. JM. °*saṭṭhiṃ* alternates with °*vaṭṭhiṃ* and °*aṭṭhiṃ* (§ 265): *egūṇasaṭṭhiṃ* and *aūṇaṭṭhiṃ* (59), *igasaṭṭhiṃ* and *egaṭṭhiṃ*; *bāsaṭṭhiṃ* and *bāvaṭṭhiṃ*; *tesaṭṭhiṃ* and *tevaṭṭhiṃ*; *caūsaṭṭhiṃ* and *cosaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82) and *caūvaṭṭhiṃ*; *pañasaṭṭhiṃ* and *pañnaṭṭhiṃ* (Kappas.); *chāvaṭṭhiṃ*, *sattasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aḍhasaṭṭhiṃ*, *aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṃ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AMg. JM. *sattariṃ* and *sattari*; JM. also °*śajārī*, *śajārī* (Samav. 127. 128; Prabandhac. 279,12; Erz.). On the *r* see § 245. In combination with other numerals °*sattariṃ* alternates with °*hattariṃ*, °*vattariṃ* with °*attariṃ*; AMg. *egūṇasattariṃ* with *aūṇasattariṃ* (69; § 444), *ēkkasattariṃ* (Samav.; text *eka*°); *bāvattariṃ*, JM. also *bisattariṃ*; *tevattariṃ*; *covattariṃ*, JM. *caūhattari*; AMg. *pañcāhattariṃ* (instr.; Kappas. § 2), *pañnattari* (so Samav. thrice; read °*riṃ*), JM. *pañasaśajārī* (Prabandhac. 279,12); *chāvattariṃ*; *sattahattariṃ*; *aṭṭhahattariṃ*, JM. *aṭṭhattariṃ* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; 2,248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A. is found *ehattari* (71; Piṅgala 1,95. 97. 100) and *chāhattari* (76; text *che*°; 2, 238). — 80 AMg. *asīṃ*, JM. *asī*, *asī*° (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94. 95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇāsīṃ* (79); JM. *ēkkāsī*; AMg. *bāsīṃ*; AMg. *tesīṃ*, ins. also *teyāsī* (Samav.), JM. *tesī*; AMg. *caūrāsīṃ*, *corāsīṃ*, *corāsī*, JM. *caūrāsī*°, *culāsī*°; AMg. *pañcāsīṃ*, *chaḷāsīṃ*, *sattāsīṃ*, *aṭṭhāsīṃ* (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A. are found *asi* (80), *beāsī* (82), *aṭṭhāsī* (88) (Piṅgala 1,81.98; 2,238). — 90 AMg. *naūṃ*, JM. *naū* (Samav. 147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇanaūṃ* (89); *ēkkānaūṃ* (Samav.; text *ekā*°), *bā*°, *te*°, *caū*°, *pañcā*°, *channāūṃ* and *channāū* (Vivāhap. 82), *sattānaūṃ*, *aṭṭhā*°; JM. *bānaū*, *te*°, *pañcā*° and *pañā*°, *channāū* (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A. is found *channāvaī* (96; Piṅgala 1,95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMg.: nom. *tevīsaṃ titthakarā* = *trayaviṃśatis tīrthakarāḥ* (Samav. 66); *bāyālīsaṃ sumiṇā tīsaṃ mahāsumiṇā bāvattariṃ savvasumiṇā* = *dvācatvāriṃśat svapnās trīṃśan mahāsvapnā dvāsapṭatiḥ sarvasvapnāḥ* (Vivāhap. 951 [where °*vi*°]; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *tāyattīsā logapālā* = *trayastrīṃśal lokapālāḥ* (Thāp. 125).—Acc. *visāṃ vāsāṃ* = *viṃśatiṃ varṣāṇi* (Uvās. § 89. 124. 266); *pañṇāsaṃ jojanasahasāṃ* = *pañcāśataṃ yajanasahasrāṇi* (Thāp. 266); *pañcāṇāūṃ* (text °*yām*) *jojanasahasāṃ* = *pañcānavatiṃ yojanasahasrāṇi* (Thāp. 261).—Ins. *pañcāhattariṃ vāsehiṃ...ēkka-vīsāe titthajarehiṃ...tevīsāe titthajarehiṃ* = *pañcāsapṭatyā varṣaiḥ...ekaviṃśatyā tīrthakaraiḥ*; *teṭtīsāe sattāvannāe dantisahashehiṃ* = *trayastrīṃśatā, sapṭapañcāśatā dantisahasraiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 24. 26).—Gen. *eesiṃ tīsāe mahāsumiṇānaṃ* = *eteṣāṃ trīṃśato mahāsvapnānaṃ* (Vivāhap. 951; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *battīsāe °śaśasāhasiṇāṃ caūrāsīe* [so to be read] *sāmāṇi yasāhasiṇāṃ tāyattīsāe tāyattīsagāṇāṃ caūṇāṃ logapālānaṃ* = *dvātrīṃśataḥ °śatasāhasrīṇāṃ caturāśītyāḥ sāmāṇikasāhasrīṇāṃ trayastrīṃśatas trayastrīṃśakānāṃ caturṇāṃ lokapālānaṃ* (Kappas. § 14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. *tīsāe nirayāvāsasasahasreṣu* = *trīṃśati nirayāvāsasasahasreṣu* (Vivāhap. 83 ff.); *egavīsāe savalesu bāvīsāe parīsāhe* (metrically for °*hesu*) = *ekaviṃśatyāṃ śabaleṣu dvāviṃśatyāṃ °parī-*

saheṣu (Uttar. 907).—JM. *pañcanatū rāṇam* and *rāyāṇo* (Kk. 263, 11. 17). Seldom are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in *-ṇam*: *vīsaṇham*, *tiṣaṇham*. AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvādujassajāim* = *triṇi trayahṣaṣṭāni prāvādukaṣatāni* (Sūyag. 778); *pañuvīsāhi ja bhāvaṇāhim* = *pañcaviṃsatyā ca bhāvaṇābhīh* (Āyār. p. 137,25); *pañcahim chattiṣeḥim anagārasaehim* = *pañcabhiḥ ṣaṭtriṃśair anagārasataih* (Kappas. § 182); JM. *tiṇham tevaṭṭhānam naṇjarasajānam* = *trayāṇām trayahṣaṣṭānām nagaraśatānām* (Erz. 28,21)¹; M. *caṭṭasatṭhisu suttisu* = *catuḥṣaṣṭyām śuktiṣu* (Karp. 72,6). This flexion is usual in A.: *eāisehi bāisehi* (Piṅgala 1,58. 69); *chahavisāu* (P. 1,97); *sattāisāu* (P. 1,60); *paēālisāhi* (P. 1,93. 95; see § 445); *ehattariu* (acc.), *ehattarihim* (P. 1,95. 100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pā° pañcahim chattiṣeḥim* and *apa tiṇham tevaṭṭhānam na°* might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the "wholly illogical construction" of the numerals in the Vedic language in WHITNEY¹ § 480, note; KIELHORN § 203. I owe the correct explanation to KIELHORN, who also is of the opinion, that at Erz. 28,21 with the v.l. we should read *°ṭṭhā* instead of *°ṭṭhi°*.

§ 448. 100 is M. *saa* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *sayā* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Erz.), Ś. *sada* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 151,22; Vikr. 11,4), Mg. *śada* (Mṛcch. 12,5; 116,8; 122,20; Venis. 33,4). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units enter before the plural of 100: AMg. *do sayāim* (200), *tiṇṇi sayāim* (300), *cattāri sayāim* (400) (Samav. 157. 158); *pañca sayā* (500; Kappas. § 142), *cha sayāim* (600), also *cha sayā* (Samav. 159) and *chassayā* (Kappas. § 166); A. *caṭṭasā* (400; Piṅgala 1,81). Substantive neuter is *sattasā* (H.).—1000 is M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sahassa* (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; Mṛcch. 72,22; Prab. 4,4. 5), Mg. *śahaśā* (Lalitav. 566,10; Venis. 33,3; 34,21; 35,8). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. In AMg. one says also *dasa sayāim* (Samav. 162) or *dasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), as for 1100 *e'kkārasa sayāim* (Samav. 163) or *e'kkārasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1200 *bārasa sayā*, for 1400 *caṭṭasā sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1721 *sattarasa e'kkavīse joṇaṇasae* (1721 *yojanas*; acc.; Vivāhap. 198). The rest of thousands are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMg. *do sahasāim* (Samav. 163), acc. *duve sahasse* (Sūyag. 940); *tiṇṇi, cattāri, cha, dasa sahasāim* (Samav. 163-165); *aiṇaṭṭhim sahasā* (59000; Kappas. § 136); JM. *puttānam saṭṭhi sahasā* (60000; Sagara 1,13) and *saṭṭhim pi tuha suya-sahasā* (7,7; cf. 10,4; 11,5), gen. *saṭṭhie puttasaṭṭhasānam* (8,5); also with *sāhasi*=*sāhasri*, as AMg. *coddasa samaṇasāhassio, chattiṣam aṇṇiṇyāsāhassio, tiṇṇi saṇṇasāhassio* etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Vivāhap. 287). In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first, and are combined in a compound: *aṭṭhasa jam*=108 (Vivāhap. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.); *aṭṭhasahassam*=1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following manner: *tiṣam ca sahasāim doṇṇi ya aiṇāpappe joṇaṇasae*=30249 *yojanas* (Vivāhap. 158); *sattarasa e'kkavīse joṇaṇasae*=1721 y.; *cattāri tiṣe joṇaṇasae*=430 y.; *dasa bāvise jo*=1022 y.; *cattāri caṭṭvise jo*=424 y., *satta teṇise jo*=723 y., *tiṇṇi iḡayāle jo*=1341 y., *doṇṇi joṇaṇasahassāim doṇṇi ya chaḷasīe jo*=2286 y. (Vivāhap. 198. 199), *siyāḷisam joṇaṇasahassāim doṇṇi ya tevaṭṭhe joṇaṇasae*=47 263 y. (Vivāhap. 653), also with *uttara*, as *tiṇṇi joṇaṇasahassāim doṇṇi ya battisuttare jo*=3232 y° (Vivāhap. 198); *bāvaṇṇuttaram, adhayaḷisuttaram, cattāḷisuttaram, aṭṭhaṭisuttaram, chattiṣuttaram, aṭṭhāvīsuttaram joṇaṇasajasaṭṭham*=100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y. (Jiv. 243), and with *ca*, as *chakkodisae paṇavaṇṇam ca koḍio*=655 **koṭi** (Vivāhap. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. *satasahassa* (6,11; 7,42. 48), AMg. *egam sayasaṭṭham* (Samav. 165) or *egā sayasāhassi* (Kappas. § 136); cf. Ś. *suvaṇṇasadasāhassio*=*suvaṇṇasatasāhasirikaḥ*

(Mṛcch. 58,4); AMg. JM. also *lakkhaṃ* = *lakṣam* (Kappas. § 187; KI. 12; Erz.), Mg. *laṣkaṃ* (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. *dasasajasa-hassāim* (Samav. 166), Mg. *daṣa* (falsely for *daśa*) *laṣkāim* (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 *koḍi* = *koṭiḥ* (Samav. 167; Erz.). In AMg. *koḍākoḍi*, *paliavamā*, *sāgaravamā*, *sāgaravamākoḍākoḍi* etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).

§ 449. The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in *-ā*, when not noted below, are: 1. *paḍhama*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* (§ 104. 221). AMg. also *paḍhamilla* (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix *-illa* (§ 595), A. also *pahilla*, femin. *pahilī* (Ki. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here *pailī*]), as in the new Indian dialects (BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,142; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from **prathara* neither with BEAMES, nor from AMg. *paḍhamilla*, **paḍhailla* with HOERNLE, but it presupposes one **prathila*.—2. M. *duia*, *biia*, *bīa*, *bījja*; JM *duiṣa*, AMg. JM. *bījja*, *bīja*; A. *bīa*; AMg. also *ducca*, *dōcca*; Ś. Mg. *dudia*, in verses also *dudīa* (§ 82. 91. 165. 300).—3. M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taiṣa*; Ś. *tadia*; AMg. also *tacca*; A. *tīa*, *taijji* (fem.) (§ 82. 91. 165. 300). Ki. 2,36 knows also *tījja*, which occurs in AMg. *addhātijja* (§ 450).—4. M. AMg. JM. A. *caūttha* (Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Āyār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1,105), according to Hc. 2,33 also *caūtṭha*; M. also *cōtṭha* (§ 166; Hc. 1,171; H.); Ś. Mg. *caduttha* (Mṛcch. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. l.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere *cau*), D. *caūttha* (Mṛcch. 100,6), Ś. also *cadutṭha* (Śak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM. *caūtthī*, *cōtthī* (Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII), AMg. *caūtthā* (Āyār. p. 132 ff.). In *addhutṭha* (3¹/₂; § 450) there is one **tutṭha* = **turiha* (cf. *turya*, *turiya*).—5. *pañcama* occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,5,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,7; A. Piṅgala 1,59). The feminine ends in *-ī*, in AMg. in *-ā* too (Āyār. p. 132 ff.).—6. in all the dialects *chaṭṭha*, femin. *-ī* (Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Ki. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,22. 23; Śak. 40,9; D. Mṛcch. 100,7. 8; A. Piṅgala 1,50), in AMg. femin. also *chaṭṭhā* (Āyār 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. *saṭṭha* [sic!] Prab. 28,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands *saṭṭha* and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads *saṭṭa*, is to be corrected as *chaṭṭha*. By *pañcabbhahia* = *pañcābhyadhika* the numeral is expressed in M. in Śak. 120,7.—7. M. AMg. JM. Ś A. *sattama* (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,11. 12; Piṅgala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. Ś. D. *aṭṭhama* (Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM. *navama* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), D. *navama* (Mṛcch. 100,8).—10. M. AMg. JM. *dasama* (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *dasamī* (Kappas.).—The ordinals 11.—19. are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending *-ma*, feminine *-mī*. Hitherto they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. *ēkkārasama* (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. *bārasama* (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. *terasama* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. *caūdasama* (Sūyag. 758) and *cōddasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—15. *pannarasama* (Vivāhap. 168).—16. *soḷasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—18. AMg. *aṭṭhārasama* (Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451) and *adhārasama* (Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404).—19. *egūṇavisama* (Nāyādh. § 11), and *ægūṇavisāma* (Vivāhap. 1606). On *khoḍasama* (16.) see § 265.—20. *viśāma* or *viśa*; 30. *tisāma* or *tisa*; 40. *cattālīsāma*; 49. *aūṇāpanna*; 55. *pannapannaīma* (Kappas.); 72. *bāvattara*, 80. *asīma*; 97. *sattānāyā*. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms

are used, as 23. JM. *tevīsaīma* (T.4,2); 24. AMg. *caivīsaīma* (Vivāhap.167) and *caivīsa* (Thān. 31); 84. *caivāsīm*, 85. *pañcāsīma* (Kappas.). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,426.—*kati* is inflected: AMg. JM. A. *kaī* (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17,21; Hc. 4,376,1.420,3); ins. AMg. *kaīhim* (Paṇṇav. 662; Vivāhap. 74.332); gen. *kaīṇham* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. JM. *kaīsu* (Paṇṇav. 521.530; Vivāhap. 736 f.1536; Erz. 66,16).

§ 450. As the expression of $1\frac{1}{2}$ enters in AMg. *addha* or *aḍḍha* = *ardha*, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): *aḍḍhāijja* from *aḍḍha* + **iijja*, **ijja*, **ijja* = *ardhatṛtiya* (§ 449) ($2\frac{1}{2}$; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270.660.917.982; Nāyādh. 347; Paṇṇav. 51.55.81.611 f.; Vivāhap. 199.202.734.1786; Nandis. 198.200; Kappas.); *addhutṭha* from *ardha* + **turtha* = *ardhacaturtha* ($3\frac{1}{2}$; Kappas.); *addhatṭhama* = *ardhāṣṭama* ($7\frac{1}{2}$; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas.; Ovav.); *addhanavama* ($8\frac{1}{2}$; Kappas.); *addhachattṭhehim bhikkhāsaehim* (550); *aḍḍhāijjāim* °*sayāim* (250), *aḍḍhutṭhāim* °*sayāim* (350), *addhapañcamāim* °*sayāim* (450) (Samav. 156—158); *addha-ehattṭhāim* °*yojanāim* ($5\frac{1}{2}$ yojanas; Jiv. 231). $1\frac{1}{2}$, on the contrary, is expressed by *divaḍḍha* (Vivāhap. 137.1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Paṇṇav. 685 f.692.698), which is neither = *adhyardha*¹, nor, as the position of the members of the compound shows, = *dvitiya* + *ardha*², but is = *dvikārdha* (§ 230). So also: *divaḍḍham* °*sayam* (150; Samav. 157).

I. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398.409.411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS s.v.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451. I × is in AMg. *sāim* = *sakṛt* (§ 181), in JM. *ēkkavāram* = *ekavāram* (Kk. 266,25; 274,21) and *ēkkasim* (Sagara 4,4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as *ēkkasi* and *ēkkasiam* and is equated as = *ekadā*. For the purpose of numeration AMg. uses *khutto* = *kṛtvah* (§ 206); *dukkhutto*, *dukhutto* = *dvikṛtvah* (Thān. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6); *tikhutto*, *tikkhutto* = *trikṛtvah* (Thān. 5.11.17.41.60.364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5.11.17.41.60; Vivāhap. 12.156.161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.); *sattakkhutto*, °*kh*° (Nāyādh. 910.925.941; Jiv. 260.621), *tisattakkhutto* = *trisaptakṛtvah* (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap.230 [°*khu*°]. 411); *aṇegasajasahassakkhutto* = *anekaśatasahasrakṛtvah* (Vivāhap. 145.1285); *aṇantakhutto* (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177.414.416.418); *evaikhutto* = °*evatikṛtvah* (Kappas.). In M. the word is spelt as *huttam*: *saahuttam*, *sahassahuttam* (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52,6). For 'for the second time' AMg. uses *dōccam*, *duccam* (Āyār.2,15,21; Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas.), 'for the third time' is *taccam* (Vivāhap. 166.234.235; Uvās.). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses °*viha* = °*vidha*, in the case of adjectives and °*hā* = °*dhā* in the case of adverbs: AMg. *duviha*, *tiviha*, *caivviha*, *pañcaviha*, *chavviha*, *sattaviha*, *aṭṭhaviha*, *navaviha*, *dasaviha* (Uttar. 885—990), *duvālasaviha* (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), *soḷasaviha* (Uttar. 971; Thān. 593 [°*dhā*]), *aṭṭhāvīsaiviha* (Uttar. 877), *battīsaiviha* (Vivāhap. 234); JŚ. *tiviha* (Kattig. 402, 360) etc.; AMg. *duhā*, *pañcahā*, *dasahā* (Uttar. 1046.889.704), *duhā*, *tihā*, *caihā*, *pañcahā*, *chahā*, *sattahā*, *aṭṭhahā*, *navahā*, *dasahā*, *saṃkhējjahā*, *asaṃkhējjahā*, *aṇantahā* (Vivāhap. 997—1012).—AMg. JM. *egao* (Vivāhap. 277.282.950; Āv. 46,24) is = *ekataḥ*, the more frequent *ega yao* (Vivāhap. 137—141.187.510.513.970.983.996 ff. 1430.1434) = °*ekakataḥ*; *duhao* see § 436.—As in Skt., in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, one says *duga* (Thān. 568.569; Erz.; Kattig. 403,371), *duya* (Uttar. 903) = *dvika*; AMg. JM. *tiya* = *trika* (Uttar. 902; Erz.); *chakka* = *ṣaṭka* (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. *sahassaso* = *sahasraśaḥ* (Sagar. 6,5); Ś. *aṇeaso*, AMg. °*ṇegaso* = *anekaśaḥ* (§ 435).

E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the *a*-stems prevail on phonetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The *ātmanepada* is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usable only in M. AMg. JM. JŚ., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in Ś., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in Ś. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the *ātmanepada* only, have in Pkt. the endings of the *parasmaip.*, as mostly in the passive too. Further *āsi*, *āsi*=*āsīt*, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. Ś., in addition to *abhavi* in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and *s*-aorists, including stray *ātmanepada* forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb *as* or *bhū* or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the *parasmaip.*, *ātmanep.* and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the *parasmaipada*, the *ātmanepada* and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. *necessitatis*, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precativ too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

a) PRESENT.

1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigm of the first conjugation *vaṭṭa-* = *varta-*, in Skt. in *ātmanepada* only.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭāmi</i>	<i>vaṭṭāmo</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i>	<i>vaṭṭaha</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadha</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭai</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadi</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭati</i>	<i>vaṭṭanti</i>

In A. the common flexion is :—

1. <i>vaṭṭaū</i>	<i>vaṭṭahū</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>vaṭṭahu</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭai</i>	<i>vaṭṭahi</i>

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also *-āmi*, beside *-āmi*, that is the common ending in all the

dialects, excluding A.: *jāṇami* = *jānāmi*; *lihami* = *likhāmi*; *sahami* = *sahe*; *hasami* = *hasāmi*. It is attested in A. too: *kaḍḍhami* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4,385); *pāvami* = **prāpāmi* = *prāpnomi*; *bhāmami* = *bhramāmi* (Vikr. 71, 7. 8), *bhaṇami* = *bhaṇāmi* (Piṅgala 1, 153). The vowel has been regulated according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the first person plur. (§ 455), *i* has entered for *a*: M. *jāṇimi* = *jānāmi* (H. 902), *anunijjimi* = *anuniye* (H. 930); A. *pucchimi* = *pricchāmi*, *karimi* = **karāmi* = *karomi* (Vikr. 65,3; 71,9). Forms in *-mhi* and *-mmi*, sometimes found in the MSS. and editions¹, are false², as *nivedēmmhi* for *nivedemi* (Nāg. 20,3; cf. 20,10), *pasādēmmhi* for *pasādemī* (Nāg. 44,8), *gacchamhi*, *gacchahmi* for *gacchāmi* (Mālav. 5,5; Vṛṣabh. 20,17).—In A. the usual ending is *-āy*: *kaḍḍhaū* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4,385), *kijjaū* = *kriye* in the sense of *karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,385; 445,3); *jāṇaū* = *jānāmi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *joiijaū* = *vilokye*, *dēkkhaū* = *drakṣyāmi*, *jhiijaū* = *kṣiye* (Hc. 4,356. 357,4. 425); *pāvaū* = *prāpnomi*, *pakāvaū* = **pakvāpayāmi* = *pacāmi*, *jivaū* = *jivāmi*, *cajaū* (text *tajaū*) = *tyajāmi* (Piṅgala 1,104^a; 2,64); *piāvaū* (text *piyāvaū*) = **piāpāyāmi* = *pāyāmi* (Prabandhac. 70,11. 13). According to the phonetic laws of A., *jāṇaū* has to be traced to **jānakam* only (§ 352). The verbal forms with infixed *ak*, such as *pacataki*, *jalpataki*, *svapitaki*, *paṭhataki*, *addhaki*, *chaki*, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing. *yāmaki* = *yāmi*, discovered by AUFRECHT in Kauṣitakibrāhmaṇa 27,1³, are to be compared with **jānakam*. It is to be admitted that, as in the future (§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place that of the principal tenses⁴.

1. BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 47. AMg. *anūsāsāmi* for **anūsāsāmi* = *anūsāsmi* Uttar. 790 is hardly correct. — 3. ZDMG. 34, 175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending *-si* also *-hi* (§ 264): *marahi* = **marasi* = *mriyase*, *ruahi* = Vedic *ruvasi* = *roḍiṣi*, *lahahi* = *labhase*, *visūrahi* = *khidyase*, *ṇisarahi* = *niḥsarasi* (Hc. 4,368. 383,1. 422, 2. 439,4). In Mg. the ending is naturally *-si*: *yāsi*, *dhāvasi*, *palāsi*, *malhiṣi*, *gaścaṣi* (Mṛcch. 9,23.24; 10,3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMg. and A. do not rarely contract the ending *-āi* to *-e* (§ 166); in Ś. Mg. Dh. the ending is *-di*, in P. CP. *-ti*: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, but JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi* (§ 289); M. *vaḍḍhaī* = *vardhate*, but Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 291); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); Dh. *vajjadi* = *vrajati* (Mṛcch. 30,10); P. *lapati*, *gacchati* (Hc. 4,319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A., ends in *-mo*, in verses in *-mu* and *-ma* too, the ending of the subsidiary tense (Vr. 7,4; Hc. 3,144. 167; Kī. 4,7; Mk. fol. 51); *hasāmo*, *hasāmu*, *hasāma*. Except in PG. *vitārāma* (5,7), M. future *dacchāma* = *drakṣyāmaḥ* (R. 3,50) and in *-mha* = *smāḥ* (§ 498), *-ma* has, up to this time, been seen merely as v. l.¹ and for prose it is not correct. M. *lajjāmo*, *vaccāmo*, *ramāmo* (H. 267. 590. 888), *kāmemo* = *kāmayāmaḥ* (H. 417), in the passive *musijjāmo* = *muṣyāmahe* (H. 335); AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo* = *vardhāmahe* (Kappas. § 91. 106), *jivāmo* (Nāyādh. § 137), *āciṭṭhāmo* = *ātiṣṭhāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *uvaṇemo* = *upanayāmaḥ*, *āhāremo* = *āhārayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *icchāmu* (Uttar. 376), *accemu* beside *accimo* = *arcayāmaḥ*, *arcāmaḥ* (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future *dāhāmu* = *dāsyāmaḥ* (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. *vucchāmu* = *avātsma* (Uttar. 410); JM. *tālemo* = *tādayāmaḥ* (Dvār. 497,1), *peccāmo* = *prekṣāmahe* (Āv. 33,15), *vaccāmo* = *vrajāmaḥ* (Kk. 263,16; 272,18), *pajjosavemo* (Kk. 271,7); Ś. *pavisāmo* = *praviśāmaḥ* (Śak. 92,1), *jāṇāmo* = *jānāmaḥ* (§ 510), *sumarāmo* = *smarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 113,9), *uvacārāmo* = *upacarāmaḥ* (Mālatīm. 232,2; text *tuvarāma*; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91,17),

vaḍḍhāmo = *vardhāmahe* (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]), *cintemo* = *cintayāmaḥ* (Mahāv. 134,11), *vandāmo* = *vandāmahe*, *uvaharāmo* = *upaharāmaḥ* (Pārvatīp. 27,11; 29,13); D. *boḷlāmo* (Mṛcch. 105,16). The forms in *-mha*, which are sometimes found in the text, as *ciṭṭhamha* (Ratn. 315,1), *viṇṇavē mha*, *saṃpādē mha*, *pārē mha*, *karē mha* (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5), are false. They belong to the imperative (§ 470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable *ā* often becomes *i*, so that the ending, then, is *-imo* (§ 108); M. *jāmpimo* = *jālpāmaḥ* (H. 651); M. JM. *ṇamimo* = *nāmāmaḥ* (G. 35. 969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. *bhaṇimo* = *bhāṇāmaḥ* (Hc. 3,155; H.; Prabandhac. 100,8; Kk. 266,14) beside *bhaṇāmo* (H.); M. AMg. *vandimo* = *vāndāmahe* (H. 659; Nandis. 81); *pacimo* = *pācāmaḥ* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *savimo* = *sāpāmaḥ* (G. 240); M. *sahimo* = *sāhāmahe* in *visahimo* (H. 376); *hasimo* = *hāsāmaḥ* (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. *gamimo* = **gāmāmaḥ* (H. 892), *jāṇimo*, *ṇa āṇimo* = **jānāmaḥ*, *na *jānāmaḥ* (H.), *bharimo* = **bhārāmaḥ* and *saṃbharimo* (we remember; H. s. v. *smar*; G. 219), *ālakkhimo* = *ālākṣāmahe* (G. 188), and on its analogy: *pucchimo* = *prcchāmaḥ* (H. 453), *lihimo* = *likhāmaḥ* (H. 244), *suṇimo* = **śruṇāmaḥ* (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4. 31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in *-a mu*, *-a ma*, *-imu*, *-ima*: *paḍhamu*, *paḍhama*, *pacimu*, *bhaṇamu*, *bhaṇama*, *bhaṇimu*, *bhaṇima*, *sahamu*, *sahama*, *sahimu*, *hasamu*, *hasama*, *hasimu*, *hasima*.—In A. the usual ending is *-hū*: *lahahū* = *labhāmahe*, *caḍḍhū* = *ārohāmaḥ*, *marāhū* = *mriyāmahe* (Hc. 4,386. 439,1). The abl. plur. of the *a*-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from *-bhyām* (§ 369). Here the origin is completely obscure². Beside this there is found *lahimu* too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as *vaṭṭāma* Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69^a reads *vasaṭṭma*, the ed. M. p. 84,15, *vasamha*, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, *ahivaṭṭahmo*. One emends *vaṭṭāmo* or *vasāmo*; *viraema* = *viracayāmaḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 49,17; *tuvārāma* (Mālatīm. 232,2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M. JM. AMg. is *-ha*, in Ś. Mg. Ā. *-dha*, in A. *-hu* or *-ha*: *ramaha*, *paḍhaha*, *hasaha* (Vr. 7,4); *hasaha*, *vevaha*, (Hc. 3,143); *pacaha*, *saṅkaha* (Kī. 4,6); *hoha* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *ṇa āṇaha* = *na jānītha*, *deḍḍehi* = *drakṣyatha* (R. 3,13. 23), *taraha* (you know; H. 897); JM. *jāṇaha* (Kk. 273,44); *kuppaha* = *kupṣyatha*, *paṇacchaha* (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMg. *āikkhaha*, *bhāsaha*, *pañnaveha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4); *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194); *vayaha* = *vadatha* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *āḍhaha*, *parijāṇaha*, *agghāyaha*, *uvāṇimanteha* (Nāyādh. § 83); Ś. *pēkkhadha* = *prekṣadhve* (Mṛcch. 40,25; Śak. 14,8), *ṇedha* = *nayatha* (Mṛcch. 161,9)¹; Mg. *pēskadha* (Mṛcch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6), *paṭṭiāadha* = *pratyayadhve* (Mṛcch. 165,9); Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *pucchaha* and *pucchahu* (Hc. 4,364. 422,9), *icchahu* and *icchaha* (Hc. 4,384), *paampaha* = *prajalpaha* (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably *°hu* should be read throughout. On the ending *-itthā* see § 517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-nti*. M. *miṇanti* = **mucanti*, *ruanti* = *rudanti*, *hōnti* = *bhavanti*, *deṇti* = *dayante* (Erz. 3,14. 15); AMg. *cayanti* = *tyajanti*, *thananti* = *stananti*, *labhanti* = *labhante* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); Ś. *gacchanti*, *paśidanti*, *saṃcaranti* (Mṛcch. 8,4; 9,1. 11); Mg. *añṇesanti* = *anvesanti*, *pianti* = *piḇanti* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. *ucchallanti*, *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326); A. *vihasanti* = *vikasanti*, *karanti* = *kurvanti* (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is *-hī*, of which the origin is obscure²: *maḷliahī* = *mukulayanti*, *añuharahī* = *anuharanti*, *lahahī* = *labhante*, *ṇavahī* = *namanti*, *gajjahī* = *garjante*, *dharahī* = *dharanti*, *karahī* = *kurvanti*, *sahahī* = *sobhante* etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the

passive *ghēppahi* = *grhyante* (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. *acchahim* = *tiṣṭhanti* (Uttar. 667)³ in the verse, and in *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 223. 500. 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268. 302 -*ha* too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also PISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337.—3. So to be read with JACOBI, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary *atthihim*; the commentary explains *atthahi* (sic?) *iti tiṣṭhanti*. Cf. *assāsi* § 461.

2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is :

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭte</i>	is wanting
2. <i>vaṭṭase</i>	is wanting
3. <i>vaṭṭae</i> , JŚ. <i>vaṭṭade</i>	<i>vaṭṭante</i>

Cf. Vr. 7,1. 2. 5; Hc. 3,139. 140. 145; 4,274. 302. 319; Ki. 4,2. 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vr. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings -*se*, -*e* explicitly to the *a*-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending -*de*=*-te* would be permissible with the *a*-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Venis.35,17;36,3, read *ṣuṇiade*=*ṣrūyate* and the text has *ṣuṇiadi*. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vr.12,17 and Mk.fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are: 1. M. *jāne* (H. 902), *na āne* (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: *jāne* (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anarghar. 66,5; Uttarar. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and *na āne*, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text *na jāne* (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 30,8; 34,9; Venis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. *manne* = *manye* (G. H. [delete 546]; R.), in Ś. too (Mrcch. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anarghar. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś.20,6), and *aṇumaṇṇe* (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. *manne* (Uttar. 571), in M. also according to the l. class *maṇe* (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used *vane* (Hc. 2,206), originally a l. sing. ātmanep., if it be = *maṇe* (§ 251) or = *vane* (cf. Dhātupāṭha in B-R. s. v. *van*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vr. 9,12 *vale* stands. AMg. *rame* (Uttar. 445); Ś. *lahe* = *labhe* (Vikr.42,7), *icche* (Mrcch. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. *vāe* = *vāmi* and *vādayāmi*, *gāe* = *gāyāmi* (Mrcch. 79, 12. 13).—2. M. *maggase*, *jāṇase*, *viṇṇase*, *lajjase*, *jaṃpase* (H. 6.181.441.634. 943), *sohase* (G. 316); AMg. *pabhāsase* = *prabhāsase*, *avabujjase* = *avabudhyase* (Uttar. 358. 503); AMg. *iścaṣe* = *icchase* (Mrcch. 123,5; P. *payacchase* = *prayacchase* (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. *taṇuāae*, *paḍicchae*, *vaccāe*, *peccāe*, *dāvae*, *niacchāe*, *palambāe*, *andolāe*, *laggāe*, *paṇisakkāe*, *vikuppaṇae* (H. 59. 701; 140.169.397.489.507.582.855.951.967), in the passive *tīrae* = *tīryate* (H. 195.801.932), *jujjae*=*jujyate*, *jhijjae*=*kṣiyate*, *nivvarijjae*=*nirvriyate*, *khijjae*=*kṣiyate* (H. 12. 141. 204. 362); JM. *bhuñjae*=*bhunkte*, *nirikkhae*=*nirikkṣate* (Erz. 25,30; 70,7); *cintae* (Āv. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); *cittḥae*=*tiṣṭhate*, *viuvāe* = **vikurvate* = *vikurute* (Āv. 36,26. 27); passive *muccae* = *mucyate* (Erz. 71,7); *tīrae* = *tīryate*, *ḍajjhae* = *dahyate* (Dvār. 498,21. 22); AMg. *lahae*, *kīḷae*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 438. 570. 789); *titikkhae*=*titikkṣate*, *sāṃpavevae*=*sāṃpravedate* (Āyār. 2,16,3); JŚ. *maṇṇade* = *manryate*, *bandhade* = *bandhṇite*,

jāyade = *jāyate*, *bhāsade* = *bhāṣate*, *bhuñjade* = *bhunkte*, *kuvvade* = **kurvate* = *kurute* (Kattig. 399,314; 400,327. 332. 333; 403,382. 384; 404,309); passive *ādīyade* (Pav. 384,60); *thuvvade* = *stūyate*, *jujjade* = *yujyate*, *sakkade* = *śakyate* (Kattig. 401,351; 403,380; 404,387); D. *jāac* = *jāyate*, *vaṭṭae* = *vartate* (Mṛcch. 100,3. 6). For Ś. Hc. 4,274 mentions *acchade*, *gacchade*, *ramade*, for P. 4,319 *lapate*, *acchate*, *gacchate*, *ramate*, for the passive Ś. *kijjade* = *kriyate* (4,274), P. *giyyate*, *tiyyate* (so to be read), *ramiyyate*, *paḍhiyyate* (4,315); at 4,316 stands *kirate* = *kriyate*.—In the 1. plur. sometimes the forms, such as *kāmamhe* = *kāmayāmahe*, which, however, are not attested by good manuscripts, are also found (WEBER on H. 417).—3. plur. M. *gaṭṭante* = *garjante* (Hc. 1,187 [see the translation]; 3,142), *biḥante* = **bhīṣante*, *uppaṭṭante* = *utpadyante* (Hc. 3,142), *ucchāhante* = *utsāhayante* (H. 638); AMg. *uvalabhante* (Sūyag. 755), *riyante* (Āyār. 1,8,2,16; Dasav. 613, 12), *ciṭṭhante* = *tiṣṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4. 10). The examples from AMg., on the whole, and from JM. in the largest measure are from verses.

§ 458. Beside the ending *-nte*, Pkt. has also the ending *-ire*, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli¹: *pahuppire* = **prabhutvire* (§ 286) in *dōṇṇi vi na pahuppire bāhū* = *dvāv api na prabhāvato bāhū*; *vicchuhire* = **vikṣubhire* (Hc. 3, 142); *haseire*, *hasaīre*, *hasire* = *hasante*; *saheire*, *sahaīre*, *sahire* = *sahante*; *hueire*, *huaīre*, *huire*, *hoeire*, *hoaīre*, *hoire* = *bhavante* (Sr. fol. 46. 47). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too: *hujjaīre*, *hujjāīre*, *huejjaīre*, *huejjāīre* = *bhaveran* and fol. 51 for the future: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire* = *hasisyante*. According to Hc. 3,142 *-ire* is used in the 3. sing. too: *sūsaīre gāmacikkhallo* = *śuśyati grāmacikkhallah*. Triv. 2,2,4, who gives as examples *sūsaīre tāṇa tārīso kaṇṭho* = *śuśyati tāsām tādṛśah kaṇṭhah*, teaches the same.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 94; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 97; WINDISCH, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Arischen Italischen und Celtischen. Leipzig, 1887 (AKSGW. X, No. vi), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the SA. 478 f.

3. OPTATIVE

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāmi</i>	<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāma</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāhi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjahi</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāsu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjasu</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> .	<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāha</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjaha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i> , [<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjāi</i>]	<i>vaṭṭeṭṭjā</i> , <i>vaṭṭeṭṭja</i>

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

1. Ś. <i>vaṭṭeam</i> , <i>vaṭṭe</i>	is wanting
2. AMg. A. <i>vaṭṭe</i> , A. <i>vaṭṭi</i>	is wanting
3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. <i>vaṭṭe</i>	AMg. Ś. <i>vaṭṭe</i>

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in *-eyam*, as assumed by JACOBI¹, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in *-e* has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in *-eṭṭjā* and *-eṭṭja* become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The

shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: *āgacchejja vā ciṭṭhejja vā niṣṭhejja vā tujattejja vā ullāṅghejja vā palaṅghejja vā* = *āgacched vā tiṣṭhed vā niṣṭhed vā sayita vā ullāṅghed vā pralaṅghed vā* (Ovav. § 150; cf. Vivāhap. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as *avaharejjā vā vikkhirejjā vā bhindhejjā vā acchindejjā vā pariṭṭhavejjā vā* = *apahared vā viṣkired vā bhindyād vā acchindyād vā pariṭṭhāpayed vā* (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (§ 464), *dejjā* = *deyāt*, *hojjā* = *bhūyāt* (§ 466), thus it is clear that even *kuvvejjā* presupposes one **kuryāt*, *karējjā* one **karyāt* and *havejjā* one **bhavyāt*, that is to say the optative in *-ējjā* goes back to the optative formed with *-yā-* of the second conjugation². For *ē*, very often the MSS. give *i*, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the 1. sing., hence *-eya-* was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather *ē*, according to § 119, has originated from *i*, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. *bhuñjējjā* = **bhuñjīyāt*, *bhuñjyāt*, *karējjā* = **kariyāt* = **karyāt*, likewise *jāñijjā* *jāñējjā* = *jāñiyāt*. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent *e*-colouring. It is only in this manner that *ā* and the reduplication of *j* are explained³. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precative see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ. 36,577.—2. Whether one will derive *karyāt* from the present stem *kar* with JACOBI or take it as = precative *kriyāt* with PISCHEL, KZ. 35,143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as JACOBI, is shown by the affix of the passive **karyāte* KZ. 35,141, what JACOBI has overlooked. The question is only about the equation *karijjai*: *kriyāte* = *karējjā*: *kriyāt* (KZ. 35,143).—3. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. *āosējjā vā haṇējjā vā bandhejjā vā mahējjā vā tajjējjā vā tālējjā vā nicchodējjā vā nibbhacchejjā vā...varovējjā* = *ākroṣeyam vā hanyām vā badhniyām vā* (*mathniyām vā*) *tarjayeyam vā tādayeyam vā niṣchoṭayeyam vā nirbhartsayeyam vā...vyaparopeyam* (Uvās. § 200), *pāssijjā* = *paśyeyam* (Nirayāv. § 3), *muccējjā* = *mucyeya* (passive; Uttar. 624), *āivāējjā*, *āivāyāvējjā* = *atipātayeyam*, *samanujāñējjā* = *samanujāñiyām* (Hc. 3,177); JM. *laṅghejjā* (Āv. 8,18); M. *kuppējjā* = *kupyeyam* (H. 17); Ś. *bhaveam* (Vikr. 40,21; Pārvatīp. 29,9) and *bhave* (Śak. 65,10; Mālav. 67,10) = *bhaveyam*, *pahave* = *prabhaveyam* (Śak. 25,1), *laheam* (Śak. 13,9; 30,9; Pārvatīp. 27,16; 29,8) and *lahe* (Mudrār. 38,2; cf. Vikr. 42,7 ?) = *labheya*, *jīveam* = *jīveyam* (Mālav. 55,11), *kuppe* = *kupyeyam* (Mālav. 67,10)¹. Seldom *-mi* is the ending of the primary tense: M. *nejjāmi* = *nayeyam* (R. 3,55); AMg. *karējjāmi* = *kuryām* (Vivāhap. 1281).—2. In the 2. sing. the form ends in *-ijjā*, seldom in *-ējjā*: AMg. *udāharijjā* = *udāhareḥ* (Sūyag. 932); *uvadamsejjā* = *upadarśayeh* (Āyār. 1,5,5,4); *vināējjā* = *vinayeh* (Dasav. 613,27). In AMg. the ending *-si* comes in generally: *payāējjāsi* = *prajāyethāḥ* (Nāyādh. 420); *nivedijjāsi* = *nivedayeh* (Ovav. § 21); *samanuvāsejjāsi* = *samanuvāsayeh*, *uvalimpijjāsi* = *upalimpeḥ*, *parakkamejjāsi* = *parākrameḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2 etc.); *vattējjāsi* = *vartethāḥ* (Uvās. § 200).—Beside that stands the form in *-e*: *dāve* = *dāpayeh*, *paḍigāhe* = *pratigrāhayeh* (Kappas. S. § 14–16), almost always in verses only: *gacche* = *gaccheḥ* (Sūyag. 178); *pamāyae* = *pramādayeh*, *āve* = **ādriyeh* = *ādriyethāḥ*, *sambhare* = *saṁsmareḥ* (cf. § 267.313), *care* = *careḥ* (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in *-ējjāsi* is used in place of that in *-e* or in *-ējjā* at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre². Thus *āmo'kkhāe*, *parivvāējjāsi* metrically false for *parivvāe* (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); *ārambhāṁ ca susāmvude carejjāsi*, metrically false for *care* (Sūyag. 117); *no pāṇiṇaṁ pāṇe samārabhejjāsi*, metrically false for *samarābhejjā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2; 1,3,1,4; 1,4,1, 3; 3,3; 1,5,2,5; 4,5; 6,1 etc. The

2. sing. in *-ējjāsi* occurs in JM. too: *vilaggejjāsi* = **vilagyeḥ* (Erz. 29,12), *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1), *vaṭṭējjāsi* (Āv. 11,11), *peḥchejjāsi* (Āv. 23,18).

1. FISCHER, Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā p. 22 f.; BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 228.

—2. JACOBI, who has not recognized the forms in *-ējjāsi* in his edition of *Āyār.*, thinks that *si* is to be separated and may stand for *se=asau* (SBE. 22,17, note 1). The scholiasts give the correct direction.

§ 461. Besides *-ējjāsi* there occurs in AMg. also *-ējjasi*: *-āosējjasi* = *ākrośeḥ*, *haṇējjasi* = *hanyāḥ*, *vavarovējjasi* = *vyaparopayeh* (Uvās. § 200). Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative *-hi* and in M.JM. A. especially *-su* (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long: M. *hasejjahi* = *haseḥ* (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. *vandējjāhi* = *vandethāḥ*, *pajjuvāsejjāhi* = *paryupāsithāḥ*, *uvanīmantējjāhi* = *upanīmantrayeh* (Uvās. 187); JM. *vaccējjasu* = *vrajeḥ* (Āv. 25,20), *bhaṇējjasu* = *bhaṇeh* (Āv. 25,31. 43); M. JM. *karējjāsu* (H. 154. 181. 634; Erz. 81,10), JM. *karējjasu* (Sagara 7,5), M. *kuṇijjāsu* (Śukasaptati 48,4) = *kuryāḥ*, A. *karijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. *sāhijjasu* = *sādhaya* in the sense of *kathaya* (Kk. 272,19); M. *galijjāsu* = *galeḥ*, *paṃhasijjāsu* = *prasmareḥ*, *pariharijjāsu* = *parihareḥ* (H. 103. 348. 521); A. *salahijjāsu* = *ślāghasva*, *bhaṇijjāsu* = *bhaṇa*, *thavijjāsu* = *sthāpaya* (Piṅgala 1,95. 109. 144). Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as *muṇijjāsu* beside *muṇiāsu* (§ 467), *dijjāsu* (§ 466) on account of *i* by the side of *dējjāhi*. A critical edition of the Piṅgala may some day make the disclosure whether *i* or *ē* is to be read. The forms in *-ē*, *-ī* in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of the imperative, likewise are of the optative: *karē* = *kare* = **kareḥ* = *kuryāḥ* (Hc. 4,387) and thence *kari* (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according to § 85. So: A. *viāri* = *vicārayeh*, *thavi* = *sthāpayeh*, *dhari* = *dhārayeh*, properly = **vicāreḥ*, **sthāpeḥ*, **dhāreḥ*, (Piṅgala 1,68. 71. 72); *joi* = **dyoteḥ* = *paśya* (Hc. 4,364. 368), *ruṇujhūṇi*, *roi* = **rodeḥ* = *rudyāḥ*, *cari* = *careḥ*, *mēlli* in the sense of *tyajeḥ*, *kari* = **kareḥ* = *kuryāḥ*, *kahi* = **katheḥ* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,368. 387, 1. 3. 422,14). The same formation is found in AMg. in the verse in *assāsi* (text *asāsi*, correctly in the commentary): *evam assāsi appānam* (Uttar. 113), explained by the commentator with *evam ātmānam āśvāsaya*. Cf. also *acchahim*, *ādhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (§ 456). So is explained also *puṇḍe* = *vraja* (Deśin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also *puda utsarge* Dhātupāṭha 28,90. *hassējje* = *haseḥ*, that is taught by Hc. 3,175 and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative character of both the conjugations. Sr. teaches also *hasejjahi*, *hasejjasu*, *haseijje*.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. *karēyya*, *kāravējjā* (6,40); M. *jivējjā* = *jivet* (H. 588), *paavējjā* = *pratāpet*, *dharejjā* = *dhriyeta*, *viharejjā* = *vihareḥ*, *ṇamejjā* = *namet* (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. *vivajjējjā* = *vipadyeta*, *nirakkhijjā* = *nirikṣeta*, *sakkējjā* = *śakyet* (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), *aikkamijjā* = *atīkrāmet* (Kk. 271,7); AMg. *kuppējjā* = *kupyet*, *pariharejjā* = *pariharet* (Āyār. 1,2. 4,4; 5,3), *karējjā* = **karyāt* = *kuryāt* (Āyār. 2,5,2. 4. 5; Paṇḍav. 573; Vivāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), *karējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,2,1), *labhējjā* = *labheta* (Kappas. S. § 18), passive: *gheḥpejjā* = *grhyeta* (Paṇḍav. 400); in verses often with a short final vowel: *rakkhejjā* = *rakṣet*, *viṇaējjā* = *vinayet*, *sevējjā* = *seveta*, passive: *muccējjā* = *mucyeta* (Uttar. 198. 199. 247); P. *huvēyya* = *bhavet* (Hc. 4,320. 323); A. *caejjā* = *tyajet*, *bhaṇējjā* = *bhramet* (Hc. 4,418,6). Sr. fol. 51 gives also *hasejjāi*. Beside those in *-ējjā*, *-ējjā* AMg. JM. often have the form in *-e* = *-et*: *gijjhe* = *grdhyet*, *harise* = *harṣet*, *kujjhe* = *krudhyet*

(Āyār 1,2,3,1.2), *kiṇe, kiṇāvae* = **krīṇet, *krīṇāpayet* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), especially in verses: *care* = *caret* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4; Uttar. 190. 567), *ciṭṭhe* = *tiṣṭhet, uvaciṭṭhe* = *upatiṣṭhet* (Uttar. 29. 30) beside *uvaciṭṭhejjā, ciṭṭhejjā* (Uttar. 34. 35), *labhe* = *labheta* (Uttar. 180); sometimes both the forms occur in the same verse: *acchiṃ pi no pamājjijā no vi jā kaṇḍujāe muṇi gāyaṃ* = *aksy api no pramājjayen no api ca kaṇḍujayen munir gātram* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19); JM. *parikkhae* = *parikseta, dahe* = *dahet, vināsae* = *vināsayet* (Erz. 31,21; 38,18). In Ś. Mg. is found only -e: Ś. very frequently *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mr̥ch. 2,23; 51,23; 52,13; Śak. 20,3,4; 50,3; 53,4; Vikr. 9,3; 23, 5. 16 etc.), *pūrae* = *pūrayet* (Mālav. 73,18), *uddhare* = *uddharet* (Vikr. 6, 16)¹; Mg. *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mr̥ch. 164,6; 170,18. 19), *mūse* = *mūset, khayye* = **khādyet* = *khādet* (Mr̥ch. 119,16. 17)². With the exception of *hojjā* (§ 466) JM. too hitherto has the only opt. in -e: *have* = *bhavet* (Pav. 387, 25; Kattig. 398,302. 309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 343. 345 ff. etc.), *nāsae* = *nāsayet* (Kattig. 401,341).

1. So we should read for *uddharedi* with the v.l., ed. Calc. 1830, LENZ, Sh.P. PAṆDIT (6,7 *saṃ uddhare*), since *avi nāma* is joined with the optative only (Śak. 13,9; Vikr. 13, 18; 40,21; Mālav. 44,1; Mahāv. 17,9; Mālatim. 56,2; 289,4; Mg. Mr̥ch. 170,18) or future (Mālatim. 74,3; 100,1; 284,9) when a wish will have to be expressed. The indicative (Venis. 58,7) and imperative (Mg.; Mr̥ch. 114,16) denote an interrogation.—
2. Cf. Mr̥ch. 121,3, where for *khajje* we should read *khayyedi* beside *mūsedī*.

§ 463. The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. *karējjāma* (7,41). For JM. JACOBI (Erz. XLVII) suggests (*pucchejjāmo*) and (*kahejjāmo*). Forms such as *rakkhemo* (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *rakkhaṇ*), but indicative (§ 472). In the 2. plur. as in the 2. sing. the ending of the imp. enters: AMg. *bhavejjāha* = *bhaveta* (Nāyādh. 912.915.918.920), *viharejjāha* = *vihareta* (915. 918), *gacchejjāha* = *gaccheta* (916. 918), *ciṭṭhejjāha* = *tiṣṭheta, uvāga-cchejjāha* = *upāgaccheta* (921); JM. *pāejjāha* = *pāyayeta* (Erz. 38,1), and with *ā*: *khamējjāha* = *kṣamedhvam, dhoējjāha* = *dhaukedhvam, duhējjāha* = *duhyāta* (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), *kahejjāha* = *kathayeta* (Āv. 47,23), *bharijjāha* = **bhareta* (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. *karējjāha* (Mr̥ch. 99,24); A. *rakkhejjāhu* (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. *āgacchejjā* (Ṭhān. 125: *loganti yadevā...ā°*); Ś. *bhave* = *bhaveyaḥ* (Vikr. 26,2; *akkharā...visajjidā bhave*; Raṅganātha: *bhave ity atra bahuvacana ekavacanam ca*); AMg. *manne* = *manyeran* (Sūyag. 575. 576. 578; *jahā ṇam ee purisā* [text *purise*] *manne*; uncertain, since beforehand 575 *jahā ṇam esa purise manne*), *samabhiloe* = *samabhielokayeyuḥ* (Vivāhap. 929; *te pe'cchāgā taṃ naṭṭijāṃ...samabhiloe' tti*) *hanta bhante samabhiloe*).

§ 464. The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been retained in a few verbs in AMg. JM. So particularly the very frequent AMg. *siyā* = *syāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vivāhap. 39.40. 146f. etc.; Kappas.), also *asiyā* = *na syāt* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28. 29. 198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas. etc.), also in *pāukujjā* = *prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474); AMg. *būyā* = *brūyāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination *kevalī būyā* (Āyār. p. 72. 77 f. 132 ff.); besides AMg. *hañijā* = *hanyāt* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), found sporadically in verses, beside *hañijā* (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), *hañējjā* (Pañhāv. 396. 397), JM. *āhañējjāsi* (Āv. 11.1) and AMg. *hañē* (Āyār. 1,2, 6,5; 1,3,2,3). A 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMg. *ējjāhi* = *ejāḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

§ 465. An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMg. JM. *sakkā*. CHILDERS¹ wished to take it as past passive participle = *śakta*,

which became an indeclinable, FISCHER² considered it as a shortened dative sing., and FRANKE³, with whom JOHANSSON agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic *śakyāt* and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. *na sakkā na soum saddā sojavisajam āgajā* "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136,14); *na sakkā rūvam adatthum cakkhuvisajam āgajam* "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136,31; 137,7. 18); *egassa dōṇha tiṇha va samkhejjāṇa va pāisum sakkā disanti sarirāṇi ṇiojajivāṇ' anantānam* "one can see one, two or three or numerable (ṇioja- being), they see bodies of unending number of many ṇioja- being"; *kim sakkā kām je jam nēcchaha osaham muhā pām* "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paṇhāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644,28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. *kim sakkā kām* "what can one do" (Āv. 30,10); *na sakkā eṇa uvāṇam* "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35,11); *na jā sakkā pām so vā anne vā* "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42,8; cf. 42,28 *na vi appaṇo pivaī na vi annam sakkei jūham pām*). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with *sakkā*=*śakyate* the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: *no khalu se sakkā keṇāi subāhueṇa vi uram ureṇam gihittae* "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); *no khalu se sakkā keṇāi ... nigganthāo pāvajāṇāo cālittae vā khobhittae vā vipariṇāmittae vā* "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in *no khalu aham sakkā...cālittae...* (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636,25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. *cakkiyā*, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: *ejamsi nam bhante dhammatthikājamsi...cakkiyā kei āsittae vā cīthittae vā...* "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119. 1120. 1346. 1389); *erāvāi kuṇālāe jattha cakkiyā siyā egaṃ pāyam jale kiccā egaṃ pāyam thale kiccā evaṃ cakkiā* "when there (is a stream) like the Airāvati in Kuṇālā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dry land" (Kappas. S. § 12; cf. § 13). *cakkiyā* standing for **cakkiyā*=**cakyāt* according to § 195 belongs to M. *caaī* (can; is capable; Vr. 8,70 [so to read for *vaiī*]; Hc. 4,86; Kī. 4,60; R.)=**cakati*, to which Aśoka *caghati* for **cakhati* with aspiration belongs according to § 206⁵. I derive *caaī*=**takati* from *taki saḥane* (Dhātupāṭha 5,2; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3,1,97, ed. KIELHORN 2,82) with palatal for dental according to § 216.—Accordingly Pāli AMg. *labbhā*=**labhyāt*, like AMg. *savve pāṇā...na bhajadukkham ca kimci labbhā pāveum*, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paṇhāv. 363; Abhayadeva: *labhyā yogyo* [sic; read *yogyāh*]); *na tāim samaṇeṇa labbhā datthum na kaheum na vi jā sumareum* "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paṇhāv. 466; Abhayadeva: *labbhā tti labhyāni ucitāni*); *dugamchāvattiyā vi labbhā uppāeum* (ed. *uppāeu*; Paṇhāv. 526; Abhayadeva: *labhyā ucitā yogyety urthah*), for which at 537 f. stands: *na dugumchāvattiyavvaṃ labbhā uppāeum* "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. *sakko* p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1,328.—3. BB. 17,256.—4. BB. 20,91.—5. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4,86, *caaī*=*tyajati*, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated *caaī* from its other synonyms.

Cf. also KERN, Jaartelling p. 96. Wrong GRIERSON, Academy 1890, No. 964, p. 369. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xx, note 9 compares Greek τε'αυ'η).

§ 466. Of the precativē too, which is used in the sense of the optative, only scanty remnants have been retained, prevalently in AMg. and JM. So PG. *hoja* (7,48); M. *hōjja* (R. 3,32; 11,27. 28. 120); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*, *hōjja* = *bhūyāt* (Thān. 98; Vivāhap. 729 ff.; Dasav. 620,27. 28; 621,36; Erz. 35,18; 37,37; 70,14). The form is in JM. also 1. sing.: *cakkavaṭṭi hōjjāham* (Erz. 4,28) and in AMg. JM. 3. plur.: *saṃve vi tāva hōjjā kohovaṭṭā*, *lobhovaṭṭā* = *saṃve 'pi tāva bhūyāsuh krodhopayuktāh, lobhopayuktāh* (Vivāhap. 84 [where text *hōjja*; cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430]. 92. 109); *kevaṭṭi hōjjā* = *kīyanto bhūyāsuh* (Vivāhap. 734. 738; cf. 753 ff.); JM. *kiha dhūyāo suhiyāo hōjja* = *katham duhitarah sukhitā bhūyāsuh* (Āv. 10, 23; cf. 12,2). AMg. JM., however, form the 1. sing. also *hōjjāmi* (Dasav. 621,43; Erz. 29,19), JM. the 2. sing. *hōjjāsi* (Erz. 29,14; 37,9), *hōjjāhi* (Āv. 10,42) and *hōjjasu* (Erz. 23,4), as in the optative of the present. AMg. has also *hōjjāi* (Vivāhap. 1042) and a participle *hōjjamāna* in the sense of the present (Vivāhap. 733 ff.; 1736 ff.; Pannav. 521). JŚ. *hōjjā* (Pav. 385,69; text *hōjjam*). In places where *hōjja* is found in Ś. (Mallikām. 84,1; 87,5; 109,4; 114,14; 156,20) it is against the dialect. AMg. *dējjā* = *deyāt* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 11,5), in addition to which JM. has the 2. sing. *dējjā* (Āv. 12,6), *dējjāsi* (Erz. 37,9), A. has *dējjahi* (Hc. 4,383,3), *dijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,36. 121; 2,119; cf. § 461), JM. has the 2. plur. *dējjaha* (Erz. 61,27). AMg. *saṃdhejjā* = *saṃdheyāt* (Sūyag. 223), *ahitṭhejjā* = *adhiṭtheyāt* (Thān. 368), *pahejjā* = *praheyāt* (Uttar. 199). Perhaps also A. *kijjasu* = *kriyāh*, in case it is not considered rather as the imperative of the passive (§ 461. 467. 547. 550). The grammarians (Vr. 7,21; Hc. 3,165. 178; Ki 4,29. 30; Sr. fol. 48) teach, besides *hōjjā* and *hōjja*, also the forms *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāu*, *hōjjāu*, *hōjjāsi*, *hōjjāsi*, Ki. 4,29 also *hōjjāia*, *hōjjāia*, Sr. also *hoejjā*, *hoejjā*, *huejjā*, *huejjā*, *hujja*, *hujjā*, *hujjāre*, *hujjāre*, *huejjāre*, *huejjāre* (§ 458), the forms that are found partly, in the text only, and according to Hc. 3,177; Sr. fol. 49 there stand *hōjjā* and *hōjja* in the sense of the ind., opt., imp. and imperf. pres., of the aor., perf. prec., future I and II, and of the conditionalis. Cf. with this KEILHORN, IA. xvii, p. 135; Inscriptions Sanskrites du Combodge, Index, p. [625] 445, column 2. I owe this reference to KIELHORN. Thus in fact there stands AMg. *dējjā* in the sense of *adāt* (Uttar. 621), and *būyā* in the combination *kevali būyā* (§ 464) in the sense of *bravīti* or *abravīt*, and through this it is apparent, so inexplicable it seems, that even AMg. *care* (Uttar. 532. 549. 552), *pahane* (Uttar. 561), *udāhare* (Uttar. 674) and *pucche* (Vivāhap. 149. 150; Rāmacandra = *prṣṭavān*, the forms that undoubtedly stand in the preterite, in addition to *acchā*, *ge'nhā*, *daliddāia*, *marīa*, *hasia*, *huvia*, *dehā* mentioned by the grammarians in the sense of the imperf., aorist and perfect (Vr. 7,23; Hc. 3,163; Ki. 4,22. 23. 25; Mk. fol. 52) are optative of the present, *kāhā*, *thāhā*, *hohā* (Vr. 7,24; Hc. 3,162; Ki. 4,23. 24; Mk. fol. 51) are optative of the aorist. What is right has already been substantially noticed by LASSEN (Instit. p. 353 ff.), who liked to explain the forms in *-ia* as in the precativē. AMg. *acche*, *abbhe* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which stand in the sense of the optative = *acchindyāt*, *ābhindyāt*, reversely may be old aorist, which are regulated by Vedic *chedma* and *abhet*. The explanation as the 3. sing. imperf. or aorist¹ leaves the form as obscure as the explanation as the optative the meaning².

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430, and according to him E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 60; JACOBI, Āyār. p. xii, both of whom, according to WEBER, give *kare*, although, according to Bhag. 2,301, it is clearly an error for *kare'nti* (MS. *kareti*); the edition reads at p. 173 *kareti*.—2. In the sense of preterite stands *prabruyāt* (Hastyāyurveda 2,60,2); at the parallel places stands *provāca* or *abravīt*.

4. IMPERATIVE.

§ 467. The paradigm is:

Sing.	Plur.
1. [vaṭṭāmu, vaṭṭamu]	AMg. JM. vaṭṭāmo; M. Ś. Mg. Dh., also JM. vaṭṭamha, vaṭṭeṃmha
2. vaṭṭa, vaṭṭasu, vaṭṭesu, vaṭṭehi, AMg. also vaṭṭāhi, A. vaṭṭu, vaṭṭahi	vaṭṭaha; Ś. Mg. [Dh] vaṭṭadha, vaṭṭedha; A. vaṭṭahu, vaṭṭehu; CP. vaṭṭatha
3. vaṭṭāu, Ś. Mg. Dh. vaṭṭadu	vaṭṭantu, A. also vaṭṭahi

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention *hasāmu*, *peṇchāmu* (Hc. 3,173), *hasamu* (Bh. 7,18; Kī. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be doubted, as the 2. sing. in *-su* is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered to be in the ātmanepada and the ending *-su*, we have been equating as = Skt. *-sva*, hence *rakkhasu* = *rakṣasva*¹. The circumstance, that this ending is found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmanepada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that otherwise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* correspond to the endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-i* of the indicative. M. *viramasu* = *virama*, *rajjasu* = *rajjasva* (H. 149), *rakkhasu* = *rakṣa* (H. 297), *parirakkhasu* = *parirakṣa* (R. 6,15), *osarasu* = *apasara* (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. *karesu* = *kuru* (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. *anunesu* = *anunaya* (H. 152. 946); Ś. *ānesu* = *ānaya* (Śak. 125,8²; Kārṇas. 51,17), *avaṇesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhuñjasu* = *bhuñgdhi* (H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛch. 70,12); AMg. *jāsu* = *yāhi* (Sūyag. 177); AMg. *kahasu* (Uttar. 700. 703), Ś. *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16; Kārṇas. 37,7. 12) = *kathaya*, AMg. *saddahasu* = *śraddhehi* (Sūyag. 151); JM. *khamasu* = *kṣamasva* (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13), *varasu* = *vrñśva* (Sagara 1,15), *sarasu* = *smara* (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. *kunasu* = *kuru* (H. 607. 771; Sagara 6, 2. 11. 12; Kk. 266,16; 274,27); Mg. *lahkaṣu* = *rakṣa* (Caṇḍak. 69,1), *āgaṣceṣu* (Mṛch. 116,5) = *āgaccha*, *deṣu* (Prab. 58,8; B. *dessu*, P. M. Bb. *dehi*), *dikkaṣu* (Prab. 58,18; B. *dikkhassu*, P. *dikkhassa*, M. *dikkhehi*, Bb. *dikkhaya*) = *dikṣaya*, *dhāleṣu* (Prab. 60,10; B. *dhāleṣsu*, P. Bb. *dhālesu*, M. *dāvaa*) = *dhāraya*; A. *kijjasu* = *kuru* (passive in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119. 120), *muñiāsu*, metrically for *muñiāsu*, passive of *muñ* (§ 489) in the sense of the active (Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside *muñijjasu* (2,119), *bujjhasu* = *budhyasva* (Piṅgala 2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms in *-ssa*, as *uvālahassa* (Śak. 11,4), *avalambassa* (Śak. 119,13; 133,8), *peṅkhassa* (Prab. 56,14), *paḍivajjassa* (Venis. 72,19), also *parirambhassu* (Viddhaś. 128,6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l. has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in *-su* is traceable only in verses.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 179. 338; WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 61; JACOBI, Erz. § 54; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. BLOCH l. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending *-hi* enters in. In AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg. sometimes, the *a*-stems take the ending *-hi*, before which *a* is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,

however, *ā* is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending *-āhi* appears beside *-a* in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in *-ādu*. In Dh. and A. final *a* becomes *u* (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *bhaṇa*, A. *bhaṇu* (H. 163. 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Śak. 50,9; 114,5; Piṅgala 1,62; Hc. 4,401,4), but D. Ś. Mg. also *bhaṇāhi* (D. Mṛcch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514), A. *bhaṇahi* (Vikr. 63,4); Ā. *ciṭṭha* = *tiṣṭha*, *ehi*, *vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 99,18. 20; 100,18); AMg. Ś. *gaccha* (Uvās. § 58. 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śak. 18,2; Mṛcch. 38,22; 58,2), Mg. *gaśca* (Mṛcch. 38,22; 79,14), but AMg. also *gacchāhi* (Uvās. § 204); M. JM. *peṇcha* (H. 725; Āv. 18,12); Ś. D. *peṅkha* (Śak. 58,7; Mṛcch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14), Mg. *peśka* (Mṛcch. 12,16; 13,6; 21,15), A. *peṅkhu* (Hc. 4,419,6) and *peṅkhaḥi* (Piṅgala 1,61); M. Ś. *hasa* (H. 818; Nāgān. 33,5), Mg. *haśa* (Mṛcch. 21,4); Mg. *pina* = *piba* (Prab. 60,9) and *pivāhi* (Venīś. 34,2. 15), *palittāāhi* = *paritrāyasva* (Mṛcch. 175,22; 176,5. 10); M. *rua* (H. 895) beside *ruhi* (784) and *ruasu* (143. 885. 909), Ś. *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,15; Nāgān. 24,8. 12) = *rudihi*; AMg. *vigiṇca* = **vikṛntya* = *vikṛnta* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170), *jāṇāhi* = *jāṇihi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *bujjhāhi* = *budhyasva*, *vasāhi* = *vasa*, *harāhi* = *hara*, *vandāhi* = *vandasva*, *akkamāhi* = *ākrama* (Kappas. § 111. 114; Ovav. § 53; Uvās. § 58. 204; Nirayāv. § 22); JM. *viharāhi* = *vihara* (Āv. 11,6); M. JM. AMg. Ś. *karehi* (H. 225. 900; Āv. 11,4; Kk. s. v. *kar*; Ovav. § 40; Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10; Śak. 78,14; 153,13), Mg. *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5); A. *karāhi*, *karahi* (Piṅgala 1,149; Hc. 4,385) and *karu* (Hc. 4,330,2); D. *oṇāmehi* = *avanāmaya* (Mṛcch. 102,2); AMg. *padikappehi* = *pratikalpaya*, *saṁnāhehi* = *saṁnāhaya*, *upaṭṭhāvehi* = *upasthāpaya*, *kāravehi* = *kāraya* (Ovav. § 40), *roehi* = *rocaya* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *pucchehi* = *prccha* (Kk. 272,31), *maggehi* = *mārgaya*, *viyāṇehi* = *viyāṇihi* (Erz. 59,6; 71,12); Ś. *manthehi* = *mantraya*, *kadhehi* = *kathaya* (Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15), *siḍhilehi* = *siṭhilaya* (Śak. 11,1; Venīś. 76,4), *jālehi* = *jvālaya* (Mṛcch. 25,18); Mg. *mālehi* = *māraya* (Mṛcch. 123,15; 165,24), *ghoṣehi* = *ghoṣaya* (Mṛcch. 162,9); Dh. *pasalu* = *prasara* (text °*ru*; Mṛcch. 32,16), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give *-a* in the final syllable: *geṇha* (29,16; 30,2), *paaccha* (31,4. 7. 9; 32,3. 8. 12. 14; 34,24; 35,7), *āaccha* (39,17), *dehi* (32,23; 36,15); A. *suṇehi* = *śṛṇu* (Piṅgala 1,62); M. JM. Ś. *hohi* = **bhodhi* = Vedic *bodhi* = *bhava* (H. 259. 372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mṛcch. 54,12; Śak. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc.). On the assumptive imp. in *-e*, *-i* in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in *-u*, Ś. Mg. D. Dh. *-du* = *-tu*: M. *marau* = *mriyatām* (H. s. v. *mar*), *paatṭau* = *pravartatām* (R. 3,58), *deu* = **dayatu* (G. 58); AMg. *pāsau* = *paśyatu* (Kappas. § 16), *āpucchāu* = *āprcchatu* (Uvās. § 68), *viṇeu* = *vinayatu* (Nāyādh. § 97. 98); JM. *kīrau* = *kriyatām*, *suṇvau* = *śrūyatām* (Erz. 15,9; 17,14); *deu* = **dayatu* (Kk. II, 508,29), *suṇjau* = *svapitu* (Dvār. 503,3); Ś. *pasīdadu* = *prasīdatu* (Lalitav. 561,9; Śak. 120,11), *āruhadu* = *ārohatu* (Uttarar. 32,6. 7), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Śak. 121,10), *suṇādu* = *śṛṇotu* (Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Venīś. 12,5; 59,23 etc.); D. *gacchadu* (Mṛcch. 101,1); Mg. *muñcadu* = *muñcatu*, *suṇādu* = *śṛṇotu*, *niśīdadu* = *niśīdatu* (Mṛcch. 31,18. 21; 37,3; 38,9); A. *nandau* = *nandatu* (Hc. 4,422,14), *diṇjau* = *diyatām*, *kijjau* = *kriyatām* (Piṅgala 1, 81^a); M. JM. AMg. A. *hou*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodu* = *bhavatu* (M. H. R.; Hc. s. v. *bhū*; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. *ho*; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. *ho*; Ś. Mṛcch. 4,23; Śak. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,14. 18; 31,19. 22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the

1. plur. indicative: AMg. *gacchāmo...vandāmo namaṃsāmo sakkāremo saṃmāṇemo...pajjuvāsāmo* = *gacchāma...vandāmahai namasyāma saikārayāma saṃmāṇayāma...paryupāsāmahai* (Vivāhap. 187. 263; Ovav. § 38), *giṇhāmo* = *grhṇāma*, *sāijjāmo* = **svādyāmahai* = *svādāmahai* (Ovav. § 86), *jujjhāmo* = *yudhyāmahai* (Nirayāv. § 25); JM. *harāmo* = *harāma* (Erz. 37,11), *gacchāmo* = *gacchāma*, *pavisāmo* = *praviśāma* (Sagara 5,1. 6). Vr. 7. 19 and Hc. 3,176 know only the ending -āmo: *hasāmo*, *tuvarāmo*, Sr. fol. 51 also *hasimo*, *hasemo*, *hasamo*, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. *bhuñjimo* = *bhuñjāma* (verse; Uttar. 675); JM. *nijjhāmemo* = *niḥkṣāmayāma* (Dvār. 505, 9), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35), *pūremo* = *pūrayāma* (Sagara 3,17); AMg. *homo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,34). The special ending of the imp. is -mha, which has not been found in AMg., in M. JM. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.¹, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Ś. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś. A rich collection from Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by BLOCH². M. *abbhatthēṃmha* = *abhyarthayāma* (R. 4,48); JM. *ciṭṭhamha* = *tiṣṭhāma*, *gacchamha* = *gacchāma* (Erz. 14,33; 60,21)³; Ś. *gacchamha* (Mṛcch. 75,3; Śak. 67,10; 79,8; 115,3; Vikr. 6,14; 18,13; Mālav. 30,12; 32,13; Ratn. 294,8; 295,11; 303,20; 312,24 etc.), *uvavisamha* = *upaviśāma* (Śak. 18,9), *wasappamha* = *upasarpāma* (Śak. 79,11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41,14; Nāgān. 13,8; Bālar. 216,1), *pekkhamha* = *prekṣāmahai* (Mṛcch. 42,14; Vikr. 31,14; 32,5; Ratn. 303,25 etc.), *karēṃmha* = *karavāma* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Ratn. 303,21; Prab. 63,11; Venis. 9,23 etc.), *nivedeṃmha* = *nivedayāma* (Śak. 160,7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45,15; 293,29; 309,26), *ativāheṃmha* = *ativāhayāma* (Ratn. 299,32), *hōṃmha* = *bhavāma* (Śak. 26,14; Vikr. 36,12); Mg. *aṇṇesamha*⁴ = *anveṣayāma* (Mṛcch. 171,18), *pivamha* = *pibāma* (Venis. 35,22), *palāmha* = *palāyāmahai* (Caṇḍak. 72,2), *kalēṃmha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Caṇḍak. 68,15; Venis. 36, 6); Dh. *anusaleṃmha* = *anudarāma* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,19), Dh. Mg. Ś. *kiḷēṃmha* = *kriḍāma* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Dh. Mg. *nivedeṃmha* (Mṛcch. 36,22; 171,11). Forms in -mo and -ma that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as *pekkhāmo* (Mālav. 15,17), Mg. *peṣkāmo* (Mṛcch. 119,1), *pavisāmo* (Mālav. 39,19; v.l. *pavissamha*; Sh. P. PANDIT 75,2 correctly *pavisamha*; cf. Ratn. 294,17; 302,29; Nāgān. 27,7; Mahāv. 35, 17), *avakkamāma* (Mālav. 48,18; correctly *avakkamamha* Mṛcch. 22,2), *nivārema* (Mālav. 62,13; v.l. *nivārehmi*), Mg. *naccāmo* (Prab. 61,7; ed. M. 75,22 correctly *naccamha*)⁵ are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in -mha for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, -mha is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from *smaḥ* (we are)⁶ is false. -mha is = -sma of the aorist and one *ṇēṃmha* = **neṣma* (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic *jeṣma*, *geṣma*, *deṣma*, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. *neṣa*, *parṣa* (WHITNEY § 894^c. 896: cf. also NEISSER, BB. 20,70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: *jāhū* = *yāma* (Hc. 4,386).

1. Ś. Mg., in which the imp. in -mha is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is, therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. p. 43 has severely criticised—2. l.c. p. 44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by JACOBI, Erz. p. XLVII.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *aṇṇesasma*, *pivasma*, *kalēṣma* etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in BLOCH, l. c. p. 45.—6. BOPP, Vgl. Grammatik I¹, 120; BURNOUF et LASSEN, Essai sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 180 f.; HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto § 187 nota III; LASSEN, Inst. § 117,2; BRUGMANN, Grundriss III¹, 1354, note 1; BLOCH, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. *namaha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 1,7), A. *namahu* (Hc. 4,446), CP. *namatha* (Hc. 4,326);

M. *rañjeha* = *rañjayata*, *raeha* = *racayata*, *deha* = **dayata* (H. 780); M. *uaha* = **upata*¹ = *paśyata* (Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak 2,14); also *uvaha* (Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. l. to H.); AMg. *hañaha* *khañaha* *chañaha* *ḍahaha*, *pañaha* *ālumpaha* *vilumpaha* *sahasakkāreha* *viparāmusaha* = *hata* *khanata* *kṣaṇuta* *dahata* *pacata* *ālumpata* *vilumpata* *sahasātkārayata* *viparāmyata* (Sūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), *khamāha* = *kṣamadhvam* (Uttar. 366. 367), *tāleha* = *tādayata* (Nāyādh. 1305); JM. *acchaha* = *ṛcchata* (Āv. 14,30), *kaṇḍūyaha* (Erz. 36,21), *ciṭṭhaha*, *āisaha*, *giñhaha* = *tiṣṭhata*, *ādisata*, *grhñita* (Kk. 264,11. 12), *ṭhaveha*, *daṁseha* = *sthāpayata*, *darśayata* (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. *parittāadha* = *paritrāyadhvam* (Śak. 16, 10; 17, 6; Vikr. 3, 17; 5, 2; Mālatim. 130,3), Mg. *palittāadha* (Mṛcch. 32,25); AMg. JM. *kareha* (Kappas.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270, 45), AMg. also *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. *karehu* (Piṅgala 1,122), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107), *kuñehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118), *kuñahu* (text °ha; Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79), Mg. *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23); Ś. *paattadha* = *prayatadhvam* (Śak. 52,15), *samassasadha* = *samāśvasita* (Vikr. 7,1), *avanedha* = *apanayata*, *hodha* = *bhavata*, *māredha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); Mg. *osaladha* = *apasarata* (Mṛcch. 96,21. 23; 97,1; 134,24. 25; 157,4. 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Candak. 64,5), *śunādha* = *śṛṇuta* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14. 16), *māledha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 165,123; 166,1)². Dh. *ramaha* (Mṛcch. 39,17) is to be emended as *ramamha* with BLOCH³; A. *piahu* = *pibata* (Hc. 4,422, 20), *ṭhavahu* = *sthāpayata*, *kahehu* = *kathayata* (Piṅgala 1,119. 122). D. has *āacchadha* = *āgacchata* beside *jatteha* = *yata-dhvam*, *karējjāha* = *kuruta*, *johaha* (Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3). — The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in -ntu : M. *deñtu* = **dayantu* (G. 44), *nandantu*, *vilihantu* (Karp. 1,1. 4); AMg. *bhavantu* (Vivāhap. 508), *ñijjantu* = *niryāntu*, *phusantu* = *sprśantu* (Ovav. § 47. 87), *supantu* = *śṛṇvantu* (Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. *paśidantu* = *prasīdantu* (Mudrār. 253,4), *pekkhantu* = *prekṣantām* (Mṛcch. 4,3), *hoñtu* = *bhavantu* (Vikr. 87,21); Mg. *paśidantu* = *prasīdantu* (Śak. 113,5); A. *pīdantu* (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. *lehi* (Hc. 4,387,3)⁴.

1. FISCHEL on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 29, note 4 and on Hāla² 4.—

2. On Ś. cf. FISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads *jam* for *je* here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the *a*-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the *e*-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr. 7,34 and Ki. 4,37—39 permit *e* in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mk. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples *hasei*, *hasāi*, *paḍhei*, *paḍhai*, *haseñti*, *hasanti*, *haseu*, *hasaū*; Hc. has *hasei*, *hasāi*, *hasema*, *hasemu*, *hasemo*; *haseu*, *hasaū*, *suñeu*, *suṇaū*, *haseñto*, *hasanto*, Ki. *hasāi*, *hasei*, *caaī*, *caei*, Mk. *bhañai*, *bhañei*, *bhañasi*, *bhañesi*. These forms in -e are found in a large number in all classes, beside those in -a, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives¹. From *kṛ* one forms *karāi* and *karei*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *karedi*, the causative, however, *kārei*, Ś. Mg. *kāredi*, JŚ. *kārayadi* (Kattig. 403,385). One says *hasāi* and *hasei*, but in the caus. *hāsei*, Ś. *muñcadī*, *muñcedī*, but in the caus. *moāvedi* etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character -e from -aya of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.² too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. *gacche'mha* (Mṛcch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. *geñhēmha* (Mṛcch. 36,24), *aṇusalēmha* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,

19), Dh. Ś. Mg. *kīḷmha* (Mṛcch. 30,18;94,15;131,18), Ś. *suṅmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9) are to be explained as false with BLOCH³.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 53, II, where *nemi*, *demi* are to be deleted completely (§ 474).—2. LASSEN, Inst. § 120,3.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.

§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in *-i*, *-u* are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: *ji* forms *jaai* (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. *ji*; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. *jayai* (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Ś. *jaadi* (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Ś. *jaadu* (Śak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1;305,15;320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form *jedu*, which is often found beside *jaadu*, pro ex. Venis. 59,13 beside *jaadu* 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. *yedu* beside Ś. *jaadu* 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Śak. (ed. BÖHTLINGK 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited¹. In M. JM. AMg. Dh. A. *ji* is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. *jinādi* (Mṛcch. 34,22); AMg. *jināmi* (Uttar. 704); M. *jinai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. *parāinai* (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. *jinai* (Piṅgala 1,123^a); M. *jinanti* (R. 3,40); AMg. *jinējja* (Uttar. 291), *jināhi* (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), *jinantassa* = *jayatah* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *jinium* (absol.; Āv. 36,42); A. *jinia* (Piṅgala 1,102^a). On the passive *jinijjai*, *jivvai* see § 536. For Ś. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid *jinadi*. From the absolutive Ś. *samassaia* (Śak. 2,8) follows a present **samassai* = *samāśrayati*. In AMg. *śri* too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like *ji*: *samussināmi*, *samussināsi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of *ci* and *mi* are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in *-u*, *-ū* Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: *niṇhavaī*, *niṇhavaī* = *nihute*, *cavaī* = *cyavate*, *ravaī* = *rauti*, *kavaī* = *kavate*, *savaī* = *sūte*, *pasavaī* = *prasūte*. So AMg. *pasavaī* (Uttar. 641), *niṇhaavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niṇhave* (Dasav. 631,31), *anīṇhavamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 83); whilst the passive M. *niṇhuvijjanti* (H. 657), Ś. *niṇhuvīadi* (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Ś. *niṇhuvīdo* (Śak. 137,6) = **niṇhuvai* presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. *paṇhaai* = *prasnati* (H. 409,462 v. l. *paṇhuai*); AMg. A. *ravaī* (Thān. 450; Piṅgala 2,146). Beside *ravaī*, *ru* is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: *ruvai* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ruvai*, *ruvanti*, *ruvasu* (H. s. v. *rud*), *paḍiruantī* (R.), passive *ruvvaī* and *ruvijjai* (Hc. 4,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root *ruv*, which, like *dhau*, *svap* (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: *rovaī* (Hc. 4,238); M. *rovaī* (H. 494); JM. *rovāmi* (Dvār. 503,17), inf. *rovium* (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle *roviya* (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from *rud* (Vr. 8,42; Hc. 4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy *ruvāva*, *rovāva* “to weep” and English *to cry* “to weep” and “to howl”².—AMg. *luējjā* = **luvējjā* = *luṇiyāt* (Vivāhap. 1186), *puvanti* = *plavante* (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503. 511.

1. CAPPELLER on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. *jaadu*, beside *jedu*, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—

2. WEBER on Hāla 141; FISCHER on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in *-i* tend to change *-aya* into *-e* through samprasāraṇa: M. *ṇesi*, *ṇei* = *nayasi*, *nayati* (H. 553. 939. 647), *āṇei* (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. *nīnei* = *nirṇayati* (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. *nei* (Erz. 11,11), M. *parīnei* (Karp. 7,4), Ś. *parīnedi* (Viddhaś. 50,1), *āṇedi* (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. *nemi* (Sagara 9,6), M. *āṇemi* (Karp. 26,1), Ś. *avaṇemi* = *apanayāmi*, *aṇuṇemi*, *parāṇemi*

(Mṛcch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. *ñēnti* (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. JM. *Ś. ñehi* (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMg. *Ś. uvañehi* = *uṇanaya* (Vivāgas. 121,122; Mṛcch. 61,10; 64,20,25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), *Ś. āñehi* (Vikr. 41,1) and *āñesu* (Śak. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17); *avañesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10), *Ś. ñedu* (Mṛcch. 65,19; 67,7); *Ś. Mg. ñēmha* (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, that have *ñehma*]; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,12), JM. *ñīñeha* (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. *Ś. ñedha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 161,9). In verses are found JM. *āñasu* (Erz. 78,9) and A. *āñahi* (Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from **āñasu*, **āñāsu*, **āñāhi*, **āñāhi*. The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. *ñāi* (Viddhaś. 7,2), *ñānti* (G. 803), *Ś. pariñadu* (Śak. 39,3), *ñāia* = **nayiya* = *nītvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4) and in the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. *ñānte* = *nayan* (Mṛcch. 169,12). — *ñi* with *ud* forms *uḍḍei*, 3. plur. *uḍḍēnti* (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G. 232 [to be read *uḍḍinti* with JJ]. 770; Mg. Mṛcch. 120,12), particip. parasmaip. *uḍḍēnta* (G. 543; so to be read with P). — *lei* = *layati* from *li* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ahilei* (G.R.), *ahilēnti* (H.) *parilēnta* (R.), whilst M. *alliaī* (G.H.R.), JM. *alliñai* (Āv. 47,16), AMg. *ualliñai* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), M. *samalliāi* (R.), JM. *samalliñai* (Āv. 47,17) presuppose a flexion **liyāte*, the participia M. *āliamāṇa* (G.), *Ś. ñīliamāṇa* (Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected *daya-* (to give; Hc. s. v. *dā*; Kī. 4,34) : M. JM. *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehi*, *desu*, *deu*, *deha*, particip. *dēnta-* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *dei* (Nirayāv. § 21,22), *demo* (Vivāhap. 819); JŚ. *dedi* (Kattig. 399,319, 320; 402,360, 365, 366); *Ś. demi* (Ratn. 312,30; Mṛcch. 105,9), *desi* (Mālav. 5,8), *dedi* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), *dehi* (as in Skt.) very frequently (pro ex. Mṛcch. 38,4, 23; 44,24; 94,17; Śak. 95,11; 111,6 etc.), *dedu* (Karp. 38,1); D. *deu* (Mṛcch. 105,21); particip. *Ś. dēnta-* (Mṛcch. 44,19); Mg. *demi* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9, 10, 13), *dehi* (Mṛcch. 45,12; 97,2; 132,4), *deśu* (Prab. 58,8), *dedha* (Mṛcch. 160,11; 164,14, 16; 170,6); Dh. *dehi* (Mṛcch. 32,23; 36,15); P. *teti* (Hc. 4,318), *tiyyate* (to be read so; Hc. 4,315); A. *desi*, *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehu*, *dēntahō* = *dadatah*, *dēntihim* = *dadatibhiḥ* (Hc. s. v. *dā*), absol. *dēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,440) and *devam* (Hc. 4,441). The flexion **daai* = **dayati* presupposes the future *Ś. dāissam* = *dayisye* (Mṛcch. 80,20), false *dāissam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Karp. 112,5), *dāissāmo* (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. l.); cf. Vr. 12,14; Mg. *dāiśsam* (Mṛcch. 31,6, 8, 15; 32,9, 24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5, 9), and the absol. *Ś. Mg. daia* = **dayiya* = *dayitvā* (Mṛcch. 32,19 [a°]; 37,12; 51,12; 168,2). The root *dā* has retained only in M. JM. *dāūna*, *dāum*, *dijjāi* (G. H. R.; Erz.), AMg. inf. *dāum* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *Ś. diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6; so to be read also at Mṛcch. 49,7 for *dijjādi*), *diadu* (Karp. 103,7), *dādavva* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jivān. 43,12, 15); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); in the fut. M. JM. AMg. *dāham*, *dāsam* (§ 530), past participle *diñña*, *datta* (§ 566). AMg. mostly uses *dalañai* (§ 490), for which we often find *dalaī* as v. l. (HOERNLE, Uvās.; Translation, note 287).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms *hoi*, *huvaī*, *havaī*, *bhavaī*, in compounds *pabhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, *sambhavaī* and *ubbhavaī*, which presupposes a simplex **bhuvaī* from *bhū*. This occurs in *bhuvadi*, that is taught by Hc. 4, 269 beside *huvadi*, *bhavadī*, *havadi*, *bhodi*, *hodi* as *Ś.*; further in the aorist AMg. *bhuvi* (§ 516) and in P. *phuvati* (Kī. 5,115). Vr. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; Mk. fol. 53 teach *hoi*, *huvaī* and Vr. 8,3; Mk. fol. 53 in compounds *bhavaī*, as *pabhavaī*, *ubbhavaī*, *sambhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, Kī. 4,58, *havaī* as *pahavaī*. Vr.'s rule 12,12 is not clear on *Ś.*, for which Kī. 5,81 and Mk. fol. 71 prescribe *bhodi*, while Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits *hodi* too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches *bhodi*, *hodi*, *bhuvadi*, *huvadi* etc. (*ityādi*). *bhavaī*, the form that exactly corresponds

to Skt. *bhavati* is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff; Thān. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff.; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. S. § 14—16), *bhavasi* (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), *bhavanti* (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff.; Kappas.), *bhavāū* (Kappas.); also in JM. it is not seldom: *bhavai* (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), *bhavanti* (Erz. 3,14), *bhavasū* (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. JM. have also the forms with initial *ha*: JM. *havāmi* (Erz. 35,15), AMg. JM. *havai* (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside *hoi*); Āv. 36,44); AMg. *havanti* (Sūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106. 115 etc.; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130); likewise in the optative beside *bhavējjā* (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. *bhavējjāha* (Nāyādh. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also *havējjā* (Sūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), *havējjā* (Uttar. 459), JM. *havijja* (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read *hojjā*, with the v. l. for *havējjā*. AMg. JM. have also the opt. *bhave* (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is *bhaveam*, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are *bhave*, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. *pahave* (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. *have* (Mālav. 44,1. 3)¹. In JŚ. the form that is very usual is *havadi* (Pav. 380,9; 381, 16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398, 303; 400, 334), also *havedi* (Kattig. 401,341; MS. *havei*), beside *hodi* (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402, 368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404,391), *homi* (Pav. 385. 65), *hunti* (Kattig. 401, 352), *hoṇti* (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. *hodum* (Kattig. 402,357); MS. *houm*). The opt. is *have* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. *havadi*, *hodi* (§ 21. 22). Of the stem *bhava-*, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: Mg. *bhavāmi* (Mṛcch. 117,6); Ś. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Śak. 32, 6; Karp. 61, 11), which is supported by JŚ. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Kattig. 404,388; MS. °*viya*°) and Ś. *bhavidavvadā* (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52, 13); inf. *bhaviium* (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. *bhavidum* (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading¹). Very frequent is the absolutive *bhavia* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160, 1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11), JŚ. *bhaviyā* (Pav. 380,12; 387,12), AMg. *bhavittā* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *pāubbhavittāṇaṃ* (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). M. *aggabhavanti* in G. 588 is a false reading for *aggabharanti* (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. JM. JŚ. the stem *hava-* is found also in M. *havanti* (G. 901.936.976). The stem *bhava-* is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add BLOCH's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. *anubhavanto* = *anubhavan* (Vikr. 41,9), *anubhavida* (Karp. 33,6). The stem *hava-* is usual only after the prefix *pra-*, further in the substantive *vihava*³; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after *anu-* in M. *anuhavai* (H. 211), Ś. *anuhavanti* (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. *anuhōnti*, in Prab. *anubhavanti*, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read *vibhāvedī* for *vihāvedī*. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires *bhava-* for the composita.

1. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 41, who has compiled a plentiful collection for Ś. Mg. from Mṛcch. Śak. Vikr. Mālav. Ratn. on *bhū*, should be supplemented for completing the list.—2. l. c. p. 39. 40.—3. BLOCH, l. c. p. 40.

§ 476. *huva-*, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. *huvanti* (G.988; H.285), in the opt. *huvā* (§ 466) and P. *huvēyya* (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. *huvīadi* (Venis.33,6.7; 35,8; in the sense

of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. *bhaviādi* § 475) and especially in the future in Ś. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is Ś. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. *huvantī* and probably also Mg. particip. *necessitatis huvidavvām* (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13).—In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is *ho-* from *hava-*, which AMg. too has more seldom and JŚ. has frequently: *homi*, *hosi*, *hoi*, *hōnti* and *hunti*; imp. *hohi*, *hosu*, *hou*, *homo*, *hōntu*; indic. pres. pass. *hoīāi*, *hoijjāi*; parasmaip. pres. particip. *hōnto*, *hunto*, ātmanep. *homāno*; inf. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*; absol. *hoūna*; particip. nec. AMg. JM. *hojāvva*¹. On *hōjjā*, *hōjja* see § 466. Besides this, the precative in AMg. are *hoi*, *hou* only, especially in the combination *hoū nam*, and the preterite *hōtthā* in frequent use. In Ś. one says *homi*, *hosi*, *hōnti*, imp. *hohi*, *hōmha*, *hodha*, *hōntu*, Mg. imp. *hodha*², but Ś. Mg. Dh. only *bhodi*, *bhodu*³. False forms in the texts are *bhomi*, *hodi*, *bhohi*, *hodu*, *bhōntu*⁴. P. has *photi* (Kī. 5,115). The particip. nec. is Ś. Mg. *hodavva*⁵; on Ś. JŚ. *bhavidavva* see § 475, on Mg. *huvidavva* see above. The particip. pret. is M. *hūa* (Hc. 4,64; Kī. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in *maṇḍaṇihūam* (H. 8), *aṇuhūa* (Hc. 4,64; H. 29), *parihūena* (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), *pahūa* (Hc. 4,64), A. *hūā* (Hc. 4,384) and *huā* (Hc. 4,351), Ś. Dh. D. *bhūda* (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Śak. 43,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read °*bhūdo*]; Dh. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13), Mg. *kiappahūda* = *kiyatprabhūta* (Vepīs. 34,16).—Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion *hoāi*, *hoi*, *huāi*, *huei*, exactly according to the type of the *a*-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on *hou* and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also WEBER, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882,811 f.; IS. 16,393.—2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41.—3. PISCHEL, KB. 8,141 and above § 469; Mg. *bhodi* e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6; 168,3. 4. 5, false *hodi* 168,6.—4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae p. 20 f.—5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of *bhū* cf. also DELIUS, Radices Prācriticae s. v.

§ 477. The roots in *-r* and *-ṛ* form the stem in *-ara*: *dharai*, *varai*, *sarai*, *harai*, *jarai*, *tarai* (Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Kī. 4,32). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of *jṛ*, *dhṛ*, *mṛ*, *vṛ*, *stṛ*, in Pkt. this is the rule. Beside it the flexion with the *e*-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. *dharai* and *dharemi*, *dharei*, *dhareṇti*, particip. pres. *dharanta* and *dhareṇta* (G. H. R.; Erz.); Ś. *dharāmi* = *dhriye* (Uttarar. 83,9); A. *dharai* (Hc. 4,334; 438,3) and *dharei* (Hc. 4,336), *dharahi* (Hc. 4,382), imp. *dharahi* (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgala 1,149).—M. *osarai* = *apasarati*, *osaranta* = *apasarat*, *osaria* = *apasṛta* (G. H. R.), imp. *osara*, *osarasu* (H.); JM. *osarai* (Erz. 37,30); Mg. *osaladi* (Mṛcch. 115,23), *osalia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. *osara* = *apasara* (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. *osala* (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6), Ś. *osaramha* (Uttarar. 66,7), JM. *osaraha* = *apasarata* (Kk. 265,6; 11, 507,1), Mg. *osaladha* (§ 471); M. *samosarai*, *samosaranta* etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. *samosaraha* (Nāyādh. 1233. 1235); Ś. *ṇisaradi* (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. *pasarai* (R.; Vivāhap. 908), Ś. *pasaradi* (Śak. 31,10), Mg. *paśalaśi* (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dh. imp. *pasalu* (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. *aṇusalēma* (§ 472) beside Ś. *aṇusaramha* Viddhaś. 105,5). Cf. § 235.—M. JM. *marāmi* = *mriye*, *marai*, *maranti*, imp. *mara*, *marasu*, *marai*, particip. pres. *maranta* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *mara* (Sūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhap. 363 f.), *maranti* (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhap. 1434), *maramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1385); Ś. *maradi* (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. *malāmi* (Mṛcch. 118,13), but also *maledu*, *malēnti* (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. *marahi*, *marai* (Hc. 4,368. 420,5). M. *marijjai* = *mriyatām* (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. *marijjiim*

(Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580) in the sense of the active. AMg. *mijjāi*, *mijjanti* (Sūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = *mīyate*, *mīyante*. — JM. *varasu* = *vr̥ṣuṣva* (Sagara 1,15). — M. JM. *harai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), JŚ. *haradi* (Kattig. 400,336), M. also *haremi* (H. 705), AMg. opt. *harejjāha* (Nāyādh. 915. 918), Mg. *halāmi*, *haladi* (Mṛcch. 11,8; 30,21. 24); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. *ahiharai*, *paharai* (G.), JM. *pariharāmi* (Kk. 272,16), AMg. *sāharanti* = *samharanti* (Thāp. 155), *padisāharai* = *pratisamharati* (Vivāhap. 239), *viharai* (Kappas.; Uvās. etc.), Ś. *uvahara*, *uvaharantu* (Śak. 18,3; 40,9); *avaharadi* = *apaharati* (Mṛcch. 45,24), Mg. *palihalāmi* = *pariharāmi* (Mṛcch. 125,10), *śamudāhalāmi* (Mṛcch. 129,2), also *vihaledi* = *viharati* (Mṛcch. 40,9), A. *aṇuharahi*, *aṇuharai* (Hc. 4,367,4; 418,8). — M. *tarai* (G. H.); AMg. *taranti* (Uttar. 567), *uttarai* (Nāyādh. 1060), *paccuttarai* (Vivāhap. 909); Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati* (Mṛcch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatīm. 265,6), imp. *odaramha* = *avatarāma* (Mālatīm. 100,3; Priyad. 12,4); Mg. imp. *odala* = *avatara* (Mṛcch. 122,14. 15. 16), absol. *odalīa* (Mṛcch. 122, 11) = Ś. *odaria* (Vikr. 23,17); A. *uttarai* (Hc. 4,339). — *kṛ* forms, corresponding to Skt. *kirāti*, M. *ukkirai* (H. 119), *kiranta*- (G. R.).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 *smṛ* may form *sarai*, so stands JM. *sarāmi* (Āv. 41,20), AMg. *sarai* (Uttar. 277) in the verse, JM. *sarai* (Āv. 47, 27), *sarasu* (Āv. 7,34) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is *sumara*- for *smara*- with a separation-vowel (Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53). Beside it the prose very frequently has the *e*-stem *sumare*-. So M. *sumarāmi* (R. 4,20 [so to be read]. 22); JM. absol. *sumariūṇa* and *sumarija*, past passive particip. *sumarija* (Erz.); AMg. imp. *sumaraha* (Vivāhap. 234); Ś. *sumarāmi* (Mṛcch. 134,15; Uttarar. 118,1), *sumarasi* (Uttarar. 126,6), better accredited *sumaresi* (Mṛcch. 66,15. 18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9), as *sumaredi* (Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatīm. 184, 4; Viddhaś. 125,11) and in the imp. *sumarehi* (Ratn. 137,17), *sumaresu* (Vikr. 13,4), *sumaredha* (Śak. 52,16), yet *sumara* (Mālatīm. 251,2; all texts) and A. *suvarahi* (Hc. 4,387), opt. *sumari* = *smareh* (Hc. 4,387,1); Ś. *sumarāmo* (Mālatīm. 113,9); Mg. *śumalāmi*, *śumaleśi*, *śumaleḍi* (Mṛcch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13), imp. *śumala* and *śumalehi* (Mṛcch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8); particip. praet. pass. Ś. *sumarida* (Mālatīm. 249,6; Prab. 41,7), Mg. *śumalida* (Mṛcch. 136,19); particip. nec. Ś. *sumaridavva* (Vikr. 48,14; Mālatīm. 184,3), Mg. *śumalidavva* (Mṛcch. 170,9). In conjunction with *vi* Hc. 4,75 teaches *vimharai* and *visarai*, whence M. *visaria* = *vismṛta* (H. 361; Śak. 96,2), JM. *vissarija* (Āv. 7,34); JŚ. *visarida* (Kattig. 400,335; text °*ya*). Mk. fol. 54 teaches *visarai*, *visurai* and *visarai*, which occurs in M. *visaria* (R. 11,58) and in the modern Indian dialects¹. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. *visumarāmi* (Śak. 126,8), *visumaresi* (Vikr. 49,1); Mg. *viśumaleḍi* (Mṛcch. 37,12). Ś. *vimharida mhi* of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by BOLLENSSEN; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has *visumarida mhi*², as *visumarida* stands also at Śak. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On *bharai* see § 313.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,75.—2. Wrongly BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read *vimharai* with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in *-ai* are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. (Vr. 8,21. 25. 26), Hc. 4,6; Kī. 4,65. 75); M. *gānti* (Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181, 6), *uggānti* = *udgāyanti* (Dhūrtas. 4,14), *gānta*- (Karp. 23,4); JM. *gāyāi* (Āv. 8,29), *gāyanti* (Dvār. 496,36), *gāyantehiṃ*, *gāyūṃ* (Erz. 1,29; 2,10); AMg. *gāyanti* (Jiv. 593; Rāyap. 96. 181), *gāyantā* (Ovav. § 49 V),

gājamāne (Vivāhap. 1253); *Ś. gāmi* (Mudrār. 35,1), *gādi* (Nāgān. 9,6), *gāadha* (Viddhaś. 12,4), imp. also of the *e*-stem *gāedha* (Viddhaś. 122,10; 128,4), *gāanteṇa*, *gāanto* (Mṛcch. 44,2, 4); Mg. *gāe*, *gāidaṃ* (Mṛcch. 79,14; 117,4).—*Ś. parittādi* = *paritrāyate* (Mṛcch. 128,7), *parittāasu* (Mahāv. 30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhaś. 85,5), *parittāāhi* (Uttarar. 63,13), *parittāadu* (Ratn. 325,9, 32), *parittāadha* (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatim. 130,3); Mg. *palittāadha*, *palittāadu* (Mṛcch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. *jhāyāsi* = *dhyāyāsi* (Erz. 85,23), *jhāyamāni* (Erz. 11,19); AMg. *jhīyāyāmi*, *jhīyāyāsi*, *jhīyāyāi*, *jhīyāyaha*, *jhīyāyamāna* (Nāyādh.); M. *ñijjhāsi* = *nirdhyāyati* (H. 73, 413); *Ś. ñijjhādi* (Mṛcch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatim. 258,4), *ñijjhānti* (Mṛcch. 69,2), *ñijjhādo* (Mṛcch. 93,15), *ñijjhāidā* (Vikr. 52,11), *sañjkhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12).—*Ś. niddādi* = *nidrāyati* (Mṛcch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālav. 65, 8).—*Ś. parimilādi* = *parimlāyati* (Mālatim. 120,2; so to be read with ed. Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in *-ā* may be a inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely the roots in *-ai* follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots in *ā*: M. *gāi* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; H. 128,691), *gāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ganta-* (H. 547); JM. *uggāi* (Āv. 8,28); M. *jhāi* = Epic *dhyāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61), *JŚ. jhādi* (Pav. 385,68) beside *jhāyādi* (Pav. 385,65; 403, 372); *jhāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ñijjhāi* (Hc. 4,6); AMg. *jhīyāi* (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *jhīyāmi* (Vivāgas. 114, 220; Nāyādh.), *jhīyāsi* (Vivāgas. 114), *jhāijja* (verse; Uttar. 14). Likewise AMg. *jhīyāi* = *ksāyati* beside *jhīyā-janti* (§ 326); AMg. *gilāi* = Epic *glāti* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1, 2), beside *vigilā-ējjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28); M. *niddāi*, *mīlāi* (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which Epic *mīlānti*. — In *Ś.* is found several times *parittāhi* (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11, 13); Uttarar. 60,4,5; Mālatim. 357,11), in Mg. *palittāhi* (Mṛcch. 175,19). The v. l. almost everywhere has in *Ś.* the correct *parittāāhi*. On *palāya*-see § 567.

§ 480. The verbs *iṣ*, *gam*, *yam*, of the old *-ska-* class are conjugated in all the dialects as in Skt.: *icchāi*, *gacchāi*, *jacchāi*. Isolated is Mg. *śāmyammadha* (§ 488) and AMg. *uggamamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 41). Hc. 4,215, besides derives *acchāi* from *ās*, Kī. 4,10 from *as* (to be), the scholiasts mostly equate it with *tiṣṭhati*. ASCOLI will like to trace it back to the corresponding Pāli *acchati*, from a hypothetical future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*¹ of *ās*, CHILDERS² and PISCHEL³ to **āssakadi* from *ās*, as Hc., E. MÜLLER to *gam* with dropping out of *g*⁴, later with TRECKNER and TORP to an aorist **ātsit* from *ās*⁵; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from *as*⁶, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future **assyati*, **atsyati* from **as*⁷. However, it strictly corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to *ṛcchati* from *ṛ* “to come into”, “to knock at”, of the *-ska-* conjugation, and which the Indian grammarians post as *rch* and B.-R. as *arch*. The meaning “to remain”, “to stand” is proved from the statement, that it is used in the sense of *indriyapralaya* as well as of *mūrtibhāva*, given in the Dhātupāṭha at 28,15. One compares also the use of *ṛcchati*, *ārchati* in the Brāhmana⁸. Examples are: M. *acchasi*, *acchanti*, *acchāu*, *acchijjāi* (G. H.); JM. *acchāi*, *acchae*, *acchāmo*, *acchasu*, *acchaha*, *acchantassa*, *acchiuṃ*, *acchiya*, *acchiyavvaṃ* (Erz.; Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25, 30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22); AMg. *acchāi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff.), *acchāhi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap. 807, 817), *acchējja* (Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovav. § 185), Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16)⁹; P. *acchati*, *acchate* (Hc. 4,319); A. *acchāu* (Hc. 4,406,3). On *acchā* see § 466.

1. Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft p. 265, note 49.—2. Dictionary s. v. *acchati*. — 3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215. — 4. Beiträge p. 36. — 5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.—6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.—7. Shāhbgarhi II, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. *arch*; PISCHEL, GGA. 1890, 532. JOHANSSON

l. c. note 3 wrongly rejects this derivation, since he thinks of *ἔρχονται*.—g. On Vr. 12,19 see PISCHEL, KB. 8,143 f.

§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. *kram* retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmaip. : M. *kamanta-*, *akkamasi*, *akkamanta-*, *nikkamai*, *nikkhamai*, *vinikkamai*, *vinikkhamai*, *saṅkamai* (G. H.); JM. *kamāi* (Rṣabhap. 38), *akkamāmo* (Erz. 35,36), *aikkamai*, *aikkamējja* (Āv. 47,23; Kk. 271,2.7); AMg. *kamāi* (Vivāhap. 1249), *aikkamai* (Vivāhap. 136.137), *aikkamanti* (Kappas. S. § 63), *avakkamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 845.1252), *avakkamējja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6), *nikkhamai*, *nikkhamanti* (Vivāhap. 146; Nirāyāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19), *nikkhamējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2), *nikkhamamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2), *paḍinikkhamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pakkamai* (Vivāhap. 1249), *vakkamai*, *anti* (Vivāhap. 111.465; Paṇṇav. 28.29.41.43; Kappas. § 19.46^b), *viikkamanti* (Vivāhap. 465), metrically also *kammāi* = *krāmyati* (Uttar. 209); Ś. *adikkamasi* (Ratn. 297,29); Ś. D. *avakkamadi* (Mṛcch. 97,24; 103,15); *nikkamāmi* (Śak. 115,6), *nikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1), *nikkama* (Mṛcch. 16,10; Śak. 36,12), *nikkamamha* (Priyad. 17,16; Nāgān. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7). In Mālatīm. 188,2 *parikkāmadi* is a false reading for *paribbhamadi* or *paribbhamanti*, as the ed. Bomb. 1892 and the ed. Madras (both *mandi*) have, at 285,2 stands *parikkamedha*; Mg. *adikkamadi* (Mṛcch. 43,10), *avakkamamha*, *nikkamadi*, *nikkama* (Mṛcch. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. *jai* = **jivditi* for *jī'vati*, *jianti*, *jiaū*, *jianta-*, but also *jīasi*, *jīvejja*, *jianta* (Hc. 1,101; G. H. R.). Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. *jīami* (Uttarar. 132,7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10), *jivadi* (Mṛcch. 172,6; 325,18), *jīamo* (Mudrār. 34,10), *jīveam* (Mālav. 55,11), *jīva* (Mṛcch. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7), *jīadu* (Mṛcch. 154,15); Mg. *jīadi*, *jīvasi*, *jīva*, *jīanta-* (Mṛcch. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8.9), also *jīvesi* (Mṛcch. 119,21).—*ghisai* = **ghasati* for *ghāsati* = *ghasti* (Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]; Hc. 4,204; Kī. 4,46 [text *gha°*]; Mk. fol. 55).—*jimai* beside *jemai*, *jimmai* (§ 488).—AMg. *bhisanta-* (Ovav.), *bhisamīna* (Nāyādh.), *bhisamāṇa* (Rāyap. 47.105), intensive *bhibbhisamīna*, *māṇa* (§ 556) from *bhisai* = **bhāsati* for *bhāsati* (§ 109; Hc. 4,203).—*uvivai* = **udvipāte* for *udvāpate* (§ 236).—The doubling of *l* in M. *alliai*, *ualliai*, *samalliai* = *ālīyate*, *upā°*, *samā°* (§ 196.474), AMg. causative *alliyāvei* (§ 551) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. *ruh* tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. JM. *āruhai*, *samāruhai*, *samāruhasu* (G. H. R.; Erz.); AMg. *duruhai* = *udrohati* (§ 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often), in Vivāhap. throughout (pro ex. 124,504, 506.824 f. 980.1128.1231.1301.1311.1317.1325 ff.) and elsewhere often as v. 1 *durūhai*, hardly correct, *duruhejja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13.14), JM. *duruhe'ttā* (Erz.); AMg. *paccoruhai*, *paccoruhanti* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. also 870.1354.1456); Vivāhap. 173.948), *viruhanti* (Uttar. 356), *āruhai* (Vivāhap. 1273); Ś. *āruhadha*, *āruha* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 66,14.17), *āruhadī* (Pras. 35,8), *āruhadu* (Uttarar. 32,6.7); Mg. *āluha* (Nāgān. 68,3), *āluhadu*, *ahiluha*, *ahiluhāmi*, *ahiluhadu* (Mṛcch. 99,8; 119,3.6,9.11.13). The simplex is inflected: M. JM. *rohanti* (G. 727; Dvār. 503,7) and so also *ārohadu* (Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2).—*dhu* (to wash) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form *dhāvai* = Skt. *dhāvati*. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6. conjugation: *dhuvasi* (Hc. 2,216=H. 369), *dhuasi* (H.), *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,238), *dhuai* (H.), *dhuvanta-* (R.). Thence a root *dhuo* is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1. conjugation, as *ru*, *svap* (§ 473.497): AMg. *dhovasi*, *dhovai* (Nirāyāv. 77;

Sūyag. 344); also according to the *e*-conjugation *dhovei* (Nirayāv. 76. 77; Nāyādh. 1219. 1220. 1501), *padhoveṇti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,10); JM. *dhovanti* (Āv. 25,22); Ś. *dhoadi* (Mṛcch. 70,10), inf. *dhoidum* (Mṛcch. 45,5); Mg. *dhovehi*, fut. *dhoiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 45,7. 20). So Pāli *dhovati*. — *hivai*, which Hc. 4,238 mentions beside *havaī*, is derived from *bhu* by Sr.fol.47.—Beside the usual *siaī*, JM. AMg. *siyāi*, Ś. *sidadi*, Mg. *ṣidadi* = *ṣidati*, according to Hc. 4,219, *sidai* too is in use (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,219). On *pasia* see § 80, on *bhaṇ* § 514.

§ 483. *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: *āigghai* = *ājighrati* (Hc. 4,13), *jigghia* = *ghrāta* (Deśin. 3,46).—M. *piāi*, *pianti*, *piāū*, *piantu* (G. H. R.), *pivai* (Nāgān. 41,5), *piāmo* (Karp. 24,9=Kāleṣyak. 16,17, where *pibāmo*); JM. *pivai* (Āv. 30,36; 42,12. 18. 20. 28. 37), *piyaha* = *pibata* (Dvār. 496,35), also *piei* (Erz. 69,1); AMg. *pivai* Vivāhap. 1256), *piva* (Nāyādh. 1332), *pie* (Dasav. 638,26), *piējja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2), *piyamāne* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *pivadi* (Viddhaś. 124,4), *pianti* (Mṛcch. 71,10), *pivadu* (Śak. 105,13), *āpivanti* (Mṛcch. 59,24); Mg. *pivāmi*, *pivāhi*, *pivamha* (Venis. 33,4; 34,2. 15; 35,22), *pianti* (Mṛcch. 113, 21), *piva* (Prab. 60,9); A. *piāi*, *pianti*, *piahu* (Hc. 4,419,1. 6; 422,20). On *pūjjaī* see § 539. — *sthā* forms M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,16; H.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5. 6; 1,5,5,1; Sūyag. 310.613; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *ciṭṭhae* (Āv. 36,26; Kk.); AMg. *ciṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 274. 282.291. 612 f.; Kappas.), *ciṭṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10), *ciṭṭhejjā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,3 [text false *ce*°]); 2,1,5,6. 6,2; 2,3,2,6; Vivāhap. 116. 925), *ciṭṭhe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,16), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *ciṭṭhau* (H.); JM. *ciṭṭhaha* (Kk.); AMg. inf. *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513. 1119) beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1. 2), particip. nec. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163); AMg. *āciṭṭhāmo* (Sūyag. 734), *pariviciṭṭhai* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), also in the noun *saṃciṭṭhaṇa* = *avasthāna* (Vivāhap. 55ff.). Whilst *ciṭṭhai* is seldom in M., so that Vr. Kī. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., *ciṭṭhadi* is the exceptional form in Ś. (Vr. 12,16; Kī. 5,81 [text *thiṭṭhadi*]; Mk. fol. 71; Mṛcch. 27,4; 45,23; 54,4. 10; 57,3; 59,23; 72,10 etc.; Śak. 34,3; 79,11; 155,10; Vikr. 15,12.14;24,6; 41,9 and exceedingly often), *ciṭṭhāmi* (Mṛcch. 6,8; Vikr. 33,4), *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 12,4; Vikr. 32,5), *ciṭṭhamha* (Priyad. 17,4; Mālatim. 255,5), *ciṭṭhadha* (Mālatim. 247,4) and very often, also in compounds, as *anuciṭṭhadi* (Mṛcch. 151,16; 155,5; Vikr. 41,6), *anuciṭṭhāmi* (Prab. 69,3), *anuciṭṭha* (Vikr. 83,1), *anuciṭṭhida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15), *anuciṭṭhiadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Prab. 3,5) etc. so also A. *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 99,18); D. *ciṭṭhau* (Mṛcch. 104,2), *anuciṭṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. *ciṭṭhadi* (Hc. 4,360). Mg., has *ciṭṭhadi*, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§303), according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298; Kī. 5,95 [text *ciṭṭah*]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. *ciṭṭitrā*]. According to Kī. 5,96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216. 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487), *ghrā* and *sthā* too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M. AMg. *agghāi* = Epic *āghrāti* (H. 641; Nāyādh. § 82; Pannav. 429. 430); M. *agghāanta* = *ājighrat-* (H. 566; R. 13. 82); AMg. *agghāyāi* (Āyār. p. 136,27. 33); opt. *agghāijja* (Nandis. 363); AMg. *agghāyaha*, *agghāyamāna* (Nāyādh. § 83.104); M. JM. *thāi* = **sthāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,16; Kī. 4,76; H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 41,8), M. *niṭṭhāi* (H.), *saṃthāi* (H. R.); JM. *thāha* (Āv. 27,27); A. *thanti* (Hc. 4,395,5); AMg. *thāējjā* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *abbhutṭhanti* = *abhyuttiṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 734); JM. *thāyanti* (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to *thāanti*, *thāai*, *thāau* in Vr. 8,25.26; Kī. 4, 75.76 (§487). After *ud*, the vowel, according to the analogy of the *a*-declension, is shortened: *uṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,17); so JM. *uṭṭhaha* (Erz. 59,30); A. *uṭṭhai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). Usually the flexion with the *e*-stem is selected: AMg. *uṭṭhei*

(Vivāhap. 161. 1246; Uvās. § 193), *abbhuṭṭhei* (Kappas.); JM. *uṭṭhemi* (Āv. 41,19), *uṭṭhei* (Dvār. 503,32), *uṭṭhehi* (Erz. 42,3), *samutṭhehi* (Dvār. 503,27. 31); Ś. *uṭṭhehi* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 18,22; 51,5. 11; Nāgān. 86,10; 95,10; Priyad. 26,6; 37,9; 46,24; 53,6. 9), *uṭṭhehi* (Vikr. 33,15), *uṭṭhedu* (Mṛcch. 93,5; Śak. 162,12), *uṭṭhedha* (Mṛcch. 24,17); Mg. *uṭṭhehi*, *uṭṭhedu*, *uṭṭhedi*, also *uṭṭhanta*- (Mṛcch. 20,21; 134,19; 169,5). Cf. § 309.

§ 484. *daṁś* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *ḍasāi* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *daśati*. So JM. *ḍasāi* (Āv. 42,13); AMg. *dasamāṇe*, *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). Ś. forms, with retention of the nasal *daṁśadi* (Śak. 160,1), past passive participle from the present stem: *daṁśido* (Mālav. 54,6). — *labh* shows nasal in the stem in AMg. *lambhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525. 541). On *khāi* = *khādati* (also Kī. 4, 77) and *dhāi* = *dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *lip*, *luḥ*, *vid* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *lip* is found *allivai* = *ālimpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siñcedi* (Śak. 74,9) beside *siñcamha*, *siñcadi* (Śak. 10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai* = **secati* (Hc. 4,96). — *muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. JM. AMg. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muasi*, *muai*, *muanti*, *muā*, *muasu*, *muanta*- (G. H. R.; Śak. 85,3), *āmuai* (G.); JM. *mujai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *mujasu* (Kk. 262,19), *mujanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMg. *mujai* (Vivāhap. 104. 508), *omujai* (Āyār. 2,15. 22; Vivāhap. 796. 835. 1208. 1317; Kappas.), *mujantesum* = *muñcatsu* (Nāyādh. § 62. 63), *viñimmujamāṇa*, *mujamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 254), *viñimmujamāṇi* = *vinirmuñcamāṇā* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JŚ. *mujadi* (Kattig. 403,383). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. JM: M. *muñcai* (H. 614; R. 3,30; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muñcanti* (G. 258), *muñcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muñcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); JM. *muñca*, *muñcasu*, *muñcaha* (Erz.), *muñca*, *muñcanti* (Kk. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muñcadi* (Mudrār. 149,6), *muñca* (Mṛcch. 175,21; Śak. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38, 8), *muñcadu* (Vikr. 30,2), *muñcadha* (Mṛcch. 154,16; 161,18); Mg. *muñcadu*, *muñcanti* (Mṛcch. 31,18,21; 168,19), *muñca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muñcesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muñcedi*, *muñcesi* (Śak. 51,6; 154,12), *muñcedha* (Mṛcch. 161,25; Śak. 116,7), *muñcehi* (Mṛcch. 326,10; Vṛṣabh. 20,15; 59,12). — *kṛt* (to chop) forms AMg. *kantai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically *oandai* = *apakṛntati* (Hc. 4,125 = *ācchinatti*; cf. § 275). In AMg. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *vigiñcai* = **vikṛntyati*, *vigiñcamāṇe* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *vigiñca* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *vigiñcēja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *vigiñca* (Sūyag. 500. 506). Cf. *kicci* § 271 and *niruñjhai* § 507.

§ 486. *sprś* forms in AMg. regularly *phusai* = *sprśati*, *phusanti* = *sprśanti*, *phusantu* = *sprśantu*, *phusamāṇe* = *sprśamāṇaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3. 3,2. 5,1; 1,7,7. 1; Vivāhap. 97. 98. 354. 355. 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (rooms about; Hc. 4, 161)¹. Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāsai*, *phānsai*, *pharīsai*, which presuppose one **sparśati*. *phāsai* occurs in AMg. *samphāse* = **samsparśet* = *samspṛśet* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3. 5,5. 9,2. 4. 5. 6. 10,2. 3; 2,3,2,13). *pharīsai* is formed as *karīsai* = *karśati*, *marīsai* = *marśati*, *varīsai* = *varśati*, *harīsai* = *harśati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Kī. 4,72)². The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *puṁsai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105); *uppūṁsia*, *ōppūṁsia* (G. 57. 778 beside *ōppusia* 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *utpūṁsaya*³. — *truṭ* forms also *toḍai* = **trōṭati* (Hc. 4,116), beside *tudai* = *truṭāti* and *tutṭai*

= *trūtyati*, as *mil* forms *melaī* in *M. melaī* (§ 562), *AMg. melanti* (*Vivāhap.* 950), *A. melavi* (*Hc.* 4,429,1).— On *kr*, *mr* see § 477, on *sr* § 235, on *phutṭai* § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from *proñch* (WEBER, *Hāla s. v. pus*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32, 99) is linguistically impossible.— 2. References in FISCHER on *Hc.* 4,235 and above under § 135.— 3. ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* p.58. The nasal in *puṃsai* is not original as S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *ZDMG.* 32,99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in *phamṣai*, according to § 74. In *H.* 706 *Dhva-nyāloka* 155,11 reads *mā puṃsa* for *mā pusasu*.

§ 487. The 4. class has in *Pkt.* undergone a wider extension than that in *Skt.* There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in *Skt.* All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than *a*, may according to *Hc.* 4,240 (cf. *Vr.* 8,21. 25. 26; *Ki.* 4,65. 75. 76; *Mk.* fol. 54) follow this conjugation: *pāai* = **pāyati* beside *pāi* = *pāli* (protects); *dhāai*, *dhāi* = *dadhāti*; *thāai*, *thāi*, 3. plur. *thāanti*, *JM. thāyanti*, *A. thanti* (§ 483); *vikkeai* beside *vikkei* = **vikrayati*²; *hoai* beside *houṇa* from the stem *ho* = *bhava*, which according to *Sr.* fol. 47 is inflected also as *hoāmi*, *hoasi*, *hoai* (§ 476). The duplicity of flexion is sometimes found already in *Vedic*, as *uvvāi* = *Vedic udvāyati*, *uvvāi* = *Skt. udoati*.— *jambhāai*, *jambhāi* are denominatives from *jṛmbhā*. *AMg. jāi* (*Sūyag.* 540; *Uttar.* 170), beside the usual *M. jāai* = *jāyate*, too is formed from *jan* according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are *M. māasi*, *māai*, *māanti*, *amāanta-* (*H.*), *JM. māyanti* (*Erz.*), *Ś. nimāanta-* (*Mālatim.* 121,1) from *mā*, which forms *māyate*; *A. māi* (*Hc.* 4,351,1) too, in addition to *māti*, *mimīte*, according to *Dhātupāṭha* 26,33.— *M. vāai* (*Ratn.* 293,3), *vāanti*, *vāanta-* (*G. R.*), *niṣvāanti*, *niṣvāanta-* (*R.*), *parivāai* (*G.*), *pavvāai* (*R.*), *Ś. vāadi* (*Śak* 115,2 v. 1.), beside *M. vāi*, *āvāi*, *niṣvāi* (*G. H.*), *JŚ. niṣvādi* (*Pav.* 388,6), *M. vanti* (*Karp.* 10,2 v. 1.; *Dhūrtas.* 4,20 v. 1.), yet *vāanti* (*Karp.* 12,4).— *JM. paḍihā ai* (*Āv.* 33,28); *Ś. paḍihāadi* = **pratibhāyati* = *pratibhāti* (*Bālar.* 135,11) beside *paḍihāsi* (*Vikr.* 7,18), *paḍihādi* (*Mṛcch.* 71,25 [**bhā*]); *Śak.* 12,7; *Vikr.* 13,2; 24,2; *Nāgān.* 5,9, often with the v. 1. *paḍihāadi*; *M. A. paḍihāi* (*Hc.* 3,80; *G. H.*; *Hc.* 4,441,1); *Ś. bhādi* (*Mṛcch.* 73,14), *viḥādi* (*Prab.* 57,2).— *Ś. pattiāasi* = *pratiyāsi* (§ 281) (*Mṛcch.* 82,3; *Ratn.* 301,7; 317,9; *Nāgān.* 37,7 [so correctly the v. 1.]), *pattiāadi* (*Nāgān.* 30,3 [so rightly ed. *Calc.* 29,8]; *Pras.* 46,14; *Ratn.* 309,24; *Vikr.* 41,10 [so to be read with v. 1.]; *Mg. pattiāasi* (*Mṛcch.* 130,13), *pattiāadi* (*Mṛcch.* 167,2), *pattiāadha* (*Mṛcch.* 165,9; *Mudrār.* 257,4 [so rightly v. 1. and ed. *Calc.* 212,9]), *pattiāanti* (*Mṛcch.* 167,1), passive *pattiātadi* (*Mṛcch.* 165,13).³ Against this are inflected in *AMg. JM. M.* completely according to the analogy of the first class: *AMg. pattiājāmi* (*Sūyag.* 1015; *Uvās.* § 12; *Nāyādh.* § 133; *Vivāhap.* 134. 161. 803), *pattiājai* (*Vivāhap.* 845), *pattiājanti* (*Vivāhap.* 841 f.), opt. *pattiējjā* (*Pannav.* 577; *Rāyap.* 250), imperative *pattiājahi* (*Sūyag.* 1016; *Vivāhap.* 134); *JM. pattiājasi* (*Erz.* 52,20), *apattiāntena* (*T.* 6,18); *M. pattiāsi*, *pattiāi* (*R.* 11,90; 13,44); from which the imperative is *M. pattiā* (*H.*), falsely *M. pattihi* (*R.* 11. 94; the v. 1. rightly *pattiā*; *Kāvyaprakāśa* 195,2; v. 1. rightly *pattiā*) and *M. pattiisu* (*H. v. 1.*), in dependence upon the false etymology = *pratihi*. *Ś. pattiājāmi* (*Karp.* ed. *Bomb.* 42,12), *pattiājasi* (*Karṇas.* 31,11) are false; for the first *KONOW* 40,9 reads *pattiāmi*.— *nhāi* = *snāti* (*Hc.* 4,14); *AMg. sināi* (*Sūyag.* 344); *JM. nhāmo* = *snāmaḥ* (*Āv.* 17,7); *Mg. snāāmi* = *snāmi* (*Mṛcch.* 113,21).— Cf. § 313. 314.— *AMg. paccāyanti* (*Ovav.* § 56) belongs to *jan* (*LEUMANN s. v.*), likewise *āyanti*, as *Kappas.* § 17 is to be read according to the v. 1.; opt. 1. sing. *payāējjā* (*Nirayāv.* 59), 2. sing. *payāējjāsi* (*Nāyādh.* 420). On *AMg. jāi* = *jāyate* see above. Cf. also § 479.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 343; PISCHEL, BB. 13,9. — 2. *vikkeā* is more correctly to be taken as the denominative from *vikreya* (§ 511). — 3. There with the help of the v. l. it is to be read: *yam śaccakaṁ pi na pattitīdī*. The form *pattitīdī* is likewise false as Ś. *pattitīdī* at Mṛch. 325,19.

§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with *ya* undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): *ṇaccaī* = *ṇṛtyati*; *jujjhaī* = *yudhyate*; *tuttāi* = *trutyati*; *maṇṇaī* = *manyate*; *kuppaī* = *kupyati*; *lubbhaī* = *lubhyati*; *uttammaī* = *uttāmyati*; *ṇassaī*, AMg. JM. *nāsaī*, M. *nāsaī* = *naśyati* (§ 63); *rūsaī*, *tūsaī*, *sūsaī*, *dūsaī*, *pūsaī*, *sīsaī* (Bh. 8,46; Hc. 4,236; Ki. 4,68), AMg. JM. *pāsaī* = *paśyati* (§ 63). — According to the *e*-conjugation is formed JM. *tūseḍi* (Kattig. 400,335). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. *kukkaī*, *kōkkaī* = **krukyaṭi* = **kruśyati* = *krośati* (Hc. 4,76)²; *callaī* = **calyati* = *calati* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231) beside the usual *calaī*, also in compounds, as *oallanti* = *avacalanti*, *oallanta-* (R.), *paallaī* (Hc. 4,77), *pariallaī* (Hc. 4,162); *jimmaī* = **jimyati* beside *jimaī*, *jemaī* = *jemati* (Hc. 4,230; cf. 4,110); *thakkaī* = **sthakyaṭi* (Hc. 4,16)³; **millaī* = **milyati* = *mīlati* in compounds: *ummillaī*, *ṇimillaī*, *pamillaī*, *saṁmillaī* (Vr. 8,54; Hc. 4,232; G. R.; in A. *ummillaī* (Hc. 4,354); Mg. *saṁyammadha* = **saṁyamyaṭa* = *saṁyacchata* (Mṛch. 11,3); Ś. *ruccadi* = **rucyaṭe* = *rocate* (Vikr. 31,3; 40,18; Mālav. 15,14; 77,21), A. *ruccaī* (Hc. 4,341,1), beside *roadi* (Mṛch. 7,14; 44,5; 58,14; Śak. 54,4; Vikr. 24,7; 41,18), Mg. *loadi* (Mṛch. 139,16; Śak. 159,3); *laggaī* = **lagyaṭi* = *lagati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230); Ś. *olagganti* (Mālav. 39,14), *vilaggantaṁ* (Mṛch. 325,14); Mg. *laggaḍi* (Mṛch. 79,10); A. *laggaī* (Hc. 4,420,5; 422,7), *laggiṇi* (Hc. 4,339); Dh. *vajjasi*, *vajjadi*, *vajja* from *vajjeha* (Mṛch. 30,4.10; 39,10), Ś. *vajjamha* (Pras. 35,17), false *vaccasi* (Cait. 57,2)⁴, Mg. *vayyeṇṇi*, *pavayyāmi* (Mṛch. 120,12; 175,18). In Mg. A. *vraja* may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mg. *vañṇāmi*, *vañṇandaśśa* (Lalitav. 566,7.17), *vañṇadi* = **vrajañāti* (Hc. 4,294; Sr. fol. 63)⁵; A. *vuñāi*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,392). AMg. has also *vajjāmo* (Sūyag. 268), *vajjanti* (Sūyag. 277).

1. PISCHEL, BB. 13,18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in *phuṭṭāi* = *sphuṭaṭi* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231). — 2. PISCHEL, BB. 3,256. — 3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,258 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mṛch. 109,19 we should for *vajjissāmo* read *bajjhissāmo*, fut. pass. from *bandh*; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250,5 we should approximately read *vayyedha* instead of the transmitted *vajjeha*, as with HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,109 *vañṇedha*. Cf. also *vañṇāe* (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. *man* may form *maṇaī* = **manate* too (Hc. 4,7) beside the usual *maṇṇaī* = *manyate*. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. atm. *maṇe* is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMg. JM. A. *muṇaī*, JŚ. *muṇaḍi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Mk. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acyutaś. 82; Pratāp. 202,15; 204,10; Vikr. 26,8; Āyār. 1,7,8,13; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398,303; 399,313. 316; 400,337) and AMg. *muṇeḍavva* (Paṇṇav. 33), JŚ. *muṇeḍavva* (Pav. 380,8; text °ja°) too are traced back to *man*. Against this derivation speaks the meaning “to know” as well as Pāli *munāti*. I derive *muṇaī* from Vedic *mūta* in *kāmamūta* and Skt. *muni*. Cf. *animo movere*. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., *śam* in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: *samaī* (Hc. 4,167), *uvasamaī* (H. 4,239). So M. *paḍisamaī* (R. 6,44); AMg. *uvasamaī* (Kappas. S. § 59); JM. *uvasamasu* (Erz. 3,13), *pasamanti* (Āv. 16,20); Mg. *uvasamadi* (Hc. 4,299 = Venis. 34,11, where GRILL reads *uvasammadi*; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calc. 71,7). But more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as

in Skt.: M. *ṇisammai*, *ṇisammanti*; *ṇisammasu*, *ṇisammanta-* (G.), *pasammai*, *pasammanta-* (G.R.); *parisāmai* (Hc. 4,167).—*śram* is conjugated according to the 1. class: AMg. *samai* (Uttar. 38); JM. *uvasamanti* (Āv. 35,29); M. JM. *viśamāmi*, *viśamasi*, *viśamañ*, *viśamāmo*, *viśamasu*, *viśamañ* (G.H.R. ; Erz. ; Hc. 1,43; 4,159); JM. *viśamamāṇa* (Dvār. 501,5); Ś. *viśama* (Mṛcch. 97,12), *viśamamha* (Ratn. 302 32), passive *viśamiādu* (Mṛcch. 77,11), *vissamiādu* (Śak. 32,9; Vikr. 77,15).—*vidh* (*vyadh*) goes in M. AMg. JM. according to the 6. class with nasal inserted: M. *vindhanti* (Karp. 30,6); AMg. *vindhañ* (Uttar. 788), opt. *vindhējja* (Vivāhap. 122), *āvindhējja vā pivindhējja vā* (Āyār. 2,13,20), also in the causative *āvindhāvei* (Āyār. 2,15,20); JM. *āvindha* (Āv. 38,7,10. 35), *āvindhāmo*, *āvindhāsu* (Āv. 17,8; 38,33), *oindhañ* (Āv. 38. 36). In AMg. *vehañ* = *vedhati* (Sūyag 186) goes according to the 1. class, and with *ud* according to the 6. class without nasal: *uvvhañ* = **udvidhāti* = *udvidhyati* (Nāyādh. 958. 959; Vivāhap. 1388).—*śliṣ* forms *silesaṇ* = **śleṣati* = *śliṣyati* (Hc. 4,190) according to the first class.

§ 490. The verbs of the 10. class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract -aya- to -e-: PG. *abhatthemī* = *abhyarthayāmi* (7,44); M. *kaheī* = *kathayati* (H.), *kaheñti* (G.); JM. *kahemi*, *kaheha* (Erz.); AMg. *kaheī* (Uvās.), *parikahemo* (Nirāyāv. 60); Ś. *kadheī* = *kathaya* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak. 37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc.), *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (Mṛcch. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12); Mg. *kadhedi* (Śak. 117,5).—M. *gaṇeī* = *gaṇayati*, *gaṇēnta* (R.); *gaṇesi* (Śak. 156 5).—M. *cintesi*, *cintei*, *cintēñti*, *cinteuñ* (G. H. R.); AMg. *cintei* (Uvās.); JM. *cintesi* (Erz.), *cintēñti* (Āv. 43,21); Ś. *cintemi* (Vikr. 40,20), *cintehi* (Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8; Ratn. 309,13), *cintemo* (Mahāv. 134,11).—Ś. *takkemi* (Mṛcch. 39,3; 59,25; 79,1. 4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17); A. *takkeī* (Hc. 4,370, 3).—AMg. *pariyāvēñti* = *paritāpayanti* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); Ś. *saṁtāvedī* (Śak. 127,7).—AMg. *veḍheī* = *veṣṭayati* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621; Nirāyāv. § 11), *varemo* = *varayāmañ* (Vivāgas. 229), *vedemo* = *vedayāmañ* (Vivāhap. 70). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants, especially *nt*, as AMg. *tāḷayanti* = *tāḍayanti* (verse; Uttar. 360,365) beside *tāḷēñti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tāḷei* (Nāyādh. 1236. 1305), *tāḷeha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *sobhayantā* (Jiv. 886), *paḍisaṁveṣayanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *avaaṁsaanti* = *avatāmsayanti* (Śak. 2,15); JM. *cintayanto*, *cintayantānañ* (Erz.); Ś. *cintaanto* (Vikr. 42,8), *cintaantassa* (Śak. 30,5); P. *cintayamāñi*, *cintayanto* (Hc. 4,310. 322); Ś. *daṁsaantie* = *darśayantyā*, *daṁsaamha*, *daṁsaissam*, *daṁsaissasi*, °*di*; Mg. *daṁsaante* beside Ś. *daṁsemi*, *daṁsesi*, *daṁsehi*, *daṁseduñ* (§ 554); Ś. *paāsaanto* = *prakāśayan* (Ratn. 313,33) beside M. *paāsei*, *paāseñti*, *paāseñtiñ* (G.); Mg. *paṇāśēñmha* (text °*se*) = *prakāśayāma* (Lalitav. 567,1); Ś. *peśaanteṇa* = *preśayatā* (Śak. 140,13); Ś. *āśaanti* = *āyāsayanti* (Vṛṣabh. 50,10). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. *pavesaāmi* (Mṛcch. 4,25) beside Ś. *pavesehi* (Mṛcch. 68,5); Mg. *paveśehi* (Mṛcch. 118,9. 19); Ś. *viraaāmi* = *viracayāmi* (Śak. 79,1), Ś. *assāsaadi* = *āśvāsayati* (Veniś. 10,4); Ś. *ciraadi* = *cirayati* (Mṛcch. 59,22); Ś. *jaṇaadi* = *janayati* (Śak. 131,8), where, however, we should, with the v. 1. read *jaṇedi*, as M. *jaṇei* (H.), *jaṇēñti* (H. R.); M. *vaṇṇaāmo* = *vaṇṇayāmañ* (Bālar. 182,10). Always in AMg. JM., and in AMg. very frequently is used *dalaya-* "to give": *dalayāmi* (Nāyādh. § 94; Nirāyāv. § 19; p. 62; Erz. 67,27), *dalayāñ* (Vivāgas. 35. 132. 211. 223; Nāyādh. § 55. 125; p. 265. 432. 439. 442. 449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.), *dalayāmo* (Vivāgas. 230; Nāyādh. 291), *dalayanti* (Vivāgas. 84.209; Nāyādh.

§ 120), *dalajējjā*, *dalajāhi* (Āyār. 1,7,5,2; 2,1,10,6. 7; 2,6,1,10), *dalajaha* (Nirāyāv. § 19), *dalajamāne* (Nāyādh. § 113; Kappas. § 103 [so to be read, as § 28 *dalajai* with A]). Cf. § 474.

§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as *āṅkurati* from *āṅkura*, *kṛṣṇati* from *kṛṣṇa*, *darpaṇati* from *darpaṇa* (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in *-ā* shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. *kahā* = *kathā* are derived *kahāmi kahasi, kahāi, kahāmo, kahaha, kahanti*. From this it results that beside the forms ending in *-e* = *-aya*, mentioned in § 490, those in *-a* are found not seldom. So: M. *kahāi* (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMg. *kahāhi* (Sūyag. 423), *kahasu* (Uttar. 700,703); A. *kahi* = **katheḥ* = *kathayeḥ* (Hc. 4,422, 14).—M. *gaṇai, gaṇanti, gaṇantīe* (H.); A. *gaṇai, gaṇanti, gaṇantīe* (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. *cintai, cintanta-* (H.), *viintantā* = *vicintayantaḥ* (G.); A. *cintai, cintantāhā* = *cintayatām* (Hc.).—M. *ummūlanti* = *unmūlayanti* (H.), *ummūlanta-* (R.) beside *ummūlēnti* (R.), *kāmantao* = *kāmayaṃānaḥ* (H.) beside *kāmei* (Hc. 4,44), *kāmemo* (H.), *kāmēnti* (G.), *pasāanti* = *prasādayanti* beside *pasāesi, pasāamāṇassa* (H.), *papphodai, papphodanti* = *prasphoṭayati, ṇanti* (H.), *maūlanti* = *mukulayanti* (H.), *maūlāi* (G.), *maūlanta-* (R.) beside *maūlei, maūlēnti* (R.), *maūlīntā* (G.); A. *pāhasi* = *prārthayasi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 530). *a* is found preponderantly before *nt*, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A *gaṇanti* = Skt. *gaṇayanti* must have through **gaṇānti* become *gaṇanti*, whence are deduced *gaṇāmi, gaṇasi, gaṇai*. In S. Mg. the forms with *a*, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of *e* into *a*¹. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in *-a* of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). *khyā* in conjunction with prefixes may in AMg. be conjugated according to the 2. class : *akkhāi* = *ākhyāti* (Vivāhap. 966); *akkhanti* = *ākhyānti* (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522); = *āgham* = *ākhyān* (Sūyag. 397), *paccakkhāmi* (Uvās.), *paccakkhāi* (Ṭhāṇ. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); *paccakkhāmo* (Ovav.). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mr̥ch. 34,24) is a false reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 499). However, in AMg., as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the *a*-conjugation as *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* (§ 483)¹: *āikkhāmi* = **ācikkhyāmi* (Sūyag. 579; Ṭhāṇ. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), *āikkhāi* (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.) = Pāli *ācikkhati*; *saṃcikkhāi* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), *āikkhāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *āikkhanti* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343), *abbhāikkhāi*, *abbhāikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), *abbhāikkhanti* (Sūyag. 969); *paccāikkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), *āikkhe*, *āikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), *paḍiḍiāikkhe* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), *paḍisaṃcikkhe*, *saṃcikkhe* (Uttar. 103. 106), *āikkhāhi* (Vivāhap. 150), *āikkhaha* (Āyār 2,3,3,8 ff.; Nāyādh. § 83), *āikkhamāna* (Ovav. 59), *paccāikkhamāna* (Vivāhap. 607), *saṃcikkhamāna* (Uttar. 440).

I. PISCHEL, BB, 15, 126. The usual derivation from *cakš* (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. *i* is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. parasmaipada nevertheless is M. AMg. *ēnti* (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. p. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. *annēnti* = *anuyanti* (R.); M. *ēnti* = *āyanti* (R.;

Dhūrtas. 4,20 Karp. 10,2); M. AMg. *uvēnti* = *upayanti* (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. *samuvēnti* (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also *inti* (Paṇṇav. 43), *niinti* = *niyanti* in the sense of *niryanti* (Paṇhāv. 381.382), *palinti* = *pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134), *sāmpalinti* (Sūyag. 52), *uvinti* (Sūyag. 259) and *uvinte* (Sūyag. 271), *samanninti* = *samanuyanti* (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider *e* as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sing. *emi*, *esi*, *ei* and to derive *i* from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. *niinti* is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. *ṇinti* (G.; H. v. 1.; R.), *viṇinti* (Dhvanīloka 237, 2 = H. 954), *āinti* (G.), *parinti* (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from *ṇinti*, **ṇinti*, **viṇinti*, **viṇinti*, **āinti*, **āinti*, **pariinti*, **parinti*. *inti*, as Pāli too has, is formed according to **imo*, **iha* = Skt. *imāḥ*, *iṭha*. The participle is JM. *into* (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. *ṇinta-* (G.H.R.), *viṇinta-* (G.), *āinta-*, *parinta-*, (R.), *pariṇinta-* (Sarasvatik. 9,21)² = *niyant-*, *viniyant-*, *pariyant-*, **pariniyant-* too. *e*, in the v. 1. *ṇēnti* (G.H.R.), *viṇēnti* (Sarasvatik. 206,25)³ must be explained as having arisen from *i* according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms *ēnti*, *anṇēnti*, *uvēnti*, cited above. From the plural forms **aimo*, **aiha* = *atimāḥ*, *atitha*, **ṇimo*, **ṇiha* = *nimāḥ*, *nitha*, **parimo*, **pariha* = *parimāḥ*, *paritha* and others a singular is deduced: M. *aii* = **atili* (Hc. 4,162; R.), *ṇisi* = **nīsi* (R.); M. JM. *ṇii* = **ṇili* (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13. 22), M. *parii* = **parili* (Hc. 4,162; R.)⁴. AMg. gives the regular forms *ei* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,5,1,1. 4,3; Sūyag. 328. 460), *accei* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 6,4; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 540), *uei* = *udeli* (Sūyag. 460), *ueu* (Āyār. 2,4,1,12; text *udeu*), *uvei* = *upaili* (Āyār. 1,2,6,1; 1,5,1,1; Sūyag. 268. 523) etc. AMg. *ējjāsi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is = *eyāḥ*; imp. is *ējjāhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On *i* with *palā* see § 567.—*si* forms in AMg. *sayaḥ*, *āsayaḥ* (Kappas. § 95); opt. *sae* (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and *saejjā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,25. 26), particip. pres. *sajamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,26). Monstrous is Ś. *serade* (Mallikām. 291,3).

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 96. — 2. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,414. — 3. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,415. — 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,110 ff. and ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root *nī* "to go beyond" is impossible. From the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa *upanayati* (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,281) and Pkt. *ṇiṇā* + **nirayati* (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root *nī* "to go", which occurs in AMg. *nae* = *nayet* (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that has nothing to do with *nī*, as the flexion and parallel forms *aii*, *parii* show. The assumption that *nī* stands in the sense of *nīḥ* simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive *nī*, with WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741, from *nīs* "weakened".

§ 494. The roots ending in *-u*, *-ū* of the second class mostly go over to the first class: *paṇḥaā* = *prasnauti*, *ravaā* = *rauti*, *savaā* = *sūte*, *pasavaā* = *prasūte*, *aṇṇhavamāṇa* = *aninhuvāṇa*; *hnu* goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). *stu* is conjugated in M. JM. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: *thupaā* (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), *thunimo* (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. *samthupaā*, absol. *samthupānti* (Jiv. 612), *abhitthupaānti* (Vivāhap. 833), *abhitthupaānti*, *abhisamthupaānti* (Kappas. § 110. 113); JM. *thunei* according to the *e*-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. *thupīya* (Kk. II. 508,26). In Ś. Mg. it follows the 5. class: Ś. *uvathupaānti* = **upastunvanti* (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. LASSEN; Inst. p. 264 note); Mg. *thupa* (Mrcc. 113,12; 115,9). The passive *thuvvā* (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = **thuvvā* = Skt. **stuvāti*, the absol. JM. *thoūṇa* (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one **stotuāṇa*.—*brū* has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. *bemi* = *bravīmi* (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45. 84. 99. 117. 159. 200. 322. 627. 646f. 863. 950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. JM. *beṇti* (Dasav. N. 651,5. 16. 20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),

binti (Sūyag. 236); the 1. plur. is AMg. *būma* (Uttar. 784; verse), the imp. *būhi* (Sūyag. 259. 301. 553). On the optative *būjā* see § 464. In A. it goes according to the 6. class: *bruvaha* = *brūta* (Hc. 4,391); AMg. *buiyā* presupposes the same flexion (§ 565).

§ 495. The roots *rud*, *śvas* and *svap* have completely gone to the *a*-conjugation. *rud* is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and mostly in JM. A. too: M. *ruāmi*, *ruasi*, *ruai*, *ruanti*, *rua*, *ruēhi*, *ruasu* (H. R.; Dhvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966); JM. *rujasi* (Āv. 13,33; 14,27), *rujāi* (Āv. 14,26), *rujasu* (Sagar. 6,11), *rujāha* (Āv. 14,28), *rujanti* (Āv. 13,33; Erz. 15,24), *rujantīe* (Erz. 22,36), *ruyamāni* (Erz. 43,19), *ruyamāniṃ* (Āv. 14,26); A. *ruahi* = *rodiṣi* (Hc. 4,383,1), *ruai* (Piṅgala 1,137^a). More seldom is the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. JM.A.: AMg. *rojanti* (Sūyag. 114); JM. *rojāi* (Āv. 17,27), particip. fem. *rojantī* (Āv. 12,34); JM. AMg. *royamānā* (Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155. 225. 239. 240); A. *roi* = **rodeh* = *rudyāh* (Hc. 4,368), *roantē* = *rudatā* (Vikr. 72,11). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. *rodasi* (Mṛcch. 95,22), *roadi* (Mṛcch. 95,5; Venis. 58,20 [so to be read for *roidi* with v. l. as also Uttarar. 84,2]), *roanti* (Venis. 58,15), *roda* (Mṛcch. 95,12; Nāgān. 24,8. 12; 86,10 [roa]), *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27), also according to the *e*-conjugation *rodesi* (Mālatīm. 278,7), as with the v. l. for *rodiṣi* of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II, 65,4 *rodiadi* [both texts *rodiadi*], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrār. 263,6; Mg. *loda*, *loda-mānaśśa* (Mṛcch. 20,25; 158,12). The flexion according to the 6. class is found in Mg. only in Mṛcch. 158,7. 9 *luadi* in verses; in Ś. stands *rudatu* [sic] Viddhaś. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.

§ 496. *śvas* is inflected: M. *sasāi*, particip. pres. parasmaip. *sasanta-* (H. R.), *āsasāi* (G.), *āsasu* for *āsasasu* (H.), *ūsasāi*, *ūsasanta-* (Hc. 1,114; G. R.), *samūsasanti*, *samūsasanta-* (G. H.), *ṇisasāi*, *ṇisasanta-* (Hc. 4,201; G. H.), *visasāi* (Hc. 4,43; H. 511 v. l.), AMg. *ussasāi* (Vivāhap. 112), *ūsasanti* (Vivāhap. 26. 852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ūsasējjā*, *ūsasamāṇe* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *nissasāi*, *ṇisasanti* (Vivāhap. 112. 852; Paṇṇav. 320 ff. 485), *ṇisasamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1253; Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *visase* (Uttar. 181); Ś. *ṇisasanti*, *ṇisasadi* (Mṛcch. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1), *visasāmi*, *visasadi* (Śak. 65,10; 106,1), *samassasa* = *samāśvasiḥi* (Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venis. 75,2; Nāgān. 95,18), *samassasadu* (Mṛcch. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14; 142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84, 11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venis. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1 to be read), *samassasadhā* (Vikr. 7,1); Mg. *śasādi*, *śasāntā* (Mṛcch. 38,8; 116,17), *ūśasādu* (Mṛcch. 114,20), *śamutśasādi* (Mṛcch. 133,22), *ṇīśasādu* (Mṛcch. 114,21), *śamaśśasādu* (Mṛcch. 130,17).

§ 497. *svap* as a rule follows the 6. class: M. *suasi*, *suvasi* = **supāsi* (H.), *suai* (Hc. 4,146; H.), *suvaī* (Hc. 1,64), *suanti* (G.), *suvasu*, *suaha* (H.); JM. *suwāmi* (Erz. 65,7), *sujaī* (76,32), *sujaū* (Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3), *sujaṇtassa* (Erz. 37,12), *sujaṇāṇo* (Dvār. 503,4); Ś. *suwāmi* (Kārnas. 18,19); *suveṇmha* (Mṛcch. 46,9), particip. nec. *suvidavvaṃ* (Mṛcch. 90,20); A. *suahi* = *svapanti* (Hc. 4,376,2). The secondary root *su* = *sup* is sometimes conjugated according to the 1. class, just as *rovaī* beside *ruvaī* and *dhovaī* beside *dhuvaī* (§ 473. 482); *sovaī* (Hc. 1,64); JM. *sovēnti* (Dvār. 503,28), inf. *soum* (Dvār. 501,7); A. particip. nec. *soevā* (Hc. 4,438,3).

§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and 2. sing. and plur. of *as* are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms lose the initial *a* (§ 145). Sing. M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* (text *mhi*) *śi*. The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 *mha*, *mho*, *mhu*, according to Hc. 3,147; Kī. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only *mha*, *mho*. We have found in the text M.

mha and *mho* (H.), *Ś. mha* (Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8. 14 etc.) corresponding to *sma* of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is *M. ttha* (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is *amsi* (§ 74.313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4; 1,6, 2,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,7,4,2; 1,7,5,1; Sūyag. 239. 565 ff. 689), enclitic *mi* (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3. 29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21) the 1. plur. *mo* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has (Āv. 27,4). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is *atthi*, that in Mg. is to be equated as *asti*. *atthi* is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3, 148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus *Ś. atthi dāva aham* (Mudrār. 42,10; 159,12); Mg. *asti dāva hage* (Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v. l.); plur. AMg. *natthi sattovavāyā = na santi sattvā upapāditāḥ* (Sūyag. 28), *natthi nam tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pājā vā kaṇṇā vā = na sto nūnam tasya dārakasya hastau vā pādau vā kaṇṇau vā* (Vivāgas. 11); JM. *jassa oṭṭhā natthi = yasyausthau na staḥ* (Āv. 41,6); *Ś. atthi aññāim pi candaṭṭassa kovakāraṇāim cāṇake = santy anyāny api candra-guptasya kopakāraṇāni cāṇake* (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cfr. v. l. and ed. Calc. Samvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. *santi* is seldom: AMg. (Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585); JŚ. (Pav. 383,74; 385, 65); Mg. *santi* (Venī. 34,21; cf., however, v. l.). From the imp. is found in AMg. *tthu* in the combination *namo tthu nam* (Hc. 4,283; 380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. *siyā* (§ 464). On the use of *atthi*, *santi*, *siyā* at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. AMg. <i>amsi</i> , <i>mi</i> ; M. JM. JŚ. <i>Ś. mhi</i> ,
JM. also <i>mi</i> ; Mg. <i>smi</i> . | 1. M. <i>mho</i> , <i>mha</i> ; Ś. <i>mha</i> ; Mg. <i>sma</i> ;
AMg. <i>mo</i> , <i>mu</i> ; JM. <i>mo</i> . |
| 2. M. JM. <i>Ś. si</i> ; Mg. <i>śi</i> . | 2. M. <i>ttha</i> . |
| 3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. <i>Ś. atthi</i> ; Mg. <i>asti</i> . | 3. M. AMg. JŚ. <i>santi</i> ; Mg. <i>śanti</i> . |

Opt. AMg. *siyā*; imp. AMg. *tthu*. On the imperf. *āsi* see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the *a*-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. *ahiyāsae = adhyāste* (Āyār. 1,8,2,15) and = *adhyāsita* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. *pajjuvāsāmi = paryupāse* (Vivāhap. 916; Nirayāv. § 3; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsai* (Vivāhap. 917; Nirayāv. § 4; Uvās.), *pajjuvāsāhi*, *pajjuvāsējjāhi* (Uvās.); *pajjuvāsanti* (Ovav.).—M. *niacchāi = *nicakṣati = niścaṣṭe* (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), *niacchāmi* (Śak. 119. 7), *niacchae*, *niacchaha*, *niacchanta-*, *niacchamāṇa*, also according to the *e*-conjugation, *niacchesi* (H.), *avaacchāi*, *avaakkhāi*, *avakkhāi*, *oakkhāi = avacaṣṭe* (Hc. 4, 181; *avakkhāi* also Vr. 8,69); AMg. *avajakkhāi* (Nāyādh. 958); Ś. *ācakkha* (Ratn. 320,32), past pass. part. of the pres. stem *ācakkhida = *ācakṣita* (Śak. 63,15 [so to be read]; 77,14; 160,15), *añāakkhida* (Vikr. 80,4); Mg. *ācaskadi* (Hc. 4, 297), *añācaskida* (Mṛcch. 37,21); Dh. *ācakkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v. l. in GODABOLE p. 101,4); A. *āakkhahi* (Vikr. 58,8; 59,14; 65,3), *āakkhiu* (Vikr. 58,11); Ś. inf. *paccācakkhidum* (Śak. 104,8). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. *padussedi* (Pav. 384,49) is not = *pradveṣti*, as the translation suggests, but = *pradusyati* and enters for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. *dosa* (§ 129). *sāhāi = sāste* (Hc. 4,2); M. JM. *sāhāmi*, *sāhāi*, *sāhāmo*, *sāhanti*, *sāhasu* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.), also according to *e*-conjugation: *sāhemi*, *sāhēnti*, *sāhesu*, *sāhehi*, *sāheu*, *sāhēnti* (H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); of the weak root *śis* according to the 4. class: *śisai* (Hc. 4,2), seen up

till now only as passive = *śiṣyate* (G. R.); AMg. *anusāsāmi* = **anuśā-sāmi* = *anuśāsmi* (Uttar. 790)¹, *anusāsanti* (Sūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. *sāsijjāi* (Mṛcch. 103,16), *ś. sāsīadi* (Mṛcch. 155,6); Mg. *śāsadi* (Mṛcch. 158,25). — M. *haṇāi* = *hanti* (H. 214), *ṇihaṇanti*, and according to the *e*-conjugation *ṇihaṇemi* (R.); AMg. *haṇāmi* (Vivāhap. 254. 850 f.), *haṇāi* (Vivāhap. 849 f.), in the verse also *haṇāi* (Uttar. 630), *abhihaṇāi* (Vivāhap. 348), *samohaṇāi* (Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas.); JŚ. *ṇihaṇadi* (Kattig. 401,339); AMg. *haṇaha* (Uttar. 365), *haṇanti* (Sūyag. 110), *samohaṇanti* (Rāyap. 32. 45). *sāhaṇanti* = *saṃghnanti* (Vivāhap. 137.138.141), in the verse also *viṇihanti* (Sūyag. 339), opt. *haṇijjā haṇijjā*, *haṇējjā*, *haṇe* (§ 464), imp. *haṇaha* (Sūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4); JM. *āhaṇāmi* (Āv. 28,2), *haṇāi* (Erz. 5,32), imp. *haṇa* = *jahi* (Erz. 2,15), opt. *āhaṇējjāsi* (Āv. 11,1); Ś. *paḍihaṇāmi* = *pratihanmi* (Mudrār. 182, 7 v. 1.), *vihaṇanti* (Prab. 17,10); Mg. *āhaṇedha* (Mṛcch. 158,18); A. *haṇāi* (Hc. 4,418,3).

1. JACOBI, SBE. 45,151, note 1 wrongly likes to read *anusasammi*. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty remnants. For *dā* in the present is used *de* = *daya*- (§ 474), mostly in AMg., sometimes in JM. *dalajja*- (§ 490). — Of *dhā*, the old stem *dahā* = *dadhā*- has generally been retained only in compounds with *sad* = *śrad*, which behaves almost exclusively according to the *a*-conjugation, as sometimes also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli *dahati*¹. So *saddahai* = *śraddadhātī* (Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57); M. *saddahimo* = *śraddadhāmaḥ* (H. 23), past passive participle of the present stem *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Acyutaś. 8); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Nirayāv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), *saddahai* (Vivāhap. 845; Paṇṇav. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804); JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); opt. *saddahe* (Uttar. 170), *saddahējjā* (Rāyap. 250; Paṇṇav. 577. 583), imp. *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151) and *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. *asaddahanto* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMg., in addition, is found also *ādahai* (Ovav. § 44), *ādahanti* (Sūyag. 286). Cf. § 222. Otherwise *dhā*, as all other roots in *-ā* (§ 483. 487), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class: *dhāi*, *dhāi* (Hc. 4,240); M. *saṃdhantēṇa* = *saṃdadhatā* (R. 5,24); AMg. JM. with cerebralization (§ 223) very frequently: *ādhāmi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; Vivāhap. 1210), *ādhāi* (Thāṇ. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Nirayāv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nāyādh. § 69; p. 460. 575; Vivāhap. 228. 234; Āv. 27,3), AMg. *ādhanti* (Vivāgas. 458; Vivāhap. 239), *ādhāyanti* (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301. 302. 305), *ādhāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 456), *ādhāha* (Nāyādh. 938) and *ādhaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *ādhāmāna* (Vivāhap. 240), *ādhāyamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4.5), *anādhāyamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2) and *anādhāijjamāna* (Uvās. [so to be read; see v. 1. ; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282), passive *anādhāijjamāna* (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.). Like *sthā* (§ 483), *dhā* with prefixes usually goes over to the *e*-conjugation: M. *saṃdhei* (H. 733; R. 15,76), *saṃdhēnti* (R. 5,56), *saṃdhinti* (G. 1041; so to be read; see v. 1.); *vihesi* (G. 332; read *khambhehi va vihesi* and cf. v. 1.); AMg. *saṃdhei* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6), *saṃdhemāna* (Āyār. 1,6,3,3), opt. *nihe* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,4,1,3), *pihe* (Sūyag. 129); JM. *aṣaṃdhei* (Āv. 46,25); Ś. *anusamindhemi* (Karp. 10,3), *anusamindheda* (Karp. 23,1). AMg. *saṃdhāi* (Sūyag. 527), **nihaī*, **pihaī* is the connecting link. — *hā*- forms AMg. *jahāsi* (Sūyag. 174. 176), *jahāi* (Sūyag. 118), *jahai* (Thāṇ. 281), *pajahāmi* (Uttar. 377), *vippajahāmi* (Vivāhap. 1237. 1242), *vippajahai* (Vivāhap.; Ovav.), *vippajahanti* (Sūyag. 633. 635. 978), opt. *jahe* (Āyār. 2,16,9), *payahijja* and *payahējjā* (Sūyag. 128. 147), *pajahe* (Sūyag. 410), *pajahe* (Uttar. 456), *vippajahe*

(Uttar. 244), imp. *jahāhi* (Sūyag. 414), particip. *vipphajhamānā* (Vivāhap. 1385); JŚ. *jahādi* and *jahadi* (Pav. 383,24; 385,64). According to the 4. class: AMg. *hāyāi* (Thāp. 294 f.); future Ś. *parihāissadi* = *parihāsyate* (Śak. 2,1). — *mā* see § 487.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 15, 121.

§ 501. *bhī* shows the old flexion in *bihemi* = *bibhemi*, *bihei* = *bibheti* (Hc. 1,169, 4,238). M. JM. *bihai* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134. 136; 4,53), *bihante* (Hc. 3,142), JM. *bīhasu* (Erz. 81,34), dragged to *bhī*, and M. *bihei* (H. 311. 778), JM. *bīhehi* (Erz. 35,33; 83,7), *bīhesu* (Erz. 82,20), formed according to the *e*-conjugation, do not belong to *bhī*, but is = **bhīṣati* from *√bhīṣ*, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. *bīhaṇa*, *bīhaṇaga* (§ 213. 263) proves it. Generally *bhī* is conjugated as the *ai*-roots (§ 479), always in Ś. Mg. So JM. *bhāyasu* (Erz. 31,18); Ś. *bhāmi* (Vikr. 24,13; 33,11), *bhāadi* (Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12), *bhāāhi* (Śak. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15); Mg. *bhāmi*, *bhāāsi* (Mṛcch. 124,22. 23; 125,21). In M. according to the analogy of the *a*-roots too (§ 479); *bhāi* (Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53); *bhāsu*, v. l. *bhāhi* (H. 583). — *hu* (to offer) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: *huṇāmi*, *huṇāsi* (Uttar. 375), *huṇai* (Vivāhap. 910); also with retention of reduplication: AMg. *juhuṇāmi* (Thāp. 436. 437). Cf. Skt. *hunet* in BÖHTLINGK s. v. *hun* (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Ś. and there they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the *a*- and *e*-conjugations: AMg. *saṁciṇu* (Uttar. 170); Ś. *avaciṇomi* (Mālatīm. 72,5 [ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 53,1 and ed. Madras. 61,3 *avaiṇummi*]; Unmattar. 6,19), *avaciṇumo* (Pārvaṭip. 27,14), *uccīṇosi* (Viddhaś. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15. 17. Against that *cinai* (Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238. 241), fut. *ciṇihī* (Hc. 4,243), passive *ciṇijjai* (Hc. 4,242. 243); *uccīṇai* (Hc. 4,241); M. *uccīṇasu*, *saṁuccīṇai* (H.), *vicīṇanti* (G.); AMg. *ciṇai* (Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc.; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137), *uvaciṇai* (Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137) and *saṁciṇai* (Uttar. 205), *uvaciṇai* (Vivāhap. 38. 39), *ciṇanti* (Thāp. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182), *uvaciṇanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 62); Ś. imp. *avaciṇamha* (Śak. 71,9; Mālatīm. 111,2. 7 [so to be read; cf. v. l.; Cait. 73,11; 75,12 [°ṇu]]), past passive participle *vicīṇida* (Mālatīm. 297,5), also according to the *e*-conjugation: Ś. *uccīṇedi* (Karp. 2,8), inf. *avaciṇedum* (Lalitav. 561,8). In M. Mg. A. *ci* is conjugated according to the 1. class too: *uccei* (Hc. 4,241, H. 159), *uccēnti* (G. 536), imp. *ucceu* (Sr. fol. 49), inf. *ucceum* (H. 159); Mg. *saṁcehi* (Venīs. 35,9), A. opt. *saṁci* (Hc. 4,422,4); likewise *mi* in M. *ṇimesi* (G. 296). Cf. 473.

§ 503. *dhu* (*dhū*) forms AMg. *dhunāi* (verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2), usually M. AMg. *dhunai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59. 241; Kī. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhaś. 7,2; Sūyag. 321), opt. AMg. *dhuṇe* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550); AMg. *viḥunāmi* (Nāyādh. 938); M. *viḥunai* (R. 7,17; 12,66); M. AMg. *viḥunanti* (G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Thāp. 155); AMg. *viḥuṇe* (Sūyag. 921), *viḥunāhi* (Uttar. 311), *niddhuṇe* (Uttar. 170), absol. *dhunīya*, *viḥunīya* (Sūyag. 111. 113), *viḥunīyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24), *saṁvidhuṇīya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5), *niddhuṇittāna* (Uttar. 605), particip. pres. ātmanep. *viṇiddhuṇamāna* (Vivāhap. 1253); passive *dhunijjai* (Hc. 4,242); Ś. absol. *avadhuṇia* (Mālatīm. 351,6). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: *dhuvai* (Hc. 4,59), from which the passive *dhuvai* (§ 536); further according to the *e*-conjugation M. *viḥunēnti* (R. 8,35); Ś. *vidhuvedi* (Mṛcch. 71,20). On the past passive participle *hūṇa*, *viḥūṇa*, *vipphāṇa*

see § 120.—Of *śru* is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. *śuṇu* (Śak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12); Mg. *śuṇu* (Mr̥ch. 121,23; Venīś. 34,19, [GRILL false *śiṇu*], in the 2. plur. too *śuṇudha* Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. 1. *śuṇa*, as in Ratn. 304,9; 309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against *śuṇu* 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found *śuṇāhi* too (Mr̥ch. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5; 45,19; Vṛṣabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. *śuṇamha* (Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the *e*-conjugation *śuṇēmha* (Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7), the 2. plur. is *śuṇadha* (Śak. 55,12), so *śuṇa* will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too *śuṇu* for *śuṇa* will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is *śuṇādha* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mr̥ch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14. 17) or *śuṇedha* (Mr̥ch. 154,9), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. 1. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either *śuṇadha* or (cf. Z) *śuṇādha*. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual: Ś. *śuṇāmi* (Mālatim. 288,1); Mg. *śuṇāmi* (Mr̥ch. 14,22); falsely Ś. *śuṇomi* (Venīś. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4.6), for which with the v. 1. *śuṇāmi* or *śuṇemi* is to be read. Ś. *śuṇādi* (Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2), also *śuṇedi* (Mr̥ch. 325,19); Mg. *śuṇādi* (Mr̥ch. 162,21). Against the dialect is Ś. *śuṇimo* (Bālar. 101,5), for which *śuṇāmo* is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. *śuṇādu* (Mr̥ch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc.), Mg. *śuṇādu* (Mr̥ch. 37,3); 3. plur. imp. Ś. *śuṇantu* (Mr̥ch. 142,10), Mg. *śuṇantu* (Mr̥ch. 151,23). In M. the stem is carried over to the *a*-conjugation: *śuṇai*, *śuṇimo*, *śuṇanti*, *śuṇasu*, *śuṇaha* (G. H. R.), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. *ñisunahu* (Kk. 272,37), JM. *śuṇai*, *śuṇanti* (Kk.), *śuṇa* (Dvār. 495,15), *śuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *śuṇaha* (Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19); AMg. *śuṇantu* (Nāyādh. 1134), *śuṇamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2), *apaḍisuṇamāṇa* (Nirayāv. § 25). In JM. AMg., however, the flexion according to the *e*-conjugation prevails: JM. *śuṇei* (Āv. 35,30; 42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz.); AMg. *śuṇemi* (Thān. 143), *śuṇei* (Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371. 373. 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8. 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff.), *paḍisuṇei* (Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *paḍisuṇēnti* (Vivāhap. 1227; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or °ñi° to be read also at § 58] etc.). AMg. *paḍisuṇējjā* (Rāyap. 251), *paḍisuṇijjā* (Kappas.), *paḍissuṇe* (Uttar. 31,33) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives *śuṇai*, *śuṇeu*, *śuṇāu*. AMg. has *śuṇeu* (Sūyag. 363), 2. plur. *śuṇeha* (Sūyag. 243. 373. 397. 423 f.; Uttar. 1). The passive M. JM. *śuvvāi* (§ 536) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class **śuvāi* = **śruvāti*.

§ 504. AMg. *pappoi* [text *pappōtti*; commentary *papputti*] = *prāpnoti* (Uttar. 430), JŚ. *pappodi* (Pav. 389,5) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from *āp* with *pra*. Otherwise *āp*, in AMg. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the *a*-conjugation: *pāuṇai* = **prāpunāti*, **prāpunati* (Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846), *pāuṇanti* (Sūyag. 433. 759. 771; Ovav. § 74. 75. 81. 117); *sāmpāuṇanti* (Vivāhap. 926), opt. *pāuṇējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11. 2,6; Thān. 165. 416), *sāmpāuṇējjāsi* (text °se; Uttar. 345); inf. *pāuṇittae* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11). In M. JM. JŚ., in verses in AMg., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class: *pāvai* = **prāpnoti* (Hc. 4,239).—So M. *pāvasi*, *pāvai*, *pāvanti*, *pāva*, *pāvai* (G. H. R.), also according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvēnti* (G.); AMg. *pāvai* (Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135); opt. *pāvijjā* Nandis. 404); JM. *pāvai* (Kk. 272,5), *pāvanti* (Rṣabhap. 41), and according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvei* (Erz. 50,34), *pāvēnti* (Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read]); JŚ. *pāvadi* (Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326; 403,370); Ś. *pāvanti* (Viddhaś. 63,2); absol. JŚ. *pāvija* (Kattig. 402,369), and according to the *e*-conjugation JŚ. Ś. *pāvedi* (Kattig. 399,307; Ratn. 316,5), *pāvehi* (Mālav. 30,11; so to be read); A. *pāvami* (Vikr. 71,8). From the same stem is built the future too

Ś. *pāvaissam* (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read *Mudrār*. 187,2 in AMg. *pāvemi*; the MSS. and editions have *ācemi*, *jācemi*, *padicchemi* (Hc. 4, 141. 142 mentions also *vāvei* = *vyāpnoti* and *samāvei* = *samāpnoti*).

§ 505. *takṣ*, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. *tacchanti* (Sūyag. 274), *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596).—From *śak* very frequent is *sakkaṇomi* = *śaknomi* (§ 140. 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33; 327,17; Uttarar. 112,8) or *sakkunomi* (Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān. 14,8. 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: *sakkaī* = **sakyati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kī. 4,60). So JM. A. *sakkaī* (Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6. 441,2), JM. opt. *sakkejja* (Erz. 79,1), and according to the *e*-conjugation JM. *sakkei* (Āv. 42,28), *sakkeṇti* (Erz. 65,19), *sakkeha* (Sagara 10,13 [so to be read]). On the opt. *sakkā* see § 465.—*stṛ*, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in *r* (§ 477): M. *ōttharāi* = *avastṛṇoti*, *ōttharia* = *avastṛta*, *vittharāi*, *vittharanta-*, *vittharium*, *vittharia* (R.); JM. *vitthariya* = *vistṛta* (Erz.); Ś. *vittharanta-* (Mālatīm. 76,4; 258,3); A. *ōttharāi* (Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also *utthaṅghai* (raises up; throws up; Hc. 4,36. 144), past passive participle *utthaṅgia* (R. s.v. *stambh*) = **utstaghnōti* (PISCHEL, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the *a*- or *e*- conjugation : *chindaī* = *chinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124. 216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); *acchindaī* (Hc. 4,125); M. *achindaī* (G.), *vo'cchindanta*-(R.); JM. *chindāmi* and *chindei* (Erz.), abs. *chindittu* (Kk.); AMg. *chindāmi* (Āṇuog. 528; Nirayāv. § 16); *chindasi* (Āṇuog. 528), *chindaī* (Sūyag. 332; Vivāhap. 123.1306, (Nāyādh. 1436; Uttar. 789), *acchindaī* *vicchindaī* (Thān. 360), *vo'cchindasi*, *vo'cchindaī* (Uttar. 321. 824), opt. *chindejja* (Vivāhap. 123. 1306). *chinde* (Uttar. 217), *acchindejja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13), *vicchindejja* (Āyār. 2,13,13), *chindaīhi* (Dasav. 613,27), *chindaha* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4), present participle *chindamāna* (Āṇuog. 528), absol. *paricchindiyāṇām* (Āyār. 1,3,2,4); Ś. absol. *paricchindia* (Vikr. 47,1). On AMg. *acche* see § 466. 516. — *piṣai* for **pimsai* (§ 76) = *pinaṣṭi* (Hc. 4,185); Ś. *piṣedi* (Mṛcch. 3,1. 21). — *bhañjai* = *bhanakti* (Hc. 4,106); M. *bhañjai*, *bhañjanta-* (H. R.); JM. *bhañjiūṇa*, °*je* (Erz.); AMg. *bhañjai*, *bhañjae* (Uttar. 788. 789); Ś. future *bhañjaīssai* (Vikr. 22,2), absol. *bhañjia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23). Mg. *bhayyadi* [text *bhajjadi*; ed. Calc. *bhajjedi*] (Mṛcch. 118,12) must be considered as passive and *vibhayya* (text *bibhajja* (Mṛcch. 118,21) as its imperative; against this stands Ś. imp. *bhajjedha* (Mṛcch. 155,4) in the active sense, to which may be compared *jujjai* (§ 507). — *bhindaī* = *bhinatti* (Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); M. *bhindaī*, *bhindanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *bhindaī* (Erz.); AMg. *bhindaī* (Thān. 360; Vivāhap. 1327), *bhindeṇti*, *bhindamāne* Vivāhap. 1227. 1327), opt. *bhindejja* (Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9); Ś. Mg. absol. *bhindaī* (Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17). On AMg. *abbhe* see § 466. 516.

§ 507. *bhuj* forms *bhuñjai* (Hc. 4,110; Mk. fol. 56), *uvahuñjai* (Hc. 4, 111); M. *bhuñjasu* (H.); JM. *bhuñjai* (Erz.), *bhuñjai* (Āv. 8,4,24), *bhuñjanti* (Erz.; Kk.), *bhuñjae* (Ātmanep.; Erz.), *bhuñjāhi* (Āv. 10,40), *bhuñjasu* (Āv. 12,20), *bhuñjaha*, *bhuñjamāna*, *bhuñjiya*, *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); AMg. *bhuñjai* (Uttar. 12; Vivāhap. 163), *bhuñjai* (Sūyag. 209); *bhuñjāmo* (Vivāhap. 624), *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194; Vivāhap. 623), *bhuñjanti* (Dasav. 613,18), *bhuñjejja* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhap. 515. 516), *bhuñje* (Uttar. 37; Sūyag. 344), imp. *bhuñja* (Sūyag. 182), *bhuñjasu*, *bhuñjimo* (Uttar. 369. 675), *bhuñjaha* (Āyār. 2,1, 10,7), *bhuñjamāna* (Pannav. 101.102 [°*je*]. 103 [°*je*]; Kappas.); JŚ. *bhuñjade* (Kattig. 403. 382; 404,390); Ś. *bhuñjasu* (Mṛcch. 70,12), inf. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21); A. *bhuñjanti* inf. *bhuñjaṇaha*, *bhuñjaṇahi* (Hc. 4,335,441,1).

— From *yuj* the present are *juñjāi*, *jujjāi* (Hc. 4,109), which may be compared with *bhajjedha* § 506 and under *rudh*. M. *paññajāuṃ* (Karp. 7,1). M. *jujjāe*, *jujjāi* (H.), *jujjanta-* (R.) are passive forms. AMg. *juñjāi* (Paṇṇav. 842 ff.; Ovav. § 145. 146), *paññjāi* (Vivāhap. 1312; Nāyādh. § 89), opt. *juñje* (Uttar. 29), *paññje* (Samav. 86), *juñjamāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 842 ff.), absol. *uvaiññiṇṇa* (Vivāhap. 1591); absol. M. *niññjiya* (Erz.); Ś. *paññjadha* (Karp. (6,7), imp. passive from the present stem *paññjiadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7), whilst the very frequent Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71, 10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.) = *yujyate* is, as the future Ś. *ahiujjissadi* = *abhiyoksyate* (Uttarar. 69,6). — *rudh* forms *rundhāi* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,133.218.239; Kī. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56). So M. *rundhasu* (H.); AMg. *rundhāi* (Thān. 360); Ś. *rundhedi* (Mallikām. 126,3; text. °ei); A. absol. *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20) and *rujjhāi* = **rudhyati* (Hc. 4,218), also with the nasal inserted M. *nirunñjhai* (H. 618), JŚ. absol. *nirunñhittā* (Pav. 386,70), with which is compared AMg. *vigiñcai* = *vikṛntyati* (§ 485). M. AMg. *rumbhāi* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,218; Kī. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56; H. R.; Uttar. 902), AMg. *nirumbhāi* (Uttar. 834), passive M. JM. *rubbhāi* (§ 546) belong to a root **rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in gutturals (§ 266). — *hims* forms in AMg. *himsai* = *hinasti* (Uttar. 927. 935. 940. 945. 950 etc.), *vihiṃsai* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 4. 5. 5. 6, 3), *hiṃsanti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5).

§ 508. The forms of *kr*, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AMg. JM. JŚ. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem *kur-* to the *a-* class. as *kurva-*: AMg. *kuvvaī* = **kurvati* (Sūyag. 321. 328 [°ai]. 359 [°ai]. 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Dasav. 613,19 [°ai]), *pakuvvaī* (Āyār. 1.2,6,2), *viuvvaī* (Vivāhap. 114; Rāyap. 60 ff. 79. 82; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), *kuvvanti* = *kurvanti* (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhap. 409), *vikuvvanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215), opt. *kuvvejjā*, °jja (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, *kujjā* (§ 464), imp. *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. ātmanep. *kuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Paṇṇav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), *viuvvaṃāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1033 f. 1054), *pakuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; 1,5,1,1); JM. *kuvvaī* (Kk.), *kuvvanti* (Āv. 7,11), *viuvvaī* (Āv. 35,6), *viuvvae* (Āv. 36,27), absol. *viuvviṇṇa*, past passive particip. *viuvviya* (Erz.); JŚ. *kuvvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), *kuvvaṃ* (Pav. 384,58), *kuvvaṃtaṃ* (Kattig. 400,332), *kuvvaṃto* (Kattig. 403,378), also ātmanep. *kuvvade* (Kattig. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. Vedic. *kṛnoti* becomes, according to § 502, *kuṇai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65; Kī. 4,54; Mk. 59). So M. *kuṇasi*, *kuṇai*, *kuṇanti*, *kuṇa*, *kuṇasu* *kuṇai*, *kuṇanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kuṇai* (Kk.; Rṣabhap.), *kuṇanti*, *kuṇaha* (Kk.), *kuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.; Sagara 6,2. 11. 12), *kuṇanta-*, *kuṇamāṇa-* (Kk.; Erz.), *kuṇantena* (Kī. 15), also completely isolated *kuṇai* in AMg. in the verse (Samav. 85); JŚ. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388. 389. 391); A. *kuṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 [text °ha] and *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118). In Ś. Mg. *kuṇa-* is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mk. fol. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgān. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhaś. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5, etc. Pratāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājaśekhara wrongly uses *kuṇa-* in Ś. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,13; 200,12; Viddhaś. 36,2; 48,9.11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For *kuṇomi* (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct *kadiadu*, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhaś. too in the critical editions. *kuṇa-* is to be removed from Ś. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Hāsy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;

39,1. 10; 44,12; 47,7; 80,14; 92,14; Kārṇas. 22,8; Jīvān. 39,15; 41,7; 81,14; 95,2; Mallikām. 69,1; 336,3 etc. perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is *Ś. kummo* = *kurmah* (Jīvān. 13,6), against this correctly *Ḍh. kulu* = *kuru* (Mṛcch. 31,16).

§ 509. *kr* is conjugated mostly as the roots in *r* of the first class (§477): *karāi* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65. 234. 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. JM. AMg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the *e*-conjugation. *a*-forms are: PG. opt. *karēyya*, *karēyyāma* (6,40; 7,41); M. *karanta*- (R.); JM. *karae* = *kurute* (Kk. II, 506,5), *karanti* (Rṣabhap. 39. 40); AMg. *karāi* (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), *karanti* (Sūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhap. 62; Jiv. 102; Paṇṇav. 56. 574), *pakaranti* (Uttar. 15; Paṇṇav. 575), *viyāgaranti*, *vāgaranti* (Sūyag. 523. 695); JŚ. *karadi* (Kattig. 400,332); opt. AMg. *kare* (Sūyag. 348. 385. 393), *nirākare* (Sūyag. 442), *karējjā* (§ 462), *viyāgarējjā* (Sūyag. 525. 527), *vāgarējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17); frequently in A.: *karimi* (Vikr. 71,9), *karāi* (Hc. 4,370,2), *karāi*, *karadi*, *karanti*, *karahi* (Hc. s. v. *√kar*), opt. *kari* (Hc. 4,387,3; Śukasaptati 49,4; Prabandhac. 63,7), imp. *karahi* (Hc. 4,385; Piṅgala 1,149), *karu* (Hc. 4,330,3), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107. 121 [text ^{ha}]), inf. *kaṛaṇa*, absol. *karevi*, *karēppinu* (Hc. s. v. *√kar*). — *e*-forms are very frequent: M. *karemi*, *kareṣi*, *karei*, *karēnti*, *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēnta*- (H. R.); JM. *karei* (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9,17; 14,14), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35; Kk. 264,11. 14; Āv. 17,14; Sagara 2,14), *karēnti* (Erz.; Kk.), *karehi*, *karesu*, *kareha* (Kk.), *karēnta*-, *kareṃāna* (Erz.); AMg. *karemi* (Thāp. 149. 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), *karei* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 403. 406. 853; Vivāhap. 915. 917. 931. 945; Nirayāv. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), *karemo* (Sūyag. 734), *karēnti* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577. 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. *viyāgarēhi* (Sūyag. 962), *kareha* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *kareṃāna* (Uvās.), *viyāgarēṃāne*, *viyāgarēi* (Āyār. 2,2, 3,1). Isolated is AMg. *kajjanti* (Uvās. § 197. 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands *karēnti*. JŚ. *karedi* (Pav. 384,59; Kattig. 400,324; 402,369; 403,377. 383); Ś. *karemi* (Lalitav. 561,15; Mṛcch. 16,4; 103,17; 151,22; Śak. 165,8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82,5; 83,5. 6 etc.), *kareṣi* (Ratn. 303,29; Mālatīm. 265,2; Prab. 44,2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), *karedi* (Lalitav. 560,9; Mṛcch. 73,11; 147,18; 151,19. 20; Śak. 20,5; 56,16; Vikr. 75,5), *karemo* (Śak. 80,5 [so to be read]), *alamkarēnti* (Mālatīm. 273,5 [so to be read; cf. v. 1.]), *karehi* (Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10), *karesu* (Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20), *karedu* (Mālatīm. 351,7), *karēṃha* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Prab. 63,11; Ratn. 303,21; Uttarar. 101,8), *karedha* (Mālatīm. 246,5), *karēnta*- (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23; 60,25; 61,24; 105,1; 148,8). — Mg. *kalemi* (Mṛcch. 12,15; 31,17. 20; 97,4; 113,23 etc.; Śak. 114,3), *kaleṣi* (Mṛcch. 151,25; 160,3), *kalide* (Mṛcch. 81,6; 127,6; 135,2; 158,25; Nāgān. 68,5 [so to be read]), *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5), *kalēṃha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Venis. 36,6; Caṇḍak. 71,10), *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23), *kalēntā* (voc.; Mṛcch. 30,9; 108,17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only *jñā*, which after *na*, according to § 170, loses its initial *j*: M. *jāñāi* (Karp. 35,8); JM. *jāñāsi* (Erz. 57,8); AMg. *jāñāsi* (Vivāhap. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745), *añujāñāi* (Sūyag. 1.16), *na jāñāi*, *jāñāi* (Sūyag. 161. 520), *parijāñāi* (Vivāhap. 228; Rāyap. 252 [°jā°]); *viyāñāsi*, *viyāñāi* (Uttar. 745. 791); JŚ. *jāñādi* (Pav. 382,25; 348,48), *viyāñādi* (Pav. 388,2); Ś. *jāñāsi* (Mṛcch. 57,9; 65,10; 82, 12; Śak. 13,5; Mālatīm. 102,3; Mudrār. 37,2); D. *añāsi* (Mṛcch. 101,8.9).

10); Ś. *jānādi* (Vikr. 9,4; Mālatīm. 264,5; Mahāv. 34,1; Mudrār. 36,3.4.6; 55,1 etc.); Mg. Ś. D. *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25; 51,25; 101,11); Ś. *viānādi* (Prab. 13,19), *jānādu* (Mṛcch. 94,13; Mudrār. 36,7); Mg. *jānāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yānādi* (Mṛcch. 114,1), *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25), *viānādi*, *paccabhiānādi* (Mṛcch. 38,13; 173,7). Except in Ś. Mg. *jānā* mostly behaves according to the *a*-conjugation: *jānai* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Kī. 4,47). So: M. *jānīmi*, *jānasi*, *jānase*, *jānai*, *jānimo* and *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānasu* (H.), after *na*: *ānasi*, *ānai*, *ānimo*, *ānaha* (H. R.); JM. *jānasi* (Dvār. 502,21), *na yānasi* (Erz. 52,17), *jānai* (Erz. 11,2; Kk. 277,10), *na jānai* (Āv. 21,18; 38,8; Erz. 30,3; 37,25); AMg. *jānasi* (Uttar. 745), *jānai* (Vivāhap. 284. 363. 911. 1194. 1198 etc.; Sūyag. 476. 540; Uttar. 202; Āyār. 1,2,5,4; Paṇṇav. 366. 432. 518 ff. 666; Jiv. 339 ff.), *parijānai* (Āyār. p. 132,9 ff.), *añujānai* (Vivāhap. 603 ff.), *samañujānai* (Āyār. 1,1,3,6; 1,2,5,2. 3), *jānāmo* (Vivāhap. 131. 144. 1180. 1406; Thāṇ. 147; Sūyag. 578), *jānaha*, *pariyānaha* (Vivāhap. 132,234), opt. *jāne* (Sūyag. 364), imp. *jāna* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1) and *jānāhi* (Sūyag. 249. 304; Kappas. S. § 52), *viyānāhi* (Paṇṇav. 39), *samañujānāhi* (Sūyag. 247), *añujānāhi* (Kappas. § 28), *jānaha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *jānamāna* (Samav. 82); JŚ. *jānadi* (Kattig. 398,302), *viyānadi* (Pav. 381,21), *jāna* (Kattig. 401, 342); Ś. *jānāmo* [text false °nā; cf. v. l.] (Mālatīm. 82,9; 94,3; 246,1; 248,1; 255,4; Viddhaś. 101,1), *na ānādha* (Mālatīm. 245,8), imp. *jāna* (Karp. 63,8) and *jānāhi* (Mṛcch. 41,24 [so to be read]; 169,20; Vikr. 15,10; 41,5; Mālatīm. 239,1 [so to be read]), *añujānāhi* (Śak. 26,12; Vikr. 29,9); Mg. *yānāhi* (Mṛcch. 80,21); A. *jānāi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *jānai* (Hc. 4,401, 4. 419,1), *jānu* Piṅgala 1,26 [text *jāna*], *jānahu* (Piṅgala 1,105. 106. 144). In Ś. Mg. the flexion according to the *a*-class is restricted to *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānāhi*, which should not be considered to have been built from the strong stem of the 9. class, and to *jānadha*. Against the dialect is Ś. *jānasi* (Lalitav. 560,18), falsely also *jānedi* (Nāgān. 67,3), for which we should, with the v. l., read *jānādi*, as also for Mg. *yānadi* (Hc. 4,292), *paccabhijānedi* (Mṛcch. 132,24) is to be read °nādi. On the other hand, correct is the *e*-form in JM. *jānei* (Kk. III, 512,4), JŚ. *viyānedi* (Kattig. 399,316; text °ei) and A. *jānehu* (Piṅgala 1,5. 14). JŚ. has *nādi* = **jñāti* (Pav. 382,25) too.

§ 511. *kṛi* forms *kiṇai* (Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52), with prefix *vi* *vikkiṇai* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Kī. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54). So: M. *vikkiṇai* (H. 238); JM. *kiṇāmi* (Āv. 31,9), *kiṇai* (Erz. 29,28), absol. *kiṇiya*, future *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 33,15), *vikkiṇāmi*, *vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,24. 26), *vikkiṇanti* (Āv. 31,7), *paḍi-vikkiṇai* (Āv. 33,15); AMg. *kiṇai* (Thāṇ. 516), opt. *kiṇe*, particip. pres. *kiṇanta-* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3); Ś. imp. *kiṇadha* (Caṇḍak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7), future *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), past passive particip. *kiṇida* (Karp. 32, 9; 73,2), *nikkiṇasi* (Mṛcch. 61,16), *vikkiṇida* (Mṛcch. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Latakam. 13,15; 18,10); Mg. *kiṇadha* and with *i* fut. *kiṇissam* (Mṛcch. 32, 17; 118,14; 125,10); Dh. *vikkiṇia* (Mṛcch. 32,10. 12. 14). With the prefix *vi* *kṛi* is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in -ī of the 1. class: *vikkei* (Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52. 240; Kī. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54). So M. v. l. to H. 238. *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) is a denominative from *vikreya*, therefore = **vikreyati*.—*pū* forms *puṇai* (Hc. 4,241), *lū* likewise *luṇai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Kī. 4,73; Mk. fol. 57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in -u, -ū of the 6. class: AMg. opt. *luḷjjā* (Vivāhap. 1186), passive *puvvaī*, *luvvaī* beside *puṇijjāi*, *luṇijjāi* (§ 536). The shortening of *i*, in *kiṇai* is explained from the old accent *krindāti* and it corresponds to the shortening of *ū* in *puṇai*=*pundti*, *luṇai*=*lundti*. On M. JM. AMg. A. *jiṇai*, Dh. *jiṇādi*, AMg. *samussijjāi* see § 473, on *muṇai* § 489.

§ 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in AMg. *aṇhāi*=*aśnāti* (Ovav. § 64. 65). The usual formation, however, is

aṇhāi (Hc. 4,110). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either *a-* or *e-* conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as *granth*, *bandh*, *manth*, already had the nasal and another section as *aṇhāi* = *asṇāti*, *gēṇhāi* = *grhṇāti* was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākṛit within the stem. So : *gaṇṭhāi* = *grathnāti* (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. *niggaṇṭhida* (Bālar. 131,14).—*gēṇhāi*=*grhṇāti* (Vr. 8,15; Hc. 4,209; Kī. 4,63); M. *gēṇhāi*, *gēṇhanti*, *gēṇha*, *gēṇhāi*, *gēṇhanta*-(G.H.R.); J.M. *gēṇhasi* (Av. 44,6), *gēṇhāi*, *giṇhāi*, *giṇhae* (Kk.); *gēṇhanti* (Av. 35,3), *gēṇha* (Erz.; Kk.); *gēṇhāhi* (Av. 31,11) and *gēṇhesu* (Erz.), *gēṇhaha*, *giṇhaha* (Av. 33,17; Kk.); AMg. *gēṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 916. 1032. 1659; Uvās.), *gēṇhējjā* (Vivāhap. 212. 214), *giṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 1035; Paṇṇav. 377ff.; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.), also *giṇhei* (Uvās.), *abhigiṇhāi* (Uvās.), *ogiṇhāi* (Vivāhap. 838), *giṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 623), *giṇhanti* (Vivāhap. 24; Nirayāv.), *giṇhāhi* (Nāyādh. 633), *giṇhaha*, *uagiṇhaha* (Vivāhap. 332); JŚ. *giṇhadi* (Pav. 384,59 [text *giṇnadi*], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335), *giṇhedi* (Kattig. 400,335); Ś. *gēṇhasi* (Mṛcch. 49,15), *gēṇhadi* (Mṛcch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13), *gēṇhanti* (Mṛcch. 70,3), *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7), *gēṇhadu* (Mṛcch. 49,8; 74,14), *aṇugēṇhadu* (Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4), *gēṇhadha* (Mṛcch. 97,24), *aṇugēṇhantu* (Mudrār. 262,5 [so to be read]), absol. *gēṇhia* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20), inf. *gēṇhidum* (Mṛcch. 94,12), particip. nec. *gēṇhidavva* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9); Mg. *gēṇhadi* (Mṛcch. 128,19; 145,17), *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1), *gēṇhadu* (Mṛcch. 22,3. 5), *gēṇhia* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Caṇḍak. 64,8); Dh. *gēṇha* (Mṛcch. 29,16; 30,2); A. *grṇhāi* (Hc. 4,336), *gēṇhāi* (Piṅgala 1,60), absol. *grṇhēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,394. 438,1). In A. *grah* is inflected according to the 6th class too: *grhanti* (Hc. 4,341,2).

§ 513. *bandh* is inflected: M. *bhandhāi* (Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandap. 47,6); *ñibandhāi* (R.), *bandhanti* (G. R.), *aṇubandhanti* (R.), *bandhasu* (R.), *ābandhanti* (Hc. 1,7), future *bandhīhi*, passive *bandhijjāi* (Hc. 4,247), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhēnti* (R.), inf. *bandheum* (Hc. 1,181); J.M. *bandhaha*, *bandhiṇa*, *bandhiya* (Erz.), *bandhium*, *bandhittu* (Kk.); AMg. *bandhāi* (Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṇṇav. 638. 653. 657. 663 etc.), *paḍibandhāi* (Sūyag. 179), *bandhanti* (Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 66. 1435; Paṇṇav. 638. 657. 663 etc.), *bandhējjā* (Vivāhap. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200), *bandhaha* (Vivāhap. 234. 1263), inf. *bandhiu* (Nirayāv. § 15); JŚ. *bandhade* (Kattig. 400,327); Ś. *bandhāmi* (Laṭakam. 18,12), *aṇubandhasi* (Śak. 86,14), *aṇubandhanti* (Uttar. 60,7), absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhesi* (Priyad. 4,16); *obandhedi* = *avabadhnāti* (Mṛcch. 89,5; 152,25); Mg. absol. *bandhia* (Mṛcch. 163,16), past passive participle *bandhida* (Mṛcch. 162,17), according to the *e-* conjugation imp. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12).—*manth* forms *manthāi* (Hc. 4,121). To the flexion of Skt. *mathati* corresponds AMg. opt. *mahējjā* (Uvās. § 200), where, however, the v. l. points to *manthējjā*.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhaṇ* follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because *bhaṇāmi*, should be construed as **bha-ṇā-mi*. In the 2. 3. sing. indic., 1. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. *bhaṇāsi* (Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,2. 4; 73,2 etc.), *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch.

23,19; 67,14; 74,13; 94,11; Śak. 51,4; 158,2; Vikr. 16,5; 46,5; Mālav. 16, 18; 64,20 etc.), *bhaṇādu* (Mṛcch. 18,25); Mg. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 13,7), *bhaṇādha* (Mṛcch. 32,18; 96,21; 97,1; Prab. 46,16; Caṇḍak. 64,6; Mudrār. 154,1; 257,6; 258,2 [so to be read throughout, as also in Ś. Uttarar. 123,7]); Dh. *bhaṇādi* (Mṛcch. 34,12). The 2. sing. imp. is Ś.D. *bhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,19; Śak. 50,9; Vikr. 47,1; Nāgān. 30,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,8) or Ś. *bhaṇāhi* (Vikr. 27,7; Mālav. 39,9; Veṇis. 10,12; 100,14; Nāgān. 44,13; Jivān. 10,4); Mg. *bhaṇa* (Śak. 114,5) and *bhaṇāhi* (Mṛcch. 81,13. 15; 165,4). Beside them these dialects have also the *e*-conjugation: D. Ś. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 105,8; Śak. 137,12 [so to be read]); Mg. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 21,8. 20. 22); Dh. *bhaṇesi* (Mṛcch. 39,16); Ś. *bhaṇehi* (Mṛcch. 61,13; 79, 3). In the rest of the dialects *bhaṇ* behaves regularly according to the *a*-conjugation: yet *bhaṇāi* in JM. Āv. 22,41. 42 beside the usual *bhaṇai*.

IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *as* (to be). However, only the 3. sing. *āsi* or *āsī* = *āsīt*, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found (Vr. 7,25; Hc. 3,164; Ki. 4,11; Sr. fol. 54). So 1. sing. AMg. *ke ahaṃ āsi* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *Ś. ahaṃ khu...āsi* (Mṛcch. 54,16) 1; 2. sing. Ś. *tumaṃ...gadā āsi* (Mṛcch. 28,14), *tumaṃ kiṃ mantaantī āsi* (Mālatīm. 71,4), *tumaṃ khu...me piasahī āsi* (Mālatīm. 141,11 f.), *kiṃto āsi* (Uttarar. 18,12), *kīsa tumaṃ*, ed. *tuam*]. *mantaantī āsi* (Kāṇas. 37,7f.)²; 3. sing. M. *āsi* (G.H.); JM. *āsi*, *āsi* (Kl. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Erz.); AMg. *āsi* (Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170), *āsi* (Uttar. 660; Jiv. 239.452); Ś. very frequently; e. g. *āsi* (Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 105, 10; 117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vikr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7. 9), *āsi* (Uttarar. 20,12; 78,4; Veṇis. 12,1.6); Dh. *āsi* (Mṛcch. 36,18); 1. plur. AMg. *āsi mo*, *āsi mo*³ (Uttar. 402), *āsi amhe* (Uttar. 403); 3. plur. M. *je āsi...mahānāipavahā* (G. 449), *āsi rahā* (R. 14,33), *je go'cchaā āsi...vañjulā* (H. 422); JM. *mahārājāno cattāri mittā āsi* (Erz. 4,36); AMg. *wasaggā bhīmāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7), *tassa bhajjā duve āsi* (Uttar. 660); Ś. *pasamsantī āsi* (Bālar. 289,2).—Besides we find only AMg. *abbavī* = *abravīt* (Hc. 3,162; Uttar. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259), used also as 3. plur. too: *abambhacāriṇo bālā imaṃ vajjanam abbavī* (Uttar. 351).—On the hypothetical preterite *udāhare*, *care*, *paṇane*, *pucche*, *acchīa*, *ge'nhīa* etc. see § 466. The preterite pos'ulated by BOLLENSSEN⁴ rests on false readings and forms wrongly understood⁵. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli *āsiṃ*, we should not with the v. l. read here *āsiṃ*, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, *āsi* should not be considered, with WEBER, as = *āsiḥ*, but as = *āsiḥ* with the scholiasts.—3. *āsi* of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following *āsi amhe* and the other use of *āsi*, *āsi* point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5, 134 *āsim* or *āsimu*, but *mo* should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālavikā. p. 188. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 46.

AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMg. *acche* = **acchet* from *chid*, *abbhe* = Vedic. *ābhet* from *bhid* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which are used in the sense of the opt. (§ 466), are noticeable, in addition to *abhū* = *abhūt* in the verse in AMg. (Uttar. 116), which has been used there as the 3. plur.: *abhū jiṇā atthi jiṇā aduvā vi bhavissāi*. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMg. are the many forms of the *s*-aorist in the parasmaip., frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. parasmaip. shows, as in Pāli¹, doubled *s*: *akarissam c' ahaṃ* (Āyār. 1,1, 1,5); *pucchiss' ahaṃ* (verse; Sūyag. 259). The 2. sing. occurs in

akāsi = *akārṣiḥ* (Samav. 82); *kāsi* (Uttar. 415) and in *vajāsi* = *avādīḥ* (Sūyag. 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like *agamāsi*². Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So *akāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8; 2,2,2,4; Sūyag. 74; Kappas. § 146), *akāsi* (Sūyag. 120. 123. 298), behind *mā* also *kāsi* (Hc. 3,162; Sūyag. 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc. 3,162; Sr. fol. 54 also *kāhi* and according to Deśin. 1,8 *akāsi* in the sense of *paryāptam*. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. *jaṁ ahaṁ puvvaṁ akāsi* = *yad ahaṁ pūrvam akārṣam* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3); *aham ejaṁ akāsi* = *aham etad akārṣam* (Sūyag. 621) and used as 1. plur.: *jahā vajāṁ dhammam ayaṇamāṇā pāvaṁ purā kammam akāsi mohā* (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. *āsi* (§ 515). As 3. sing.: *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Uvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84 ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: *thāsi*, *thāhi* from *sthā* (Hc. 3,162); *paccāsi* from *aś* with *parti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *acāri* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); *kaheṣi* from *kathaya-* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327). From *bhū* the 3. sing. is *bhuvi* = **abhūvit* (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here °im]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text *bhuviṁ ca*]; Jiv. 239. 452 [text here °im]), or from the present stem *bhava-*: *ahesi* from **abhaviṣit*, **abhaiṣit*, **abhaiṣit* (§ 166; Hc. 3,164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: *samaṇā... tattha viharantā puṭṭhapuvvā ahesi suṇaheṁ* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6). Likewise is explained AMg. *annesi* = **ājñāyiṣit* (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,5,2,1. 3,4; 1,8,1,14). That the form is not = *anveṣi*, but is the aorist of *jñā*, has already been assumed by JACOBI². One 1. plur. occurs in *vuccāmu* = *avātsma* from *vas* “to live” (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem **vatsa-*. The 3. plur. ends in *-imsu* = Skt. *iṣuh*. So: *parivici-ṭṭhiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4); *pucchimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; Sūyag. 301 [text °issu]); *ciṇimsu*, *uvaciṇimsu* (Vivāhap. 62; Thāṇ. 107. 108 [text °ṇa°]); *bandhiṁsu*, *udiriṁsu*, *vediṁsu*, *nijjarimsu* (Thāṇ. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text °eṁsu]); *sijjhiṁsu*, *bujjhiṁsu* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 79); *ājāiṁsu* from *jan* with *ā* (Kappas. § 17—19; cf. § 487); *pariṇivvāiṁsu* (Sūyag. 790); *bhāsiṁsu*, *seviṁsu* (Sūyag. 704); *atarimsu* (Sūyag. 424; Uttar. 567); *hiṁsiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,3); *vihariṁsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,5); *luṇciṁsu*, *nihanimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11. 12); *kandimsu*, from *krand* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4; 1,8,3,10); *viṇaiṁsu* = *vyanaṁsu* (Sūyag. 454); *abhaviṁsu* (Sūyag. 157. 551) and *bhaviṁsu* (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual *akarimsu* (Thāṇ. 149); *karimsu* (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Sūyag. 790 [text *karesu*]), *uvakarimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,11), is found also *vikuvvimsu* (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem *kuvva-* (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are *giṇhāviṁsu* (Nāyādh. § 123); *paṭṭhāvāiṁsu* from *sthā* with *pra* (Kappas. § 128); *sampahāriṁsu* from *dhar* with *saṁ* and *pra* (Sūyag. 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is *rikkāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3) belonging to one **riknaya-*. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: *karimsu vāhaṁ* (Thāṇ. 476); for the 3. sing. *āhiṁsiṁsu* [text °sa°] *vā hiṁsaṁ vā hiṁsisaṁ vā* (Sūyag. 680); *puṭṭho vi nābhhihāsiṁsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); *āsiṁsu* [text °sa°] *bhagavaṁ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,6); *seviṁsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2). An old Skt. form is *addakkhu* (Vivāhap. 332), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3; may be sing. too) = *adrākṣuh*, frequently used as 3. singular: *adakkhu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,2; Vivāhap. 1306), *addakkhu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,2,1. 6,1; 1,8,1,16. 17)⁴. In Kappas. S. 19 *adakkhu* is a false reading for *adaṭṭhu*, as the v. l. has. Accordingly is formed, from *naḥ* with *niḥ*, *niṇṇakkhu* (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 111; E. MÜLLER, Simplified grammar p. 114.—2. E. KUHN

l. c. p. 114; E. MÜLLER, l. c. p. 116.—3. SBE. XXII, p. 44, note 2.—4. In certain places one may be doubtful, whether or not there is an adjective **ādrāḥsu*, as it certainly appears for *dakkhu*, *adakkhu* = **drākṣu*, **adrākṣu* or **dr̥kṣu*, **adr̥kṣu* in Sūyag. 151.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in *-ittā*, *-ittā*. The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the *s*-aorist¹. Examples are *samuppajjitthā* from *pad* with *sam* and *ud* (Vivāhap. 151. 170; Nāyādh. § 81. 87; p. 771; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.); *roitthā* from *ruc* (Hc. 3, 143); *vaḍḍhitthā*, *abhiḍḍhitthā* from *vr̥dh* (Kappas.); *riitthā* from *rīyate* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 1; 1, 8, 3, 13); *esitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 12); *viḥarittā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 12); *bhuñjitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 17. 18), *sevitthā*, *sevitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 1; 1, 8, 4, 9); *apiitthā*, *apivittā* [so to be read] from *pā* (to drink) with privative *a* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 5. 6); *aṇujānitthā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 8); *kuvvitthā* from the present stem *kuvvaī* (§ 508) (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 15); *udāharittā* (Uttar. 353. 408), *jajitthā*, *parājajitthā* (Vivāhap. 500); *dalayitthā* (Vivāhap. 502). From *bhū* is derived the form *ho'tthā* from the present stem *ho-* = *bhava-* (§ 476) (Vivāhap. 5. 168. 182; Thāṇ. 79; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Ovav. etc.); also with augment in the verse *aho'tthā* (Uttar. 619); with *prāduh* on the other hand, from the stem *bhava-*: *pāubbhavitthā* (Vivāhap. 1201). Of the causative the form ends in *-ē'tthā*, *-ē'tthā*: *kāre'tthā* from *kāre-* = *kāraya-* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 8); *pahāre'tthā*, mostly *ō'tthā* from *pahāre-* = *pradhāraya-* (Sūyag. 1012; Vivāhap. 153. 831; Vivāgas. 123; Ovav. § 50; Nāyādh. § 81 etc.); but also *jāva'tthā* from *yāpaya-* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in *labhitthā* [so the commentary; text *°bhē°*]: *jā me na dāhitthā ih'* [so the commentary; text *ak'*] *esaṇijjāṃ kim ajja jannāna labhitthā lābham* (Uttar. 359); for the 3. plur.: *vippasaritthā* (Nāyādh. 348); *bahave hatthā...diso disim vippasaritthā, kasā'itthā*, denominative from *kaśā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 11); *pāubbhavitthā* (Nāyādh. § 59; Ovav. § 33 ff.); *bahave...devā antiyāṃ pāubbhavitthā*; more often *ho'tthā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 16; Thāṇ. 197; Nāyādh. 628; Samav. 66. 229; Uvās. § 4. 184. 233. 234; Kappas. Th. § 5. 6; Ovav. § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precativē see § 466.

1. Hypotheses on the origin of the form in JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 450 ff.

PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. parasmaip. has retained *āhu* = *āhuḥ* in AMg. (Āyār. 1, 4, 3, 1; Sūyag. 74 [text *āha*] 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); *udāhu* (Uttar. 424); also *āhū* (Āyār. 1, 5, 1, 3) and *udāhū* (Sūyag. 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation *āhaṃsu* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Sūyag. 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 778. 842; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; Thāṇ. 148. 438 ff.; Paṇhāv. 95. 106; Jiv. 12. 13; Kappas. S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So *āhaṃsu* for the 1. sing.: *tao 'haṃ evam āhaṃsu* (Uttar. 623); for the 3. sing.: *evam āhaṃsu nāyakulanandaṇo mahappā jīṇo varavīraṇāmadhejjo kaheṣi ya* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327); likewise for the 3. sing. *āhu* (Sūyag. 257. 308; Uttar. 365. 646; Kappas. and *udāhu* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; Sūyag. 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; Uttar. 756.

PLUPERECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515—518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or generally by the paraphrasis with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs

goes over to the instrumental *abalāṇa tāṇa ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo* "sweat clung to the limbs of those women" (G. 210); *kiṃ na bhaṇio si bālāa gāmaṇidhūāi* "have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief?" (H. 370); *sīāparimaṭṭhena va vūḍho teṇa vi nīrantaraṃ romaṇico* "he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Sītā" (R. 1,42); JM. *pacchā rannā cintiyaṃ* "later the king thought" (Āv. 32,19); *annayā bhūyadinneṇa vinnāyaṃ* "once Bhūtadinnā learnt" (Erz. 1, 24); AMg. *suṃyaṃ me āusaṃteṇabhagavayā evaṃ akkhāyaṃ* "I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus" (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); *urālā naṃ tume devānuppie sumiṇā diṭṭhā* "O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream" (Kappas. § 9); Ś. *tā aāṇanteṇa edinā ēvvaṃ anucitṭhidam* "so he has done thus unknowingly" (Mṛcch. 63,24); *sudaṃ khu mae tādakaṇṇassa muhādo* "I have heard from the mouth of the father Kaṇva (Śak. 14,12); Mg. *sudaṃ tue yaṃ mae gādaṃ* "did you hear what I sang?" (Mṛcch. 116, 20); *adha ēkkadiaṣaṃ mae lohidaṃaścake khaṇḍaśo kappide* "one day I cut the rohita fish into pieces" (Śak. 114,9); A. *tumhēhī amhēhī jaṃ, kiāū diṭṭhaū bahujaṇeṇa* "many people have seen what was done by you and by us" (Hc. 4,371); *sabadhu karēppīṇu kadhidu maī* "I have said on oath" (Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of *āsi* (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle¹. So: M. *jo sīsammī viṇṇo majjha juāṇehi gaṇavā āsi* "he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati" (H. 372); JM. *taṃyā ja so kumbhajāro... gāmaṃ annaṃ gao āsi* "and at that time the potter had gone to another village" (Sagara 10, 18); *jaṃ te sukkiyaṃ āsi buddhileṇa addhalakkhaṃ* "that half lac, that Buddhila had spoken to thee" (Erz. 10,34); Ś. *ahaṃ khu radaṇachattṭhiṃ uvavasidā āsi* "I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnaṣaṭṭhi (for the vow)" (Mṛcch. 54,16); Ś. *tumaṃ mae saha ... gadā āsi* "you had gone with me (Mṛcch. 28,14); *ajja devī ajjagandhālīe pādavandaṇaṃ kāduṃ gadā āsi* "today the queen had gone to adore the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī (Venis. 12,6); *puṇo mandassa vi me tattha paṇḍapaṇṇaṃ uttaraṃ āsi*, "although dull, I had prepared the answer" (Mālav. 57,16); *tāēkkhu cittaphalaṃ pabhāde hatthikidaṃ āsi* "I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning" (Mālatim. 78,3); Dh. *tassa jūḍialassa muṭṭhippahaṇeṇa nāsikā bhaggā āsi* "the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist (Mṛcch. 36,18). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.

1. FICK, Sagarā p. 26.

FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in *-i*. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in *-e*. The 1. sing. has in AMg. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolated, the ending *-mi*, mostly *-m*, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with *a* of the stem becomes *u* (351). In the 2. sing. *-issasi*, Mg. *-iśśasi*, in the 3. sing. *-issai*, Ś. Dh. *-issadi*, Mg. *-iśśadi* the regular, in Ś. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMg., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. *-ihisi*, 3. *-ihii*, also the contracted *-ihī* and prosodically shortened *-ihī*, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending *-ihāmi*, *-ihimi*: *kittāihimi* beside *kittāissam* = *kīrtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); *so cchihimi*, *so cchihāmi* from *śru*, *gacchihimi*, *gacchihāmi*

beside *gacchissam* from *gam* (Hc. 3,172); *hasihimi* beside *hasissam*, *hasissāmi* (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels *-himi* too is mentioned: *kāhimi* from *kr*, *dāhimi* from *dā* (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), *hohimi* from *bhū* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167.169; Kī 4,16), *hasehimi* beside *hasehāmi*, *hasēssāmi* from the *e*-stem of *has* (Sr. fol. 52), to which *hasehii* (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with *-i* upto the present day only in A.: *peṅkkhihimi* = *prekṣiṣye*, *sāhimi* = *sahiṣye* (Vikr. 55,18.19). According to Hc. 4,275 Ś. has in the 3. sing. *-issidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*, *karissidi*, *gacchissidi*, according to 4,302 in Mg. *-iṣṣidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in *-issidi* are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by Ś. is again meant by JŚ., in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in *-issāmo*, in verses seldom in *-issāma* too, as M. *karissāma* (H. 897), after long vowels in *-hāmo*, metrically in *-hāmu* too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like *hasissāmo* also *hasihimo* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), *hasihissā*, *hasihitthā* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also *hāsihāmo*, Sr. fol. 52, *hasehissā*, *hasehitthā* *hasēssāmo*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasissāmu*, *hasēssāma*, *hasehāma*, *hasihāma*, *hasehimo*, *hasehimu*, *hasihimu*; further *sōcchimo*, *sōcchimu*, *sōcchima*, *sōcchihimo*, *sōcchihimu*, *sōcchihima*, *sōcchissāmo*, *ōmu*, *ōma*, *sōcchihāmo*, *sōcchihissā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172), *gacchimo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172); *hohimo*, *hōssāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13.15; Hc. 3,168; Kī 4,18), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Kī 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.523.531. The ending *-ihissā* for the 1. plur. is completely obscure¹. The ending *-hitthā*, *-ihitthā* is mentioned for the 2. plural too: *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166); *sōcchitthā*, *sōcchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside *sōcchiha*, *sōcchihiha*, *gacchitthā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172) beside *gacchiha*, *gacchihiha*, *hasehitthā*, *hasihitthā* (Sr. fol. 52) beside *hasehiha*, *hasihiha*. The one found in the text in AMg. is *dāhitthā* = *dāsyatha* (Uttar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending *-itthā*, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is *-issaha*, Ś. Mg. *-issadha*. The 3. plur. ends in *-issanti*, in JM. AMg. very frequently in *-ihinti*, *-hinti* too Sr. fol. 51 teaches *-ire*: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire*.

1. According to Kī's *hohitthāmo* LASSEN, Inst. p. 353 will explain *hohissā*, *hohitthā* as abridgment of *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo*. But since *hohitthā* is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of *āsi*, *ahesi*, *āhu*, *udāhu* and the 3. sing. preterite in *-itthā*. For the sake of brevity *i* is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of *ji* is JM. *jīṇissai* (Erz. 22,29), AMg. *parājīṇissai* (Nirayāv. § 3); from *nī*, M. *nehii* = *nesyati* (G.223), JM. *nīnehii* = *nirnesyati* (Erz. 52,13), *nehinti* (Erz. 29,15), AMg. *vaṇehii* (Ovav. § 107), *viṇehii* (Nāyādh. § 87); *vaṇehinti* (Ovav. § 106), but from the present stem Ś. *oṇuṇāissam* (Ratn. 316,15), *avaṇāissam* (Śak. 102,14; 104,13), *vaṇāissam* (Śak. 137,3), *ṇāissadi* (Mṛcch. 58,3). *āṇāissadi* (Mālatī. 104,1), *ṇāissadha* (Karp. 33,8); Mg. *ṇāiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 169,13). On Ś. *daṁssam*, Mg. *daṁssam* from *daya*-(to give) see § 474.—In the future of *bhū* all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only *ho-*, which Ś. Mg. do not know. JM. *bhaviṣṣāmi* (Dvār. 501,38); Ś. *bhaviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 51,13; 85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16; 318,31; Karp. 8,7; 52,2), *aṇubhaviṣṣam* (Mālatī. 278,9); Mg. *bhaviṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 116,23); Ś. *bhaviṣṣasi* (Mṛcch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. *bhaviṣṣasi* (Śak. 116,4); AMg. JM.

bhavissai (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239. 452; Uttar. 116; Ovav. § 103. 109. 114. [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,27; 504,5; Erz. 11,35; Kk. 268,33; 271,13.15); *Ś. bhavissadi* (Mṛcch. 5,2; 20,24; Śak. 10,3; 18,3; Vikr. 20,20; Mālav. 35,20; 37,5; Ratn. 291,2; 294,9; Mālatim. 78,9; 89,8; 125,2 etc.); Mg. *bhaviśśadi* (Prab. 50,14); AMg. *bhavissāmo* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 601); AMg. *bhavissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *bhavihinti* (Āv. 47,20); *Ś. bhavissanti* (Mālatim. 126,3). False is *havissadi*, *havissam* (Mālav. 37,19; 40,22)¹, since the stem *hava* is used only after the prefix *pra*, as in *Ś. pahavissam* (Uttarar. 32,4). *Ś. Mg.* use also the stem *huva*:- Mg. *huviśśam* (Mṛcch. 29,24; 32,19; 40,1; 118,17; 124,12); *Ś. huviśśasi* (Veṇis. 58,18); *Ś. huviśśadi* (Mṛcch. 22,14; 24,4; 64,18; Vikr. 36,6; 46,4. 6; 53,2. 13; 72,19; Mālav. 70,6; Veṇis. 9,21; Vṛṣabh. 47,11 etc.); Mg. *huviśśadi* (Mṛcch. 21,14. 15; 117,15; 118,16.17; Veṇis. 33,3); *Ś. huviśśanti* (Mṛcch. 39,4; Candak. 86,14). From the stem *ho-* are derived: *hōśśāmi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167. 169; Kī. 4,16); M. *hōśśam* (Vr. 7,14; Hc. 3,169; Kī. 4,17; H. 743); A. *hosai* (Hc. 4,388; 418,4), and *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6; cf. § 166); *hōśśāmo*, *hōśśāmu*, *hōśśāma* (Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168; Kī. 4,18), mostly with *h* from *ṣ* (§ 263): JM. *hohāmi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Kī. 4,16; Āv. 26,36); *hohimi* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Kī. 4,16); *hohissam* (Kī. 4,17); JM. *hohisi* (Hc. 3,166.178; Erz. 62,31); M. JM. *hohii* (Hc. 3,166.178; Kī. 4,15; G H.R.; Āv. 43,13; Erz. 37,1), *hohi* (Erz. 6,36; Dvār. 495,15; T. 7,10; Kk. 265,41; 270,43); before double consonants *hohi*: *hohi tti* (Dvār. 495,24); 1. plur. *hohāmo*, *hohāmu*, *hohāma*, *hohimo*, *hohimu*, *hohima*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Kī. 4,18); 2. plur. *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166; Kī. 4,15); 3. plur. M. JM. *hohinti* (Bh. 7,12; Hc. 3,166; Kī. 4,15; H. 675; Sagara 2,15). In AMg. sometimes the stem *hōkkha-* is met: *hōkkhāmi* (Uttar. 63. 202), *hōkkham* (Uttar. 63), *hōkkhai*, *hōkkhanti* (Samav. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from **bhōgya-* (§ 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37,18 from the precativ too a future is derived: *hojjahimi*, *hojjāhimi*, *hojjassāmi*, *hojjahāmi*, *hojjassam*; *hojjahisi*, *hojjāhisi*; *hojjahii*, *hojjāhii*. Sr. fol. 53 reads *hojjehii*, *hojjihii*, *hojjāhii*.

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hitherto incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in *r*, *ṛ* according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt.: *Ś. aṇusarissam* (Viddhaś. 115,6), *visumarissam* = *visumarissāmi* (Śak. 14, 3), *visumarissasi* (Śak. 89, 7), *visumarissadha* (Śak. 86,6); *Ś. sumarissasi* (Ratn. 313,6); *Ś. pariharissam* (Śak. 25,1), *pariharissadi* (Vikr. 79,7); Mg. *palihaliśśadi* (Prab. 42,5; 47,7); *vihalīśśam* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. *viharissai* (Ovav. § 114. [§ 115]), *viharissāmo* (Āyār. 2,2,3,3; 2,7,1,2; Vivāhap. 979), *viharissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *viharissanti* (Kk. 269,38); *marissasi* (Mṛcch. 72,18); Mg. *malīhiśi* (verse; Mṛcch. 9,24); M. *aṇumarihii* (R. 14,55); M. *harihii* (H. 143); AMg. *tarihinti* (Uttar. 253) and *tarissanti* (Uttar. 567; Sūyag. 424), *nijjariśśanti* (Thān. 108). — Of the roots in *-ai gai* forms: AMg. *gāhii* = *gāsyati* (Thān. 451); M. *uggāhii* (R. 11,84); against that *Ś. gāissam* (Śak. 2,8; Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,4; Kāmsav. 8,16), Mg. *gāiśśam* (Mṛcch. 116,20; 117,3); from *trai* the fut. is Mg. *palittāiśśadi* (Mṛcch. 12,10).

§ 523. Of the roots of the old *skā-* class *r* forms in JM. *acchihisi* (Āv. 11,11), *yam* JM. *paṇacchissāmo* (Dvār. 503,4). In the case of *gam* the formation from the stem *gami-* prevails, which is exclusively dominant *Ś. Mg.* The form *gacchissidi*, taught by Hc. 4,275 for *Ś.* is not attested by the text. So: JM. *gamissāmi* (Erz. 60,19); *Ś. gamissam* (Mṛcch. 8,24; 9,7; 15,10; 54,19; Śak. 17,4; Ratn. 293,24; 296,26; 297,12; 314,26; Karp.

35,3; 108,4; 109,2; Nāgān. 42,7. 15; 43,10; Jivān. 42,17. 23; 43,17 etc.), *āgamissam* (Karp. 22,7; 107,4); Mg. *gamiśsam* (Mṛcch. 20,10. 14; 32,2; 97,1; 98,2; 112,18); Ś. *gamissasi* (Mṛcch. 3,17; Śak. 24,15); AMg. *gamihii* (Uvās. § 125; Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27); A. *gamihī* (Hc. 4,330,2); M. *saṃāgamissai* (H. 962); Ś. *gamissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,2; Śak. 56,14; Mālatīm. 103,7), *āgamissadi* (Uttarar. 123,7; Karp. 105,3); Dh. *gamissadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 23); AMg. Ś. *gamissāmo* (Ovav. § 78; Karp. 36,6); AMg. *uvāgamissanti* (Āyār. 2,3,1,2 ff.). From the stem *gaccha-* are built : *gacchissāmi* (JM. Āv. 21,10), *gacchissam*, *gacchihāmi*, *gacchihimi*, *gacchihisi* (Hc. 3,172); AMg. *gacchihii* (Hc. 3,172; Sr. fol. 52; Ovav. § 100. 101; Uvās. § 90); *āgacchissai* (Uvās. § 188); according to Sr. also *gacchehii*; *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā*, *gacchihīha* (AMg. Āyār. 2,3,3,5), *gacchihitthā*; *gacchihinti* (Hc. 3,172). Beside them is found a future AMg. *gacchañ* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53; Thāp. 156. 285), according to Hc. also *gacchimi*, that according to the grammarians is inflected: *gacchisi*, *gacchii*, *gacchimo*, *gacchiha*, *gacchinti*, according to Sr. also *gacchei*. The hypothesis that *gacchañ* may have been formed on the analogy of *dacchañ*, *mōcchañ*, *vicchañ*, *rōcchañ*, *vēcchañ*, *vōcchañ* (§ 525. 526. 529) is convenient, but wholly improbable. We should assume a root *gacch*, deduced from *gacchai*, and derive *gacchañ* from **gacchsyāmi*, **gakṣyāmi*. Cf. *soṇcchañ* § 531.

§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation *pā* forms JM. *pāhāmi* = *pāsyāmi* (Āv. 42,27); AMg. *pāham* (Uttar. 593 [text *pāhim*]), *pāhisi* (Kappas. S. § 18), *pāhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6); M. *pāhinti* (R. 3,21; text false ° *he*). The future of *sthā* is M. *thāhii* (Pracandap. 47,4), Ś. *ciṭṭhissam* (Śak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2); Mg. *ciṭṭhiśsam* (Candak. 42,11), *anuciṭṭhiśsam* (Mṛcch. 40,11; cf. v. l. and § 303); Ś. *ciṭṭhissadi* (Vikr. 43,8); AMg. Ś. *ciṭṭhissāmo* (Nāyādh. 908. 939; Viddhaś. 61,8). — Ś. *uṭṭhissāmo* (Mṛcch. 20,22) goes back to *uṭṭhai*, AMg. *uṭṭhehinti* (Vivāhap. 1280) to *uṭṭhei* (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from *drś* in M. JM. AMg. is *dacchañ* = *drakṣyāmi* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. *dacchāmi* (R. 11,77), *dacchimi* (R. 11,85); M. *dacchihisi* (H. 819; R. 11,93 [to be read so with C; false S. GOLD-SCHMIDT p. 286 note 1]); AMg. *dacchisi* (Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35, where correct is the text); JM. *dacchihī* (Erz. 24,12); M. *dacchihī* (R. 14,55), *dacchāma* (R. 3,50), *dacchiha* (R. 3,23 [so to be read]). Beside them one says also AMg. *pāsihii* from *pāsai* = *paśyati* (Ovav. [§ 115]). To Ś. Mg. Dh. both the verbs are unknown : they use *ikṣ* with *pra*, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. *pēcchissam* (H. 743), *pēcchihisi* (H. 566); JM. *pēcchissāmo* (Dvār. 505,28); Ś. *pekkhissam* (Mṛcch. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Śak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc.), *pēkkhissadi* (Ratn. 300,1; Uttarar. 66,7); Mg. *pēkkhiśsam* (Mṛcch. 40,10), *pēkkhiśadi* (Mṛcch. 123,22); Dh. *pēkkhissam* (Mṛcch. 35,15. 17); A. *pēkkhīhimi* (Vikr. 55,18). — As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too *labh* may take a nasal in the root: Ś. *lambhissam* = *lapsye* (Cait. 83,2); Ś. *uvālabhissam* = *upālapṣye* (Priyad. 19,15); but also Ś. *lahissam* (Mṛcch. 70,12); Ś. *uvālahissam* (Śak. 61,2; 130,4); AMg. *labhissāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5); JM. *lahissāmo* (Erz. 13,30). From *sah* we find in AMg. the fut. *sakkhāmo* = Epic *śakṣyāmaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14). — From the contracted stems *khā-* and *dhā-* from *khāda-* and *dhāva-* (§ 165) the fut. *khāhii* and *dhāhii* are formed (Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228). So Mg. *khāhisi* (Mṛcch. 11,11) in the verse, against *khāiśsam* (Mṛcch. 124,10) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch*, corresponding to the present *pucchai* = *prechati*, forms the fut. Ś. *pucchissam* (Mṛcch. 4,22;

81,1. 2. 10; Śak. 19,3; 50,4; Mālatim. 103,10; Venis. 59,1; Karp. 3,4); Mg. *puṣciṣṣam* (Prab. 50,46; 53,12); AMg. *puccissāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Ovav. § 38).—*phuṭ* forms according to the present *phuṭṭai* (§ 488, note 1), A. *phuṭṭisu* (Hc. 4,422,12); M. *phuṭṭihisi*, *phuṭṭihii* (H. 768,281 [so to be read]). *muc* forms *mōccham*=*mokgyāmi* (Hc. 3,172; Ki. 4,19; Sr.fol. 53). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case. So M. *mōcchihii* (R. 4,49) and *mōcchihii* (R.3,30; 11,126). JM. says also *muñcīhii* (Dvār.504,11), Ś. *muñcissadi* (Vikr.72,20), as from *sic* Ś. *siñcissam* (Śak.15.4). On *mṛ* see §522.—From *vi* Ki. 4,19 teaches *viccham*, for which, as already LASSEN (Inst. p. 351) has noted, *vēccham* would be expected, which the rest of the grammarians derive from *vid*. We find in the texts the forms of the *i*-stem only, as AMg. *anupavisissāmi*, *pavisissāmi* (Āyār.2,1,4,5), *pavisissāmo* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); JM. *pavisihii* (Erz. 29,16); Mg. *paviṣiṣṣam*, *uvaviṣiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 36,1; 124,8).

§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. *kilammihisi* (G. 954), *kilammihii* (H. 196) from *kilammai* = *klāmyati* (§ 136); AMg. *sivissāmi* from *sivati* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); M. *kuppissam* (H. 898); Ś. *kuppissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,7. 8; Uttarar. 66,9); but also Ś. *kuviṣṣam* (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhaś. 71,3); Ś. *naccissam* (Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,5), *naccissadi* (Cait. 57,12) from *nṛt*; AMg. *sajjihii*, *rajjihii*, *gijjihii*, *mujjihii*, *ajjhovavajjihii* from *saj*, *raj*, *grdh*, *muh*, *pad* (Ovav. § 111); AMg. *bujjihii* from *budh* (Ovav. § 116), *sijjihii* from *sidh* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), *sijjihinti* (Ovav. § 128), *sijjhissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16); JM. *sijjihii* (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Ś. *vivajjissam* from *pad* with *vi* (H.865; Mṛcch.25,15); AMg. *paḍivajjissāmi* (Uvās. §12.210), Ś. *paḍivajjissam* (Mālatim. 117,5), Ś. *paḍivajjissadi* (Śak. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7), AMg. *paḍivajjissāmo* (Ovav. § 38); M. *pavajjihisi* (H. 661); AMg. *uvavajjihii* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100. 101), *uvavajjissaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *samup-pajjihii* (Ovav. § 115), *uppajjissanti* (Thāṇ. 80. 133); Ś. *sampajjissadi* (Vikr. 43,12); JM. *vaccihisi* (Erz. 77,33), M. *vaccihii* (H. 918) from *vaccāi* (§ 202), but JM. *pavaiṣṣāmi* (Āv. 32,27), AMg. *pavaiṣṣii* (Ovav. § 115) from *vraj*; M. *maṇṇihisi* (G. 954; H. 663), JM. *mannissai* (Erz. 12,35), Ś. *maṇṇissadi* (Uttarar. 95,2 [so to be read]); JM. *viṇassihisi* (Erz. 29,16), *viṇāsihi* (Dvār. 495,17); M. *laggissam*, *laggihisi* (H. 375. 21), *laggihii* (G. 70), Mg. *anulaggiṣṣam* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *rūsesu* from the *e*-stem of *ruṣ* (Hc. 4,414; 4), like JM. *mannehii* (Āv. 12,12) from the *e*-stem of *man*. Deviating from the present (§ 489) *śram* forms the future in M. *visammihii* (H.576 [so to be read]).—Corresponding to the present *jāi*, AMg. *āyanti*, *paccāyanti* (§487) the future of *jan* are AMg. *paṇāhisi* (Vivāhap. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyādh. § 26), *paṇāhii* (Ovav. § 104; Kappas. § 79; Nāyādh. § 51), *paccāṇāhii* (Vivāhap. 1090; Thāṇ. 523; Ovav. § 102), *āyāissanti* (Kappas. § 17). On *śak* see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of *y*: *kittaiṣṣam*, *kittaiṣṣii* = *kīrtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); AMg. *dalaiṣṣai* (Vivāhap. 1288), *dalaiṣṣanti* (Ovav. § 108); Ś. *kuṭṭaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 18,5), *anūlaiṣṣam* = *anukūlayisyāmi* (Mālatim. 267,8), *cūraiṣṣam* (Karp. 21,2), *vāraiṣṣadi*, *cintaiṣṣadi*, *ñattaiṣṣadi*=*nivartayisyati* (Śak. 55,2; 87,1; 91,6), *puloaiṣṣadi* (Vṛṣabh.22,9), *viṇodaiṣṣāmo* (Śak. 78,10), *visaṇṇaiṣṣadha* (Śak. 86. 5), *saddāvaiṣṣam* = **śabdāpayisyāmi* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *moḍvaiṣṣasi* = **mocāpayisyasi* (Mṛcch. 60,13); Mg. *gaṇaiṣṣam* (Śak. 154,6), *maḍamaḍaiṣṣam*, *tāḍaiṣṣam*, *liḍvaiṣṣam*, *dūṣaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 21,22; 80,5; 136,21; 176,6), *vāvāḍaiṣṣadi*=*vyāpādayisyati* (Venis. 36,5). At Mṛcch. 128,14 Mg. *moḍaiṣṣāmi* with the ending *-mi* as against *moḍaiṣṣam* at Mṛcch. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.

On the contrary *Ś. nikkāmaissāmi* at *Mr̥chh.* 52,9 is to be corrected as *°aissam̐*. In *M. AMg. JM.* we find the future also from the contracted form in *-e*: *M. mārehisi* (*H.* 567); *JM. vattehāmi* = *vartayisyāmi* (*Āv.* 47, 26); *vināsehāmi* = *vināsayisyāmi* (*Dvār.* 495,31); *nāsehii* (*T.* 5,20); *melavehisi* = *melayisyasi* (*Āv.* 30,8); *jañehi* (*Erz.* 12,28); *nivārehii* (*Erz.* 8,21); *kahehinti* (*Āv.* 26,36); *AMg. sehāvehii* = **śaikṣāpayisyati*, **sikkāvehii* = **śikṣāpayisyati* (*Ovav.* § 107), *cejēssāmo* = *cetayisyāmaḥ* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,1; 2,2, 2,10), *sakkārehinti*, *sammānehinti*, *paḍvisajjehinti* (*Ovav.* § 108), *uvaṇimante-hinti* (*Ovav.* § 110), *saddavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1276), *ñōllavehinti* (*Vivāhap.* 1280). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix (§ 491), to which are attached the causative (§ 533): *Ś. kadhissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 80,25), *M. kahissam̐* (*H.* 157), beside the usual *Ś. kadhaissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 19,2; *Śak.* 51,12; 105,7), *Mg. kadhaissam̐*, *kadhaissāsi* (*Mr̥chh.* 139,23; 165, 15); *AMg. *kārāvissam̐* = *kārāpayisyāmi* = *kārayisyāmi* (*Āyār.* 1,1,1,5); *Ś. khaṇḍissam̐* = *khaṇḍayisyāmi* (*Karp.* 18,7); *M. puloissam̐* = *pralokayisyāmi* (*H.* 743), *Ā. paloissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 104,21); *Ś. vaddhāissam̐* = **vardhāpayisyāmi* (*Śak.* 37,10), *viṇṇavissam̐* = *viññāpayisyāmi*, *sussūissam̐* = **śusrūsayisyāmi* (*Mr̥chh.* 58,11; 88,11); *Mg. māliṣṣāsi* = *mārayisyasi* (*Mr̥chh.* 125,7); *Ś. takkissadi* = *tarkayisyati* (*Vikr.* 79,9; v. l. *cintissadi*), *mantissadi* (*Ratn.* 299, 9) beside *mantaissadi* (*Mr̥chh.* 54,1).

§ 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in *-ā*, *khyā* forms *AMg. paccāikkhissāmi* = **pratyācikkhyisyāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,9,2), *yā* *AMg. nijjāissāmi* according to § 487 (*Ovav.* § 40 [so to be read with *Q* for *nijjāhissāmi* of the text]), *JM. jāhii* (*Erz.* 29,12; 35,5), *vā* *AMg. parinivvāhii* (*Vivāhap.* 175; *Nāyādh.* 390 [so to be read]), *parinivvāissanti* (*Āyār.* 2,15,16), *snā* *Ś. ṇhāissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 27,14) according to § 487.—From *i* the fut. is *AMg. ēssāmi* (*Thāp.* 142), *ēssanti* (*Sūyag.* 45. 56. 71); with the prefix *ā* *M. ehisi* (*H.* 385), *M. AMg. ehii* (*H.* 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855. 918; *R.* 10,79; *Āyār.* 2,4,1,2 [so to be read]; *Uvās.* § 187), *JM. ehī* (*Erz.* 24,11), *ehinti* (*Erz.* 29,13), *A. eṣi* (*Hc.* 4, 414, 4). From this is found also a wholly isolated optative *M. ehijja* (*H.* 17) standing there.—*rud* forms *roccam̐* = **rotsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), in *Ki.* 4,19 *ruccam̐*, but *M. roissam̐* (*H.* 503), *Ś. rodissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 95,23; *Nāgān.* 3,1), also *rudissāmo* (*Mallikām.* 154,23).—From *svap* the fut. is *Ś. suvissam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 50,4; *Priyad.* 34,3), *Mg. suviṣṣam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 43,12; *Prab.* 60,15).—*vid* has the fut. *vēccham̐* = **vetsyāmi* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53), but *Ś. vedissadi* (*Prab.* 37,15), *AMg. vedissanti* (*Thāp.* 108).—*vac* forms *voccam̐* (§ 104; *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53). So *M. AMg. voccam̐* (*Vajjāлага* 324,10; *Paṇhāv.* 331; *Ovav.* 184 [text *bo*°]; *Nandis.* 92 [text *bo*°]; *Jiyak.* 1.60) and *voccāmi* (*Vivāhap.* 59; *Paṇhāv.* 330; *Uttar.* 737. 897); but *AMg. also vakkhāmo* = *vakṣyāmaḥ* (*Dasav.* 627,23), *pavakkhāmi* (*Sūyag.* 278. 284). In *Ki.* 4,21 *vacchihimi*, *vacchimi*, *vacchi* are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms *roccam̐*, *vēccham̐*, *voccam̐* and all similarly built ones are not used in *Ś. Mg.*, as *Mk.* fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for *gaccham̐* (§ 523) hold good. = From *duh* the fut. is *duhii* (*Hc.* 4,245).

§ 530. From *dā* the future is *AMg. JM. dāhāmi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,10,1; *Uttar.* 743; *Erz.* 59,23. 34¹) and *dāham̐* (*Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,170; *Ki.* 4,19; *Erz.* 10,24), according to *Hc.* also *dāhimi*; *AMg. dāhisi* (*Āyār.* 2,1,2,4; 2,2, 3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5); *JM. dāhi* (*Āv.* 43,22; *Erz.*); *AMg. dāhāmo* (*Āyār.* 2,5,1,10), *dāhāmu* (*Sūyag.* 178; *Uttar.* 355. 358), *dāhittha* (*Uttar.* 359); *JM. dāhinti* (*Erz.* 80,22). In *Ś. Mg.* the fut. *Ś. daiṣsam̐* (*Mr̥chh.* 80,20), *Mg. daiṣṣam̐* = **dayisyāmi* (*Mr̥chh.* 31,6.8.15; 32,9.24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19 etc; § 474); are formed from the stem *daya-*, corresponding to the present *dedi* = **dayati*.

We should read *daissam* for *Ś. dāissam* (Karp. 112,5; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and *daissantī* for *deissantī* (Kāleyak. 2,13). — *dhā* has attested the old reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with *śrad*: AMg. *saddahissai* (Nāyādh. 1114—1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to °*dhai*°, °*hai*° (§ 500): AMg. *pehissāmi*, metrically for *pi*°, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyār. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: *pihāissam* (Viddhaś. 70,8); AMg. *saṁdhissāmi*, *parihissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. *saṁdhihi* (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which **saṁdhāissasi* is to be expected. — From *hā* AMg. has the fut. *vipphāhissāmo* (Sūyag. 633.635), from *bhī* Ś. has *bhāissam*, *bhāissadi* (Śak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyār. 1,7,7,2 JACOBI twice reads *dāsāmi*, 2,5,1,11. 13 *dāsāmo* beside *dāhāmo*. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads *dalaissāmi*, as also the v. 1, has, at the second *dāssāmo*, at the third *dāsāmo*.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation *ci* forms the fut. Ś. *avaciṇissam* (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. *ciṇissantī*, *uvaciṇissantī* (Thāṇ. 107.108; Vivāhap. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 *ciṇihii* would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip. — *śru* forms according to the grammarians *so'ccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171. 172; Ki. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to *gaccham* (§ 523). This *so'ccham* does not belong to *śru*, but to Vedic *śruṣ*, and, therefore, stands regularly for **śroksyāmi*. The fut. from *śru* are Ś. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 60,7,9; Śak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1. 9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), *suṇissāmo* (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), Mg. *suṇissam* (Mṛcch. 21,21), JM. *suṇissai* (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the *e*-stem: *suṇessāmi* (Thāṇ. 143), *suṇessāmo* (Ovav. § 38). — From *āp* AMg. forms the fut. *pāuṇissāmi* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1), *pāuṇihii* (Uvās. § 62; Ovav. § 100. 116)¹ corresponding to the present *pāunai* (§ 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem *pāva*:- A. *pāvīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. *pāvissasi* (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. *pāvihisi* (H. 462. 510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); Mg. *pāvihisi* (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for *vahesi*; cf. v. 1. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. *pāvihii* (H. 918). — *śak* forms the future according to the 4. conjugation (§ 505); M. *sakkihisi* (Viddhaś. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. *sakkissāmo* (Cait. 75,15; text *sakissamha*); JM. *sakkissaha* (Kk. 265,11); also with the *e*-stem: JM. *sakkehii* (Āv. 45,8), *sakkehi* (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. *pāuṇ*; wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 108 on vr.

§ 532. The future of *chid*, *bhid*, *bhuj* according to the grammarians is formed: *chēccham*, *bhēccham*, *bho'ccham* corresponding to Skt. *chestsyāmi*, *bhetsyāmi*, *bhoksyāmi* (Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of *gaccham* (§ 523). From *chid* are found: AMg. *acchindihinti* *vicchindihinti*, *vo'cchindihinti* (Vivāhap. 1277), from *bhid*: AMg. *bhidissantī* (Āyār. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect *bhindissantī*, as for *bhidanti*, rather *bhindanti* from *bhuj*: AMg. *bho'kkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *bho'kkhasi* (Kappas. S. 18), *bho'kkhāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6). JM. has *bhuṇṇijihī* (Erz. 6,36), likewise *bhuṇṇissai* (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 *saṁrundihii* would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of *kṛ* is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. *karissāmi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; Thāṇ. 149. 476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandis. 354; Uttar. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. Ś. *karissam* (H. 743.882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); Mg. *kaliṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 96,13); A. *karisu* (Hc. 4,396,4); M. *karihi* (H. 844); Ś. *karissasi* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 58,2); A. *karihi* (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. *karihi* (Vivāhap. 175); JM. *karissai* (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. *karissai* (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. *karissadi* (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;

Uttarar. 197,11); Mg. *kalīśśadi* (Prab. 51,1; 58,15 [so to be read; see v. 1.]); AMg. JM. *karissāmo* (Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11); M. *karissāma* (H. 897); AMg. Ś. *karissanti* (Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [§ 105]); Nāgān. 43,11). Corresponding to the use of the *e*-stem in the present (§ 509), the same is used in fut. too, in Ś. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. *karēssam* (Vivāhap. 1255), but Ś. *karaissam* (Mṛcch. 60,11; 120,8; Śak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2), Mg. *kalaiśśam* (Mṛcch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Caṇḍak. 42,10), *kalaiśśasi* (Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. AMg. *karehii* (H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [so to be read]); Ovav. § 116 [the commentator has *kāhii*], but Ś. *karaissadi* (Prab. 42,8), Mg. *kalaiśśadi* (Mṛcch. 140,6); JM. *karēssāmo* (Kk. 274,26) and *karehāmo* (Erz. 25,25); AMg. JM. *karehinti* (Ovav. § 105. 128; Āv. 43,18), AMg. *karēssanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but Ś. *karaissanti* (Śak. 142,4). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem *kuvva-* (§ 508) too: *viuv-vissāmi* (Vivāhap. 1397 f.), *vikuvvissanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future *kāham* = **karsyāmi*, that is inflected as *gaccham* (§ 523; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Ki. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52). So: M. JM. *kāham* (H. 187; Erz. 80,18); JM. *kāhāmi* (Erz. 5,23; 83,8); according to Hc. and Sr. also *kāhimi*; M. AMg. *kāhisi* (H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35); M. AMg. JM. *kāhii* (Hc. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Nirāyāv. § 27; Āv. 32,7); JM. AMg. *kāhi* (Erz. 8,21; 71,8; Dvār. 495,18 [*kāhi tti*]; Dasav. 617,28); JM. *kāhāmo* (Erz. 15,13; 80,18; Sagara 3,15), *kāhiha* (Āv. 33,27), AMg. JM. *kāhinti* (Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Āv. 43,36). A. *kitsu* (Hc. 4,389) presupposes one **kriyāmi*.

§ 534. From *jñā*, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms *nāhisi* = *jñāsyasi* (Sūyag. 106); *nāhi* (Thān. 451), *nāhii* (Dasav. 617,28), *nāhi* (Dasav. 617,32. 34) = *jñāsyati*. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem *jāna-* is usable. So: M. Ś. *jānissam* (H. 749; Mṛcch. 3,2; Ratn. 307, 26); M. *jānihisi* (H. 528. 643), likewise A. (Vikr. 58,11); AMg. *jānihii* (Ovav. § 115); Ś. *jānissadi* (Mālav. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5. 7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Laṭakam. 6,6), *abbhaṇujānissadi* (Mālav. 40,7), *ahijānissadi* (Śak. 102,15); AMg. Ś. *jānissāmo* (Sūyag. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. *yāniśśamha*, false for *yāniśśāmo* (Lalitav. 565,9). — From *kṛi* the fut. is Ś. *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), Mg. *kiṇiśśam* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. *kiṇihāmo* (Āv. 15); from *grah* Ś. *geṇhissam* (Mṛcch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316, 22; Mudrār. 103,9), *geṇhissadi* (Mṛcch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), *anugīṇhissadi* (Pārvatīp. 30,18); AMg. *giṇhissāmo* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. *ghēccchāmo* (Āv. 23,6) belongs, as *ghēppai* (§ 548), to a root **ghr̥p*, present **ghivai* (§ 212), is therefore = **ghr̥psyāmahi*. — *bandh* forms AMg. *bandhissai* (Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), *bandhissanti* (Thān. 108); Ś. *anubandhissam* (Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 *bandhikii* would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in *parasmaipada*. — *bhaṇ* regularly forms AMg. *bhaṇihāmi* (Jiyak. C. 11); M. Ś. *bhaṇissam* (H. 12.604; Mṛcch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text *pha*°]; Mālatīm. 265,1; 276,7); Ś. *bhaṇissasi* (Mṛcch. 58,8); M. *bhaṇihii* (H. 858.918); Ś. *bhaṇissadi* (Ratn. 304,1); JM. *bhaṇissaha* (Kk. 274,19); Ś. *bhaṇissadha* (Mālatīm. 246, 7,); M. *bhaṇihinti* (G. 965). From the *e*-stem is built Mg. *bhaṇaiśśam* (Mṛcch. 32,20).

PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with *ya* is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, *-ya* then becomes *-jja* in M. JM. JŚ. AMg. A. and *-yya* in P., in Ś. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or *-iṇya*, which in M. JM. JŚ.

AMg. A. becomes *-jja*, in Ś. Mg. *-īa*, in P. *-iyya*, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from *dā* one says M. JM. AMg. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjādi*, P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi*; from *gam* M. JM. AMg. *gammai*, *gamiijāi*, P. **gamiyyate*, Ś. *gamīadi*, *gacchiadi*, Mg. **gaściadi*. Forms in Ś. *-ijja*, Mg. *-iyya* (mostly printed *-ījja*) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false¹. In D. *kahijjādi* (§ 103,15) for *kadhīadi* and *sāsijjāi* (103,16) for *sāsiadi* (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as *ārambhante* (8,82; particip.), *rumbhañ*, *rumbhanta* (s. v. *rudh*), *osumbhanta*, *ṇisumbhanta* (s. v. *sudh*) are false readings for *ārabbhante*, *rubbhañ*, *rubbhanta*, *osubbhanta*, *ṇisubbhanta*, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading *uvabhuñjanto* (IS. 15,429) for *uvabhujanto* is false; *ōcchundañ* (R. 10,55) for which the manuscript C has *apphundañ* is not clear. The optative *vējja*, *lahejja*, *acchejja* for *vijjējja*, *lahijjējja*, *acchijjējja* (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. *samucchiñinti* for *samucchiñijhinti* from *chid* (§ 549). Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Ki. 4,12; Mk. fol. 51 teach *-īa* and *-ijja* without distinguishing between the dialects; Mk. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only *-īa* and forbids the forms like *dubbhañ*, *libbhañ*, *gammañ* for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9; 8,57—59; Hc. 4,242—249; Mk. fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as *sippañ*, *juppañ*, *ādhabbañ*, *dubbhañ*, *rubbhañ* etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOBI² has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON³, is wholly wrong. See § 266. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the parasmaip.; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the ātmanep., especially in the participle.

1. BOLLESEN on Malav. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in *-u*, *-ū*, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. *ṇiṇhuvijjanti*. (H. 657), Ś. *ṇiṇhuvīadi* (Ratn. 303, 9) from *hnu*; *ruvvañ*, *ruvijjāi*, (Hc. 2,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from *ru*; M. *thuvvasi stūyase* (G. 298), *thuvvañ* = *stūyate* (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. *thuvvade* (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. *thuvvanti* (text *thuva*) = *stūyante* (Vivāhap. 1232), JM. *thuvvanta-* (Erz. 24,2), *saṁthuvvanta-* (Āv. 7,26); beside *thunijjāi* (Hc. 4,242) from *stu*; *dhuuvañ*, *dhunijjāi*, M. *viḥuvvañ*, *viḥuvvanta-*, *odhuvvanti* (R.), AMg. *uddhuvvamāñihim* (Ovav.; Kappas.) from *dhū*, *puvvañ*, *puñijjāi*, A. *puñijje* (Piṅgala 2,107) from *pū*, *luvvañ*, *luñijjāi* from *lū*, *huvvañ*, *hunijjāi* from *hu* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,74; Mk. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from *śru*. M. JM. *suvvañ*, *suvvanti*, *suvvamāṇa* (G. H. R.; Āv. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. *suvvanta-* (Karp. 51,3); AMg. *suvvae* (Sūyag. 154), *suvvañ* (Sūyag. 277; text *cca*), *suvvanti* (Uttar. 280; text *cca*); beside *suñijjāi* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), *suñijjae*, *suñiāi*, *suñīae* (Sr. fol. 54); Ś. *suñiadi* (Mṛcch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Śak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), *suñiyanti* (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), *suñianti* (Śak. 58,1; Uttarar. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), *suñiādu* (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. *suñiadi* (Mṛcch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrār. 191,5; Venis. 35, 18; 36,3); A. *suñijje* (Piṅgala 2,107). JM. has also *summañ* (Erz. 11,16), as one **sumāi* beside **suvvañ* is presupposed in accordance with § 261.

According to the grammarians (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58) *ji* too, according to Hc. 4,243 *ci* too have the same formation of the passive: *civvai*, *ciñijjai*, fut. *civvihii*, *jivvai*, *jiñijjai*, according to Hc. also *cimmai*, fut. *cimmihii*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summai*. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ū with JACOBI, whose hypothesis is erroneous¹, and JOHANSSON². *civvai* is a regular passive from *civ* (Dhātupāṭha 21,15 *civṛ ādānasamvaranayoh*), *jivvai*, apparently from *jiv* (Dhātupāṭha 15,85 *jivī prīṇanārthah*), that is equated as *jivv*. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has *cijjanti*, *wacijjanti*, *avacijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 628. 629), Ś. *vicīadu* (Vikr. 30,15). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from *bhū* is *hoīai*, *hoijjai*. In Ś. it is *bhaviadi* in *aṇubhaviadi* (Ratn. 317,5), *aṇuhaviadi* (Nāgān. 4,5), and *aṇuhuviadi* (Kāleyak. 9,22), *abhibhaviadi* (Mālatim. 130,5), particip. *abhibhūamāṇa* (Śak. 16,10), in Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *huvīadi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). On *pahuppai* see 286. — From *nī* the passive is M. *nijjai* (G.H.R.), JM. *nīñijanta-* (Āv. 24,4), Ś. *ñiadi* (Śak. 78,8), *āñiadi* (Vikr. 31,5; Karp. 26,8), *āñiadu* (Karp. 26,7), *ahiñiadi* (Śak. 3,5), *aṇuñiāmāṇa* (Mṛcch. 23,23. 25); Mg. *ñiadi* (Mṛcch. 100,22).

1. KZ. 28,255. — 2. KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 71; GN. 1874, p. 513; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -ṛ form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. *dharijjai* (R.), fut. *dharijjihii* (H. 778; so to be read); Mg. *dhalīadi* (Prab. 50,10); M. *aṇusarijjanti* (G. 627); M. *nivvarijjai* (H. 204); M. A., *samarijjai* = *smariyate* (R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426), JM. *sumarijjau* (Erz. 15,3), Ś. *sumariadi* (Mṛcch. 128,1). The roots in -ṛ form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -ṛ: Ś. *kīranta-* from *kṛ* (Bālar. 199,10) against the dialect, in which *kīranta-* was to be expected: *jīrai* (also = *jīryati*) and *jarijjai* (Hc. 4,250), AMg. *nijjarijjai* (Uttar. 885; so correctly in the commentary); M. JM. *īrai* (Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz.), *īrai* (H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21) and M. *tarijjai* (Hc. 4,250; G.), AMg. *viyarijjai* (Uttar. 354). Conversely *hṛ* follows the roots in -ṛ: M. AMg. *hīrasi* (G. 726; Uttar. 711); M. JM. *hīrai* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Ki. 4,79. 80; Mk. fol. 62; H. R.; Āv. 35,13), M. *hīranti* (G.), *hīranta-* (H.), AMg. *avahīranti* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 398 ff.), *avahīramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 404); but Ś. *avaharīami* (Uttarar. 97,1; text °ri°), *avaharīasi* (Nāgān. 95,14), *avaharīadi* (Dhūrtas. 13,5), *avaharīadu* (Mṛcch. 25,6), *uddharīadi* (Mālatim. 246,5); Mg. *āhalīadu* (Prab. 63,4). Cf. Ki. 4,79.80. Thence false in Ś. *hīrasi* (Bālar. 174,9). From *pṛ* are found M. *pūrijjanta-* (H. 116), *ahiūrijjanti* = *abhipūryante* (G. 872); JM. *āūrijjamāṇa* (Erz. 24,5) and M. *pūrai*, *āūramāṇa*, *paripūranta-* (R.). On *vāhippai* beside *vāharijjai* see § 286, on *kr* § 547.

§ 538. From the *ai-* roots the passive are: M. JM. *gijjanta-* (H. 644; Kk. 264,2); JM. *gijjanti* (Erz. 40,19); AMg. *parigijjamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 117); P. *giyyate* (Hc. 4,315); Ś. *nijjhādi* (Mālav. 60,6); from the verbs of the old -ska- class: M. *acchijjai* (H. 83); Ś. *icchiadi* (Mudrār. 57,4), Mg. *iśīadi* (Śak. 118,6). Like *ramai*, *ramijjai* (Vr. 8,58), P. *ramiyyate* (Hc. 4,315) formed from *ram* are formed from gam M. JM. *gammāi* = *gamyate* (Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Ki. 4,13; Sr. fol. 54; H. R.; Erz.), AMg. *gammanti* (Ovav. 56, p. 63,13), *samaṇugammanta-* (Ovav. [§ 37]) and °*gammamāṇa* (Nāyādh. § 103. 105); M. *gammāi* (H. 715), fut. *gammihii* (Hc. 4,249; H. 609), partly with an active meaning; M. *gamijjanti* (G. 846; so to be read); Ś. *gamiadu* (Mālatim. 285,5; printed °mi°), *gacchiadi* (Śak. 25,2; Vikr. 22. 10. 15), *avagacchiadi* (Mudrār. 58,4), *āacchiadi* (Nāgān. 19,11). For *aṇugacchijjanti* in Mṛcch. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly *aṇugacchīanti*; M.

sañjamijjanti (G. 289). — From *dhau* (to wash), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. *dhuvvanta-* (H. R.) and *dhuvvamāṇa*.

§ 539. From *pā* (to drink) the passive forms are M. *pījjaī* (H.), *pījjae* (Karp. 24,12), *pījjanti* (G.), *pījjanta-* (Karp. 10,8), *Ś. pīviadi* (Mṛcch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19), as we should read at Mṛcch. 87,13 too for *pīadi* and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for *pīadi*, imp. *Ś. pīviadu* (Mṛcch. 77,11). Against the dialect is *Ś. pījjanti* Śak. 29,5, for which we should read *pīvianti*, in all cases with the remaining recensions *pīanti* (Kashmīr recension *pīante*). False is Mg. *pījjae* (Prab. 28,15) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; *pīviadi* would be correct. — *sthā* forms *Ś. anuciṭṭhīadi* (Mṛcch. 4,13). imp. *anuciṭṭhīadu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratn. 290,28; Prab. 3,5; Nāgān. 2,17). Kī. 4,14 teaches *thīai*, *thījjaī*.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations *khañijjaī* (Hc. 4,244), JM. participle *khannamāṇa* (Erz. 39,7), from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammaī* too (Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56). So M. *ukkhammanti*, *ukkhammanta-*, *ukkhammiavva* (R.). The form is not to be separated from *jammaī* from *jan* (Hc. 4,136) and *hammaī* from *han* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56) beside *hañijjaī*. So M. *āhammiuṇ*, *ñihammaī*, *ñihammanti*, *pañhammanta-* (R.); AMg. *hammaī* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289), *hammanti* (Uttar. 668. 1008; Pañhāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431), *hammantu* (Pañhāv. 129), *paḍihammejjā* (Thān. 188), *viñihammanti* (Uttar. 156); AMg. JM. *hammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Pañhāv. 202; Vivāgas. 63; Niraṇṇāv. 67; Erz.); AMg. *vihammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 350), *suhammamāṇa* (Sūyag. 270). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammāī* from *gam* with JACOBI¹ and JOHANSSON². *jammaī* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma-*, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma-*, **khanman*, Pkt. *khamma-*³. Cf. § 550. 557. On *khuppaī* see § 286.

1. KZ. 28,254.—2. KZ. 32,449.—3. Mk. fol. 57 teaches *khammaī* like *hammaī* (§ 550) as active.

§ 541. From *drś*, corresponding to Skt. *drśyate*, is regularly formed M. JM. *disaī* (Hc. 3,161; Sr. fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); M. *disae* (Karp. 54,10), *aīsanta-* (H. R.); M. AMg. *disanti* (Karp. 4,10; Dasav. 635,12); AMg. *dissai* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3), *adissamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; Sūyag. 646); *Ś. disadi* (Mṛcch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratn. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc.), *disadha* (Karp. 3,8), *disanti* (Śak. 99,12; Viddhaś. 71,9; 119,13; Mālatīm. 201,2), *disadu* (Karp. 54,4), Mg. *disadi* (Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 138,24; 139,10. 11; 147,4. 15; 168,18), *disanti* (Mṛcch. 14,11). — *labh* forms M. *labbhaī* = *labhyate* (Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mṛcch. 153,17), as we should read in JM. too for *lajjhaī* (Erz. 60,16), that is wrongly read; AMg. fut. *lubbhihi* in the active sense (Dasav. 624,14); *Ś. labbhadi* (Śak. 23,14); beside it *lahijjaī* (Hc. 4,249), as in A. (Piṅgala 1,117), and in *Ś. Mg.* from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525); *Ś. lambhīadi* (Mālatīm. 217,3), *lambhīāmo* (Mālatīm. 240,4), *uvālamhīadi* (text ° *bhijjaī*, Mallikām. 218,8); Mg. *ālambhīadi* (Mudrār. 194,2; to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. sarivāt 1926 p. 162,8). — *vah* has the passivum M. AMg. JM. *vubbhaī* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79 [text *va°*]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz.), M. *ñivvubbhaī* (R.). So also we should at H. 275 read *vubbhasi* for *ujjhasi* (cf. WEBER on it) and Dasav. 635,8 *vubbhaī* for misread *vujjhaī*. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches *vahijjaī* too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in *Ś. vahīadi* alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch* forms the passivum M. JM. AMg. *pucchijjaī* : M. *pucchijjanti* (particip.; H.); JM. *pucchijjāmi* (Erz.); AMg. *pucchijjanti* (Paṇṇav. 388); *Ś. pucchīasi* (Viddhaś. 118,8), *pucchīadi*

(Mṛcch. 57,18; 72,25).—*kṛt* has in AMg. *kiṇṇā* (Uttar. 177).—*muc* forms in M. JM. AMg. *muccā* = *mucyate*; M. *muccā*, *muccanti* (G.), *muccanta-* (R.); JM. *muccāmi*, *muccāe* (Erz.); AMg. *muccā* (Vivāhap. 37), *muccae* (Uttar. 243), *muccanti* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *muccējjā* (1. sing.; Uttar. 624), *muccējja* (3. sing.; Sūyag. 104; Uttar. 247), *pamuccā*, *vimuccā* (Āyār. 1,3, 3,5; 2,16,12); JŚ. *vimuccadi* (Pav. 384,60); but Ś. *muñciadu* (Mudrār. 247,7; [so to be read for *muñcijjadu*, *muñcadu* of the editions]) in the face of the fut. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]).—From *lup* is found M. *luppanta-* (G. 384), AMg. *luppā*, *luppanti* (Sūyag. 104), from *sic* JM. *siccanto* (Dvār. 504,10), AMg. *abhisiccamāni*, *parisiccamāna* (Kappas.), *saṁsiccamāna* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); Ś. *siccanti* (Mudrār. 182,1); so to be read with the Calc. editions], *siccamānā* (Mālatim. 121,2). On *sippā* see § 286, on *mṛ* § 477. *chippā*, *chivijjā*, which Hc. 4,257 derives from *sprś*, belong to *ksip* (§ 319).

§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are: M. *paḍibujjijjā* = *pratibudhyate* (G. 1172); A. *rūsiijā* = *rusyate* (Hc. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding *-ya*, *-aya*, Pkt. *-a*, *-e*: *kāriā*, *kārijjā*, *karāviā*, *karāvijjā*, *hāsiā*, *hāsiijā*, *hasāviā*, *hasāvijjā* (Vr. 7,28. 29; Hc. 3,152. 153; Sr. fol. 55. 56). M. *cheijjanti* (G. 1198), Ś. *chedanti* (Mṛcch. 71,4) = *chedyante*; M. *tosijjā* = *tosyate* (H. 508), *samatthijjā* = *samarthyate* (H. 730), *kavalijjā* = *kavalikriyate* (G. 172), *pahāmiijanta-* = *prabhrāmyamāna* (R. 7,69); JM. *mārijjā* = *māryate* (Erz. 5,34), *mārijjāu*, *mārijjāmi* (Erz. 5,26; 32,26); AMg. *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), *piḍḍā* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); Ś. *pabodhiāmi* = *prabodhye* (Śak. 29,9), *vāḍādi* = *vyāpādyate* (Mṛcch. 41,7; Uttarar. 97,1; Mudrār. 250,2; Vepīs. 35,20), *saṁpadhāriadu* = *saṁpradhāryatām* (Vikr. 22,19), *viṇṇaviadi* = *viññāpyate* (Vikr. 30,21), *jivāviadi* = *jiviyate* (Mṛcch. 176,7), *avadāriadu* = *avatāryatām* (Karp. 26,9), *sukkhavijjanti* = *śosyante* (characteristically **śuṣkāpyante*; Mṛcch. 71, 4); A. *ṭhavije* = *sthāpyate* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M.: *kajjalāijjā* (R. 5,50); *valāijjā* (G. 1028), *kaṇḍāijjanta-* (H. 67), *maṇḍalāijjanta-* (S. 1034). From *kathaya-* the regular passive are: M. *kahijjā* (Hc. 4,249), *kahijjanti*, *kahijjāu*, *kahijjanta-* (H.); AMg. *parikahijjā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,4,1,3); D. *kahijjadi* (Mṛcch. 103,15); Mg. *kadhīyidu* (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. *kahijjā* (Piṅgala 1,117), *kahije* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Beside Hc. 4,249 teaches also *katthā*, that is found in AMg. (Āyār. 1,2,6,5) and phonetically must have been **kacchā* (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to *katth*. AMg. *pakatthā* (Sūyag. 234) is **prakatthate*. On *ādhappā*, *ādhavā*, *viḍhappā*, *viḍhavijjā*, *viḍhappiadi* see § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation *yā* has the passivum A. *jāijjā* (Hc. 4,419,3); in AMg. is found *pattiādi* (§ 487). On the roots in *-u*, *-ū* see § 356. *rud* has Ś. *rodīadi* (§ 495), *svap* in M. *suppāu* = *supyatām* (H.), in Ś. *suviadi* (Karnas. 18,20). *vac* forms *vuccā* (Hc. 3,161; § 337); AMg. *vuccā* (Uttar. 3; Vivāhap. 34. 35. 102. 928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), *vuccā* (Uttar. 2); *pavuccā* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3. 5,1,1. 1,6,1; 1,2,2,1. 6,2. 4; 1,4, 1,2; 1,5,3,3; Vivāhap. 202. 374 f. 409. 444; Rāyap. 144 ff.), *pavuccā* (Sūyag. 351); *vuccanti* (Sūyag. 978. 979. 994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22), *vuccamāna* (Sūyag. 393; Vivāhap. 149); Ś. *vuccāmi* (Karp. 32,9), *vuccasi* (Śak. 12,8), *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2. 3; Viddhaś. 128,1 [text *uccadi*]; Bālar. 96,12 [text *uccadi*]), *vuccanti* (Mṛcch. 29,7); Mg. *vuccadi* (Mṛcch. 36, 11).—Form *duh*, besides *duhijjā* is taught *dubbhā*, from *lih*, besides *lihi-jjā*, also *libbhā* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we

should read *libbhai*; cf. v. l.). On this see § 266. JM. has *dujjhaū* (Āv. 43, 11), fut. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43, 20), probably a false reading for *dubbhaū*, *dubbhihi*. Cf. *lajjhai*, *vujjhai* § 541. On *sisai*, D. *sāsijjai* from *sās* see § 499, on *hammai*, *hañijjai* from *han* § 540.

§ 545. From *dā*, corresponding to Skt. *diyate*, the passive is M. JM. A. *dijjai* (H. R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Piṅgala 1,121), M. also *dijjae* (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also *dije* (Piṅgala 2,102. 105), *dijjau* (Piṅgala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. *dijjahī* (Hc. 4,428; Piṅgala 2,59[so to be read]), JŚ. *dijjadi* (Kattig. 401,345); Ś. *diadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6), false *dijjadi* (Mṛcch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), *dijjantu* (Karp. 113,8), *dijjandu* (Viddhaś. 124,14), beside the correct *diadu* (Karp. 103,7); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); P. *tiyyate* (Hc. 4,315). — To *dhā* belong AMg. *āhijjai* = *ādhiyate* (Sūyag. 603. 674 ff.), *āhijjanti* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas.), explained by the commentators with *ākhyāyate*, *ākhyāyante*. From *hā* the passive forms are Ś. *parihāsi* (Śak. 51,5), *parihādi* (Mālatim. 212,4), *parihāmāṇa* (Karp. 76,1). On *huvvai*, *huñijjai* from *hu* see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: *ci*: *ciñijjai*, *civvai*, AMg. *cijjanti*, Ś. *viñiadu* (§ 536), *dhū*: *dhunijjai*, *dhuvvai* (§ 536), *śru*: *suñijjai*, *suuvai*, JM. *summaū*, Ś. *suñiadi*, Mg. *suñiadi* (§ 536), *āp*: Ś. *pāviadi* (Viddhaś. 43,2), A. *pāviai* (Hc. 4,366), Śak.: *sakkiadi* (Viddhaś. 87,2; Cait. 84,5; 85,13; 258,16), Mg. *śakkiadi* (Mṛcch. 116,6).

§ 546. The roots of the 7. conjugation form the passive mostly as in Skt., more seldom from the present stem: M. *chijjai*, *chijjanti*, *vo'cchijjai* (R.); JM. A. *chijjai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,357,1; 434,1); Ś. *chijjanti* (Mṛcch. 41,2), fut. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16). — M. JM. *bhajjai*, *bhajjanti*, *bhajjanta-* (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. *bhajjihisi* (H. 202); Mg. *bhayyadi*, imp. *vibhaya* (Mṛcch. 118, 12. 21; see § 506). — M. *bhijjai*, *bhijjanti*, *bhijjanta-* (G. H. R.); AMg. *bhijjai* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), *bhijjau* (Vivāhap. 1230), *bhijjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *ubbhijjadu* (Karp. 83,1), *ubbhijjanti* (Viddhaś. 72,3; text *ndi*). — M. *bhujjanta-*, *wahujjanta-* (G.); JM. *bhujjai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhujjai* (Uttar. 354); but also *bhuñijjai* (H. 4,249); JM. *paribhuñijjai* (Dvār. 500,36); Ś. *bhuñijadi* (Śak. 29,6). — M. *jujjanta-* (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it accords with" = Skt. *yujyate* always M. *jujjai* (H. 924), *ujjae* (H. 12), JŚ. *jujjade* (Kattig. 403,380), Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65, 12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: Ś. *ñiunñijai*, *ñiunñiasi* (Karp. 18,3,2), *ñiunñiadi* (Mālatim. 22,5 [so to be read; see p. 372]); *paññijadi* (Karp. 19,8), *paññijadu* (Mṛcch. 9,7). On *juppai* see § 286. For *rudh* Hc. 4,245 teaches *rundhijjai* and *rubbhai*, in conjunction with the prefixes *anu*, *upa*, *saṃ* 4,248: *anu-*, *uva-*, *saṃ-* *rujjhai*, *ruddhijjai*. In the text are found M. *parirujjai* (G. 434); Ś. *uvarujjadi* (Vikr. 82,15 v. l.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. *rubbhai*, *rubbhanta-*, *rubbhamāṇa* (R.), JM. *rubbhai* (Āv. 41,9) are passive from *rubh* (§ 507).

§ 547. *kr* forms the passive in M. JM. usually *kirai* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as *hr*, according to the analogy of the roots in *-r* (§ 537). So M. *kirai*, *kirae*, *kiranti*, *kiraū*, *kiranta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kirai* (Erz.; Āv. 9,23; 13,26; Dvār. 497,7), *kiraū* (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. *kiradi* (Kattig. 399,320; 401,350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāhap. 135. 796; Ovav. § 116. 127. 128), *kiramāṇa* (Daśav. 629,5), *kiranta-* (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as *kirate* for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājasekhara (pro ex. Bālar. 176,16 [kiradi]; 224,17 [kiraū]; 228,8 [kirai]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kiradi]) and used by later writers like Bilhana, Karmas. 53,16 (*kiradi*) in Ś. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Karp. 22,4 Konow (p. 19,7) correctly has *kariadi*. Hc. 4,250 mentions also *karijai*, and so A. has *karije* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101. 102. 105) and

karijjasu (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has *kijjai* = *kriyate* in *duhākijjai*, *dohākijjai*, and according to Hc. 4,274 *kijjadi* and *kijjade* will be used in Ś. So stands *kijjadu* in Ś. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. *kijjai* is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A. : *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), *kijjaū* (Piṅgala 1,81^a) in the active sense, *kijjahī* (so to be read; text °hī) = *kriyante* (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. *kijjasu*, *karijjasu* see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is *kajjai* = **karyate* (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3. 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Thān. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99.136.137.182.346.444.1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), *kajjanti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), *kajjamāna* (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 840), *duhā°*, *tiḥā°* (Vivāhap. 141). In Ś. are used exclusively *kariādi* (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Śak. 19,6), *alamkariādi* (Śak. 19,5), *karianti* (Śak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), *kariadu* (Śak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. *kaliādi* (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7), *kaliadu* (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. *jñā* forms, according to Hc. 4,252, *ñajjai*, *nāijjai*, *jāñijjai*, *ñavvai*, according to Kī. 4,81 *jāñiai*, *āñiai*, *ñajjai*, *ñavvai*, *ñajjai*, *ñavvai*. Of them *ñajjai* = *jñāyate* is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), JM. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās.; Nirāyāv. [in JM. AMg. *ñajjai*]). Ś. has *jāñiadi* (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛṣabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), *jāñiadu* (Nāgān. 84,5), behind *na* (not) *āñiadi* (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 285,5; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. *jāñiai* (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of *navvai* Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have *ñappaī*, that stands in place of *ādḥappaī*, *viḍḥappaī*, i.e. = *jñāpyate*. Accordingly one **ñavai*, of which the regular passive is *ñavvai*¹, is to be deduced from the causatives such as Ś. *āṇavedi*, *viñṇavedi*. — *kṛī* forms Ś. *vikkiñiadi* (Karp. 14,5), *vikkiñi-anti* (Mudrār. 108,9; [so to be read]); *pū* has *puvvai*, *puñijjai*, A. *puñijje*; *lū* has *luvvai*, *luñijjai* (§536), *granth* has Ś. *ganthiānti* (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text *gathī°*]). From *grah* the passive forms are *geñhijjai* (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82) and *gahijjai* (Sr. fol. 56), S. *apuggahādu* (Vikr. 21,10). M. JM. AMg. A. use for it *gheppai* = Pāli *gheppati*, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to *grabh*, however, belongs to the parallel root **ghrp* (§ 212). So M. *gheppai*, *gheppae*, *gheppanti*, *gheppanta-* (G. H. R.; Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 178,3); JM. *gheppai* (Kk. 273,37), *gheppanti* (Erz. 67,12; Āv. 36,42); AMg. *gheppejjā* (Paṇḥāv. 400); A. *gheppai* (Hc. 4,341,1), *gheppanti* (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in Ś. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands *gejjhai* = *grhyate* in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kī. 4, 82 teaches also *gheppijjai*. — *bandh* forms *bajjai* = *badhyate* (Hc. 4,247); AMg. *bajjai* (Uttar. 245); JŚ. *bajjhadi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjai*. — From *bhañ*, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. *bhañnai* = *bhañyate* (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kī. 4,13; H.R.), *bhañnai* (G. R.; Śak. 101,16), *bhañnamāna* (H.), *bhañnanta-* (R.), and *bhañijjai* (Hc. 4,249), *bhañijjau* (H.); A. *bhañijje* (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also *bhañijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); JM. *bhañnai* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *bhañiādi* (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prab. 39,3). False is Ś. *bhañijjandi* (Prab. 42,5; P. °jjanti, M. °jjamānā) for *bhañiānti*, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly °ñi°).

1. Wholly wrong is S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494; JACOBI, KZ. 28,255, JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist : *muccimsu* (Sūyag. 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly

likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: 1. M. *kalijjihisi* from *kal* (H. 225. 313), *khajjihii* from *khād* (H. 138), *ḍajjihisi* (H. 105), *ḍajjihii* (Hc. 4,246) from *dah*, *disihii* (H. 619; R. 3,33 [so to be read]), *dharijjihii* (H. 778); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,25); *khammihii* from *khan* (Hc. 4,244).—6. AMg. *muccihii* (Ovav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text °*himi*]; Vivāhap. 175), *muccissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16), but also *paṃokkhasi* = *pramoksyase* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4); Ś. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]); AMg. *uvalippihii* (Ovav. § 112).—4. JM. *khottijjihii* (Āv. 32,2) from *khuttai* (Hc. 4,116).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. *mārijjissāmi* (Uvās. § 256); JM. *chiddijjihii* (Āv. 33,2) from *chidraya-*, *vāvājjissā* (Erz. 43,22).—2. *hammihii* from *han* (Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557); AMg. *paḍihammihii* (Nāyādh. § 30); *dubbhii* (Hc. 4,245), JM. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43,20; cf. § 544).—5. *civvii*, *cimmihii* from *ci* (Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536); M. *jhiijihisi* from *kṣi* (H. 152. 628); M. *samappihii* (H. 734. 806; R. 5,4).—7. M. *bhajjihisi* from *bhañj* (H. 202); AMg. *voḥchijjihinti* from *chid* with *vyud* (Sūyag. 1011), *samucchihinti*, metrically for *samucchiijihinti* (Sūyag. 869), Ś. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16); Ś. *ahiujjissadi* from *yuj* with *abhi* (Uttarar. 69,6); *samrujjihii* (Hc. 4,248).—8. AMg. *kajjissā* (Vivāhap. 492); JM. *kīrihii* (Āv. 16,9).—9. *bajjihii* (Hc. 4,247), Ś. *bajjhissāmo* (Mṛcch. 109,19; see § 488, note 4) from *bandh*; JM. *gheḥppihii* from **ghṛp* (Āv. 7,5).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. WEBER has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin¹. So: M. *gammihisi* (H. 609)², uncertain *gammasu* (H. 819) in the sense of the causative: M. *gasijjihii* (H. 804); M. *disihisi* (R. 15,86), where, however, C has *dakṣihisi*, i. e. *dacchihisi* (§ 525); M. *pijjaī* (Hc. 4,10; H. 678)²; M. *bhañnihisi* (H. 906)³; *hammaī* = *hanti* (Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540), particip. pres. ātmanep. AMg. *vihammāṇa* (Uttar. 787); fut. AMg. *hammihanti* (Thāṇ. 512); AMg. *labbhii* (Dasav. 624,14); A. *dijjaū*, *kijjaū* (§ 545. 547; cf. § 461. 466). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is that the present passive in Mg. A. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, "I am made" is used in lieu of "I shall make". For Mg. Mk. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. *bhavissadi* and *bhuvādi*. So Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) and *huvādi* (Venis. 33,6. 7; 35,8) "he will be", *vāvādiāsi* "thou wilt kill" (Mṛcch. 167,25), *pivāsiāsi* (so to be read; Venis. 34,6) "that thou wilt be thirsty"; A. *kijjaū* (Hc. 4,338. 445,3) "I shall make".

1. WEBER, Hāla¹ p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding *samappihii* and *disihisi*, the examples in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,492 and on R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. WEBER on Hāla 609.

CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of -e- = Skt. -aya- into the strengthened root: *kārei* = *kārayati*, *pādhei* = *pāthayati*, *uvasāmei* = *upaśāmyati*, *hāsei* = *hāsayati* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Ki. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55). Cf. § 490. The roots in -ā add -ve- = Skt. -paya-: M. *nivvāveṇṭi* = *nirvāpayanti* (G. 524); Ś. *nivvāvedi* (Mālatim. 217,5), fut. *nivvāvaissam* (Mālatim. 266,1), past passive participle *nivvāvida* (Mṛcch. 16,9); AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpayati* (Thāṇ. 569); Mg. *pattiāvaissam* (Mṛcch. 139,12) from *yā* with *prati* (§ 281. 487); PG. *anuvattāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); AMg. *thāvei* = *sthāpayati* (Nirayāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116); AMg. *thāvemi* (Erz. 43,32); Ś. *samavatthāveṇi* = *samavasthāpayāmi* (Vikr. 27,6); *pajjavatthā-*

vehi = *paravasthāpaya* (Vikr. 7,17), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 24,2), *paḍiṭṭhāvehi* (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. *stāvehi*, *stāvia* (absol.), *stāvaissam* (Mṛcch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2), *paṣṭāvia* (absol. Mṛcch. 21,12); A. *paṭhāviai* (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. *ṇhāveha* = *snāpayata* (Vivāhap. 1261). *jñā* forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. *jāṇāvei* (Hc. 3,149; Erz.), *jāṇāviyaṃ*, *jāṇāviyaṃ* (Kk.); M. *jāṇāveum* (H.). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. *āṇāvei* (Nir-*yāv.*; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *āṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 734), *paṇṇāvemāṇa* (Ovav. § 78); Ś. *āṇāvesi* (Mṛcch. 94,9), *āṇāvedi* (Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mṛcch. 4,19; 7,3; 16,2 and very frequently), *āṇāvedu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but *āṇāvidavvaṃ* (Mṛcch. 58,13) beside *viṇṇāidavvā* (58,12), hence with GODABOLE 167,8 to be read *āṇa°*; *viṇṇāvehi* (Mṛcch. 78,10), *viṇṇāvedi* (Mṛcch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), *viṇṇāveho* (so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7), *viṇṇāvehi* (Mṛcch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālatīm. 218,1), *viṇṇāviyaṃ*, *viṇṇāidavvā* (Mṛcch. 58,11. 12), *viṇṇāvidavvaṃ* (so to be read; Vikr. 48,8), *viṇṇāvidādi* (Vikr. 30,21); Mg. *āṇāvedi* (Śak. 114,1), *viṇṇāvia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 138, 25; 139,1). As *jñā*, also the other roots ending in *-ā* shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often *sthā*: M. JM. AMg. *ṭhāvei* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67); M. *ṭhāviyaṃ* (G. 995), *uṭṭhāvesi* (H. 390), *saṃṭhāvehi* (G. 997); AMg. *uvaṭṭhāveha* (Nāyādh. § 130); A. *ṭhāvehu* (Piṅgala 1,87. 125. 145).—M. *ṇimāvesi* = *nirmāpayasi* (G. 297); AMg. *āghāvemāṇa* = *ākhyāpayamāṇa* (Ovav. § 78), *āghāviya* = *ākhyāpita* (Paṇhāv. 376. 431. 469), *āghāviyaṃ* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandis. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), inf. *āghāvitāe* (Nāyādh. § 143). As in Skt., certain roots in *-i*, *-ī* too have the same formation: Ś. passive *jaṇvīsi* = *jāpyase* (Śak. 31,11); AMg. *ūsāveha* (Vivāhap. 957), *ussāveha* (Kappas. § 100) = *ucchrāpayata*; Ś. *bhāṇāvesi* from *bhī* (§ 501; Mṛcch. 91,19). From the present stem is built *kiṇāvei* (Thān. 516), *kiṇāvae* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), *kiṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 609) from *kṛī*; Ś. *vicīṇāvedi* (so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1) from *ci*; AMg. *allijāvei* (Nāyādh. 434) from *lī*.

§ 552. The element *-ve-* = Skt. *-paya-* is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in *-a*, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the *-ā*-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldomer than the causative in *-e-* = *-aya-*. So: *hasāvei* (Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55), *hasāvia* (Hc. 3,152), also M. *hāsāvia* (Hc. 3,153 = H. 123); AMg. *paṇṇāvemāṇa* from *pac* (Sūyag. 609); M. *ramāvēnti*, *sahāvēnti* (H. 325. 327); A. *kappāvehi* from *kṛp* (Mṛcch. 105,3); Ś. *ghadāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21), M. *vihaḍāvia* (G. 8) from *ghaṭ*; Ś. *jivāvehi* (Uttarar. 63,14), *jīāvesu* (Viddhaś. 84,4), *jivāvedu* (Mṛcch. 326,3), *jivāviadi* (Mṛcch. 176,6), *jivāvia* (absol.; Mālatīm. 215,1), *jivāvidā* (Mṛcch. 173,4; 177,16); AMg. *jivāvidā* (Mṛcch. 171,14); AMg. *dalāvei* (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. *saṃārambhāvehi* (Āyār. 1,1,2,3; 1,1,3,5), *saṃārambhāvējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6; 1,1,3,8); Ś. *ṇivattāve mi* (Mṛcch. 77,15); Mg. *paṇvattāvehi* (Mṛcch. 81,17.19); Ś. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Karnas. 21,8); Ś. *dhovāvedi* (Mṛcch. 45,9); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvia* from *gam* with *abhi* and *upa* (Āv. 30,9); AMg. *piyāvae* from *pā* (to drink; Dasav. 638,26).—AMg. *nicchubhāvehi* (Nāyādh. 823,824. 1313) from *nicchubha* from *kṣubh* with *ni* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834); Ś. *paḍicchāviadi* (Mṛcch. 69,12) from *iṣ* with *prati*; Ś. *pucchāvedi* from *pracch* (Viddhaś. 42, 4); JM. *melavehisi* (Āv. 30,8); Ś. *moāvehi*, *moāvehi* (Śak. 27,11; 24,2), M. *moāvia* (Mṛcch. 41,17) from *muc*; Mg. *lihāvehi* (Mṛcch. 133,1) from *likh*,—*uvasamāvehi* (Hc. 3,149) from *śam*; *tosāvia* from *tuṣ*, *sosāvia* from *śuṣ* (Hc. 3,150); Ś. *lohāvedi* (Śak. 61,3).—AMg. *vaḍḍhāvehi* (Vivāgas. 170) from

vedhei (§ 304. 490). — *M. ruāvei*, *ruāvia*, *roāvia* (H.), *Ś. rodāvida* (Mṛcch. 21,1) from *rud*.—From *dā* (to give) is built in JM. a double form *dāvāvei* in the meaning “to cause to give” (Erz.).—*Ś. suṇāvidā* (Mālav. 31,8).—AMg. *chindāvae* (Dasav. 638,30).—*karāvei*, *karāvia*, *kārāvei* (Vr. 7,27; Hc. 3, 149. 152. 153; Ki. 4,44); AMg. *kāravemi* (Uvās. § 13. 14. 15), *kāraveha* (Kappas. § 57. 100); JM. *kāravei* (Erz. 30,7), *kārāviya* (Erz.).—JM. *geṇhāvemi* (Āv. 34,19).

§ 553. For *-e*, *-ve* are found dialectically, particularly in A., not seldom *-a-*, *-va-*, it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants (§ 491). So: *hasāvaī* (Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55); *ghaḍāvaī* (Hc. 4, 340), *ugghāḍaī* (Hc. 4,33) beside *Ś. ghaḍāvehi* (Mṛcch. 95,21); *vippagālaī* = *vippagālayati* (Hc. 4,31); *uddālaī* = *uddālayati* (Hc. 4,125); *pādaī* = *pātayati* (Hc. 3,153) beside *M. pādei* (R. 4,50), *Mg. pādemi* (Mṛcch. 162,22); *bhamāvaī* (Hc. 3,151) from *bhram*; A. *uttārahi* (Vikr. 69,2) beside *Ś. odāredi* (Uttarar. 165,3), *padāredi* (so to be read; Prab. 15,10); JM. A. *māraī* (Hc. 3,153; Erz. 5,32; Hc. 4,330,3) beside *M. māresi*, *mārehisi* (H.), *mārei* (Mudrār. 34,10), *Ś. māredha* (Mṛcch. 161,16; 165,25), *Mg. mālemi* (Mṛcch. 12,5; 123,3), *mālehi* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 124,2. 17; 165,24), *māledu* (Mṛcch. 125,8), *māledha* (Mṛcch. 165,23; 166,1; 168,8; 171,18); for *Mg. mālantaṁ* (Mṛcch. 123,22) is to be read *mālēntaṁ*; A. *mārei* (Hc 4,337); *hāravaī* (Hc. 4,31); A. *vāhahi* (Piṅgala 1,5^a) beside *Ā. vāhehi* (Mṛcch. 100,18), *Mg. vāheṣi* (Mṛcch. 122,15); *melavaī* (Hc. 4,28) from *mīl* (§ 486) beside JM. *melavehisi* (§ 528); *nāsaṁ*, *nāsaī* (Hc. 4,31) from *naś*; AMg. *vedanti* (Paṇṇav. 786 ff.), *vejanti* (Jiv. 281 ff.) = *vedayanti*; *nimmavaī* = *nirmāpayati* (Hc. 4,19) beside *M. nimmavesi* (G. 297); *ādhavaī*, *vidhavaī* from *dhā* (§ 286. 500); *M. thavaī* (G. 980), *saṁthavanti* (H. 39); *paṭṭhavaī*, *paṭṭhāvaī* (Hc. 4,37); A. *pariṭhavahu*, *saṁthavahu* (Piṅgala 1,10. 85) beside *thāvei*, *thavei* (§ 551); *karāvaī* (Hc. 3,149); *viṇṇavaī* (Hc. 4,38) beside *Ś. viṇṇavedi* (§ 551); *palāvaī* from *lū* with *pra* (Hc. 4,31).

§ 554. From *drś* Hc. 4,32 teaches the causative *dāvāi*, *daṁsaī*, *dakkhavaī*, *darisaī*. Of them *dāvāi* is found (also in Sr. fol. 57) in *M. dāvantepa* (H.); more often forms with *-e-*: *M. dāvemi* (Ratn. 322,5; *taṁ te dāvemi* according to Dhanika on Daśarūpa 42,6 for *taṁ taṁ dāṁsemi* of the editions), *dāvei*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvae*, *dāveha*, *dāvēnti*, *dāvia* (H. R.), *dāvijjāu* (Ratn. 321, 32), *dāviāi* (Karp. 56,7); JM. *dāviya* (Erz.), *dāvia*, *dāvijjasu* (Rṣabhap. 10. 49); *Ś. dāvīda* (Mudrār. 44,1). The word is = Marāṭhī *dāvṇem*¹. The derivation from *dī*² is false. *dāvei*, *dāvāi* stand for *darpayati*, *darpati* from *drpa* *saṁdīpane* (Dhātupāṭha 34,14) according to § 62. To the same root belong Skt. *darpaṇa* (mirror) and *M. addāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya* (mirror; § 196, where we should read = **ādāpaka* = **ādarpaka*³). *daṁsaī* occurs in AMg. *daṁsanti* = *darśayanti* (Sūyag. 222), *M. daṁsantiṁ* = *darśayantiṁ* (G. 1055; without v. l.); more frequently with *-e-*; *M. daṁsintiṁ* (G. 1054); JM. *daṁsei*, *daṁseha* (Erz.; Kk.); *Ś. daṁsemi* (Mṛcch. 74,16; Mālatim. 38,9), *daṁsesi* (Mṛcch. 90,21; Śak. 167,10), *daṁsehi* (Ratn. 321, 20), *daṁsedum* (Mudrār. 81,4); before doubled consonants (§ 490): *daṁsaanti*, *daṁsaamha* (Prab. 42,7; Uttarar. 77,3; 113,2); fut. *daṁsaissam* (Śak. 63,9; Ratn. 311,4), *daṁsaissasi* (Śak. 90,10), *daṁsaissadi* (Mālatim. 74,3; 78,7); *Mg. daṁsaante* (Śak. 114,11).—*darisaī* (also Hc. 3,149) occurs in JM. as *darisei* (Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 74 it occurs in the form *darisedi* in Āvanti. In the Mṛcch., that sports in Āvanti, at 70,5 the Vidūṣaka uses it: *darisaanti*; at 100,4 it stands in D.: *darisesi*.—*dakkhavaī*, in Sr. fol. 57 *dakkhāvaī* is a causative form *dakkhai* and = Marāṭhī *dākhaviṇem*, Gujarāṭī *dākhavavum*³; A. *dēkkhāvahi* (Vikr. 66,16) is a causative from *dēkkhai*

The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write *dakkhaï*, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write *dēkkhaï*⁴, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. *dēkkhaï*, Piṅgala 1,87_a), on the other hand, it is false, for Ś. which requires *pe'kkhadi*⁵. *dakkhaï* and *dēkkhaï*, which the inscriptions of Aśoka too have, *dakkhaï*, what is attested by Singhalese in *dakinawa*, *dēkkhaï*, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have⁶, both go back to one **dṛkṣati*, that occurs in *amū-dṛkṣa*, *īdṛkṣa*, *etādṛkṣa*, *kīdṛkṣa*, *tādṛkṣa*, *sadṛkṣa*⁷. The derivation from the future⁸ is miscarried to *e*, which goes back to *i*; it is possible to explain⁹ the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to *pe'kkhaï* for *dēkkhaï*¹⁰. On AMg. *dehaï* see § 66.—From *bhram* the causative are also *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form *tamāḍai* (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside *bhāmei bhamāvaï*, *bhamāveï*. Gujarātī has the same causative formation¹¹. Hc. 4,161 teaches *bhammaḍai*, *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍai* also as a substitute for the simplex *bhram*.—On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.

1. GARREZ, JA. 1872,20,204.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741; 28,424; on H. 315.—3. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,32.—4. PISCHEL, GGA. 1873,46 f.; Vikramorvaṣīya p. 616 f.; Die Recensionen der Çākuntalā p. 11 f.—5. PISCHEL, De Kālidāse Çākuntalī recensionibus p. 32 f.; KB. 7,453 ff.; 8,144 ff.—6. PISCHEL, KB. 7,458; 8,146; JOHANSSON KZ. 32, 463; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,161; POTT, Zigeuner 2,304; MIKLOSICH, Über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas 7,43.—7. WEBER, KB. 7,764 who, however, wrongly sees therein at Bhag. 1,414,3; Istr. 3,150; H.1 p.260; KB.7,486; IS.14,69 ff. "an old reduplication of a hitherto wanting desiderative formation".—8. CHILDERS in MUIR, OST. 2,23 note 40; KB. 7,450 f.; Dictionary s. v. *passati*; PISCHEL, KB. 7,459; 8, 147.—9. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN.1874,509ff.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,463f.; Shāhbāzgarhi 2,24.—10. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,162; cf., however, 3,45 f.—11. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,81; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 318 f.

DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. *digicchanta-* = *jighatsat-* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); *jugucchaï*, *juucchaï* (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = *jugupate*; M. *juucchaï*, *juucchasu* (R.); AMg. *dugucchaï*, *dugumchaï*, *duucchaï*, *duumchaï* (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), *dugumchamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 472. 525), *dugamchamāṇa*, *dugamchanijja* (Uttar. 199.410), *adugucchiya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2), Ś. *juguchedi*, *jugucchanti* (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), *juucchida* (Anarghar. 149, 10; Bālar. 202,13), *adijuucchida* (Mallikām. 218,7. 12), *jugucchanīa* (Vid-dhaś. 121,10; so to be read); Mg. *adiyuuscida* (Mallikām. 143,4. 15; so to be read); *ciicchaï* (Hc. 2,21; 4,240) = *cikitsati*; AMg. *tigicchaï* (Uttar. 601), *tigicchiya* (Uttar. 458), *vitigicchiya* (Thāṇ. 194), *vitigicchāmi* (Thāṇ. 245), *vitigimchaï* (Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150); Ś. *cikicchidavva* (Śak. 123,14). Cf. § 74. 215.—Mg. *pivāśiāsi* (Venis. 34,6; cf. § 550); Ś. *bubhukkhida* = *bubhukṣita* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5); *licchaï* = *lipsate* (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. *sussūsai* (Dasav. 637,30. 32; Erz. 31,13) = *śusrūṣate*; AMg. *sussūsamāṇa* (Dasav. 636.6. 10; Ovav.); Ś. *sussūsaiṣaṇ* (Mṛcch. 88,11), *sussūsaidum* (Mālav. 29,12), *sussūsidadva* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śuśūṣida* (Mṛcch. 37,11).

INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show: *cakkammaï* for **cākammai* = **cākramyate* (Hc. 4,161).—AMg. *khokhubbhamāṇa* (Paṇhāv. 169.210; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *kṣubh*.—AMg. *jāgaraï* = *jāgarti*, *jāgaramāṇie* (Vivāhap. 116), *jāgaranti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), *jāgaramāṇassa* (Vivāhap.170), *paḍijāgarējjā* (Dasav. 636,6),

paḍijāgaramāṇi (Uvās.; Kappas.); *M. jagganti* (Dūt. 5,12), *jaggesu* (H. 335), *padiaggia* = **prati jagrita* (G.); *Ś. jaggedha* (Mṛcch. 112,3); *A. jaggeva* (Hc. 4,438,3); causative AMg. *jaggāvaī* (Āyār. 1,8,2,5); *M. jaggāvia* (R. 10,56); AMg. *bhibbhisamāna* for **bhebbhisamāna*, **bhebbhisamāna* from *bhisai* = *bhāsati* (§ 482; Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481 [*bhijjha*°]. 493 [*mijjhji*°]. 541 [*mijjhhisamāni*]), *bhibbhisamāna* (Jiv. 105; cf. v. l. on Nāyādh. § 122); AMg. *lālappaī* (Sūyag. 414), *lālappamāna* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,6,1). In the reduplication *M. caṃkammanta-* (H.), *caṃkammia* (R.), *caṃkamia* (Karp. 47, 6), JM. *caṃkamiyavva* (Āv. 23, 12) = *caṃkramyate*; *dhumḍhullai* (Hc. 4,161. 189), *ḍhamḍhallaī* (Hc. 4,161), *ḍhamḍholai* (Hc. 4,189) have a nasal vowel. For *tuṇṭuṇṇanto* (Kāvya prakāśa 271,5 = H. 985) we should, according to the best manuscripts or the text and the commentary read with Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 116,7 *dhumḍhullanto*. This reading is proved also by the quotation of the shoppe in other unpublished rhetoricians.

DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in *-a* = Skt. *-ya*, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. *-e-*, *-ve-*, *-va-*. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: AMg. *appaṇāmi* = **arpaṇāmi* (Nirayāv. § 23; Nāyādh. 1313; text °*ppa*°), JM. *appaṇai* (Āv. 44,3) from *arpaṇa*; AMg. *paccappaṇāmi* = **pratyarpaṇāmi* from *pratyarpaṇa*¹ (Nirayāv. § 20), *paccappaṇai* (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas. § 29; Ovav. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), *paccappaṇāmo* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccappaṇanti* (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas. § 58. 101; Nāyādh. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirayāv. § 4. 24), *paccappaṇējjā* (Paṇṇav. 844; Ovav. § 150), *paccappaṇāhi* (Ovav. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirayāv. § 22; Kappas. § 26), *paccappaṇaha* (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas. § 57. 100; Nirayāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), *paccappaṇijjāi* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccappaṇittā* (Nāyādh. 607. 610. 614); *khammaī* = **khanmati*, *jammaī* = **janmati*, **hammaī* = *hanmati* (§ 540); *M. dukkhāmi* (R. 11,127) from *dukkha*, as *suhāmi* (H. 617) from *sukha*²; *dhavalai* (Hc. 4,24); *nimmāṇai* (Hc. 4,19; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 54) from *nirmāṇa*; *A. paḍibimbi* (Hc. 4,439,3); *A. pamāṇahu* = *pramāṇayata* (Piṅgala 1,105); *paḥuppaī* = **prabhutvati* (§ 286); *M. maṇḍanti* (G. 67); *missai* (Hc. 4,28) from *miśra*; *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) from *vikreya*; *A. sukkahi* (Hc. 4,427,1) from *śuśka*. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. seeks in *paccappaṇ* the present stem of *praty-arp*. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573, note 2 *inaī* is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun *paccappaṇa* is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation.—2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from *dukkhaāmi*, *suhaāmi* (§ 558).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with *-a-* = Skt. *-ya-*. The syllables *-āa-* in M. JM. AMg. are not seldom contracted: *M. atthāai*, *atthāanti* = **astāyate*, **astāyante* from *asta* (G. R.); from the frequent *atthamā* (G. R.) = *astamita* have been deduced *atthamāi* (R.) and a substantive *atthamaṇa* (H. R.); AMg. *amarāyāi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *M. alasāai*, *alasāanti* (H.); *M. umhāi*, *umhāanta*, *umhāamāṇa* (G.) from *uṣmāya-*; *Ś. kuravaādi* = *kurabakāyate* (Mṛcch. 73,10); *garuāi*, *garuāai* (to become a teacher; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3,138); *Mg. cilāadi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); *M. taṇuāi*, *taṇuāai*, *taṇuāae* = **tanukāyati* (to become thin; H.); *M. dhūmāi* (H.); *Mg. mamāyāmāṇa*, *amamāyāmāṇa* from *mama* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,5,3); *lohiāi*, *lohiāai* (Hc. 3,138); *M. samjhāai*

(G. 632), *Ś. samjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12) = *saṁdhyāyate*; *Ś. sīdalādi* = *śītalāyati* (Mālatīm. 121,2); *M. suhādi* (H.), *Ś. suhādi* (Śak. 49,8) = *sukhāyati*. Worthy of being particularly mentioned are the numerous denominativa that express onomatopoeically, a sound a strong physical or mental movement, etc. They are found mostly also in the modern Indian dialects, many in Skt. too, here partly only in the basic form, to which they are traced back¹. The examples *damadamāi*, *damadamāi* (Hc. 3,138) "does *damadama*", used for the sound of a drum, = Marāṭhī *damadamnem*², indicate the type. More seldom they are formed as the causativa. So: *Ś. kaḍakaḍānta-* (Mālatīm. 129,4). — *Ś. kurukurāsi* (so to be read; cf. v. 1.; Hās. 25,7), *kurukurādi* (Mṛcch. 71,16; Ratn. 302,8), *kurukurānta-* (Karp. 14,3; 70,1); *kurukuri* (ardently desired; Deśin. 2,42), according to which *kurukura* in Hc., *Unādi-gaṇasūtra* 17; AMg. *kiḍikiḍiyābhūya* (Vivāgas. 201.242 [text here °*ḍibhū*]). — AMg. *kuukūvamāna* (Vivāgas. 201); JM. *khalakkhalei* (Erz.); AMg. *gumagumājanta-* (Kappas. § 37), also *gumagumanta-* (Ovav. § 4), *gumagumāiṇya* (Ovav. § 5); *Ś. ghumaghumādi* (Jivān. 43,3)³; AMg. *gulugulēnta-* (for the trumpet of the elephant; Ovav. § 42), *gulagulēnta-* (Uvās. § 102); AMg. JM. *gulgulāiṇya* (Paṇhāv. 161 [°*la*]); Vivāhap. 253; Ovav. § 54 p. 59,7; Erz.); JM. *ghurughuranti* (for the grunting of the wild boar; Erz. 43,10); Mg. *ghulaghulāmāna* (Mṛcch. 117,23), from which Skt. *ghurughura* in Hc. 1. c. and others; *ṭṭirīṭṭilāi* with dissimilation (Hc. 4,161); *M. tharatharei* (H. 187 [so to be read with v. 1.] 858), *tharatharēnti* (H. 165 [so to be read with R]); JM. *tharatharanti* (Āv. 12,25; text °*ha*°); *Ś. tharatharedi* (Mṛcch. 141,17; so to be read with GODABOLE 388,4), *tharatharānta-* (Mālatīm. 124,1) = Skt. *tharatharāyate*, Marāṭhī *tharatharnem*, Urdū *tharatharānā*⁴, Gujarātī *tharatharvum* "to tremble"; AMg. *dhagadhaganta-* (Nāyādh. 340), explained as *jāḍvāyamāna*, *dhagadhagāiṇya* (Kappas. § 46); *Ś. dhagadhaggaamāna* (Jivān. 89,2); JM. AMg. *dhamadhamēnta-* (Erz.; Uvās.), *Ś. dhamadhamādi* (Nāgān. 18,3); JM. *phuraphuranta-* (Erz. 85,5); *Ś. phuraphurādi* (Mṛcch. 17,15); AMg. *maghamagheṇta-* (Ovav. § 2; Nāyādh. § 21 [°*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 28. 111; Jiv. 543; Samav. 210), *maghamaghanta-* (Kappas. [also °*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 60. 190; Jiv. 499; Vivāhap. 941); *M. mahamahāi* (Hc. 4,78; H.), JM. *mahamahiṇya* (Pāyāl. 197) = Marāṭhī *maghamaghnem*, Gujarātī *maghamaghvum*⁵; AMg. *masamasāvijjai* (Vivāhap. 270.383); AMg. JM. *misimisanta-*, *misimiseṇta-*, *misimisinta-* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 44; Āv. 40,6), usually *misimisimāna* or °*sēmāna* (Vivāgas. 121. 144; Nāyādh. 324. 456. 612. 651. 1172; Vivāhap. 236. 237. 251. 254. 505. 1217 etc.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.) is explained as *dedīpyamāna* and taken into Skt. as *miṣamiṣāyate*; *Ś. silasilādi* (Jivān. 43,3); *M. simisimanta-* (H. 561), *Ś. simisimānta-* (Bālar. 264,2); *M. surasuranta-* (H. 74) = Marāṭhī *surasurnem*⁶; JM. *sulusulēnta-* (Erz. 24,29). — *M. dhukkādhukkāi* (H. 584) = Marāṭhī *dhukadhuknem*⁷; AMg. *harāharāiṇya* (Paṇhāv. 161) have a strengthened vowel. Cf. also *Ś. susuādi* (Mṛcch. 44,3) "does *su-su*" and *Ś. sāsāsi*, Mg. *kākāsi* (Mṛcch. 80, 14. 15) derived from *sā* and *kā* respectively.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,89 ff.; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1898, 465 ff., who has collected together the Pkt. examples, particularly from H.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,138.—3. JACOBI on Kappas. § 36 p. 105; cf. ZACHARIAE, l.c. p. 466 note 2.—4. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 141, 17 p. 309.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,78; cf. JACOBI on Kappas. § 32 p. 104.—6. WEBER on H. 74.—7. WEBER on H. 584.

§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominativa are: AMg. *uccārei* (caus.) *vā pāsavaṇei vā khelei vā singhāṇei vā vantei vā pittei vā* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *uvakkhaḍei* = **upaskṛtayati* (Nāyādh. 425. 448), °*ḍinti* (Nāyādh. 856), °*ḍēja*, °*ḍie* (Āyār. 2,2,2,2), °*ḍeu* (Uvās. § 68),

°deha (Nāyādh. 483), more frequently *uvakkhādāvei* (Vivāgas. 124. 133. 195. 204. 205. 231. 233; Nāyādh. 430. 632. 734. 736. 1423. 1496), °dāvinti, dāvēnti (Kappas. § 104; Nāyādh. § 114), °dāvēttā (Nāyādh. § 114; p. 425. 448. 482; Vivāhap. 228); AMg. *nhānei* = *snānayati (Jiv. 610), *nhāvēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265); *teavaī* = *tejapayati from *tea-* = *tejah* (Hc. 4,152); JM. *dukkhāvei* (Āv. 42,14. 18), caus. from *dukkhāmi* (§ 557); *duhāvaī* = *dvidhāpayati (splits; Hc. 4,124); JM. *dhirāvia* (Sagara 8,14); AMg. *piṇaddhei* (Nāyādh. 775 [text °ddhai]. 779); Ś. *piṇaddhāvida* (Śak. 74,1); M. *biuṇei* (text *vi*°; H. 685) = *dviguṇayati*; M. *bhasaṇemi* (so to be read; H. 312) from *bhasman* (ashes); AMg. *maḷinti* (Panhāv. 111), *maḷiḷa* (Vivāhap. 387), M. *maḷei*, *maḷēnti*, *maḷanta*, *maḷiḷjaī* from *maḷla* (black)¹; M. *lahuei* = *laghayati* (G.1148); M. *saccavaī* = *satyāpayati* (Hc. 4,181; Kī. 14 in DELIUS, Radices p. 11; the edition has at 4,66 false *sacchara*), *saccavia* (Pāṇyāl. 78; G.H.R.; Śak. 120,7); Ś. *saddāvēmi* = *śabdāpayāmi* (Mṛcch. 50,24), *saddāvesi* (Śak. 138,2); AMg. *saddāvei* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv. etc.); Ś. *saddāvedī* (Mṛcch. 54,8; 141,16), *saddāvehi* (Mṛcch. 54,5), *saddāvaissam* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *saddāviadi* (Mṛcch. 150,17); JM. AMg. *saddāvēttā*, °vittā, *saddāviyā* (Erz.; Kappas. etc.), causative from *saddae* = *śabdāyati*; AMg. *sikkhāvei* (Nāyādh. 1421 f.), Ś. *sikkhāvehi* (Ratn. 293,17) from *śikṣā*; Ś. *sīdāvēdi* (Uttarar. 121,7) from *śītala*; Ś. *sukkhāvēnti* (Mṛcch. 71,4), Mg. *śuṣkāvaīssam* (Mṛcch. 133,15) from *śuṣka*; M. *suhāvesi*, °veī, °vēnti (G.H.), Ś. *suhāvedī* (Mallikām. 201,17) from *sukha*.

1. Cf. ZACHARIAE, GN. 1896, 265 ff., who traces *maḷa* back to *mṛdila'. See also § 595 note 5.

VERBAL NOUNS.

a) PARTICIPLES.

§ 560. The present participle of the parasmaipada is formed from the present stem with the ending *-anta*, extended from the strong ending *-ant*, which is inflected according to the *a*-declension (§ 397. 473-514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in *-anti*: AMg. *asanti* = *asatyām* (Ovav. § 183), JM. *santi* (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning "chaste" M. *saī* (H.) = *saṭi*, "not chaste" *asaī* (H.) = *asati*; AMg. *ējṇanti* = **cyanti* (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), *vinimujanti* = *vinimuñcantim* (Jiv. 542), *aṇuhoṇti* = *anubhavanti* (Pappav. 137); M. *apāvanti* = *apṛāpnavati* (H.483); Ś. *huvanti*, *pēkkhamti*, *gacchamti* (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14), *śaśāmsanti* = *śaśāmsantyaḥ* (Bālar. 289,2), *uddivanti*, *bhaṇanti*, *padhanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: *hasai* = **hasati* = *hasanti*; *vevai* = **vepatī* = *vepamānā*.—Particip. fut. parasmaip. are: AMg. *āgamissam* (nom. neuter and accus. masc.; Āyār. 1,3,3,3), *bhaviissam* = *bhaviṣyat* (Kappas. § 17), that may be derived also from *bhaviṣya*, as in JM. *bhaviissacakkavaṭṭi* (Erz. 12,25) and Ś. *bhaviissakuṭṭaṇi* (Viddhaś. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the parasmaipada has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present ātmanepada, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§ 473-514) mostly in *-māṇa* = Skt. *māna* (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the particip. pres. parasmaipada has, on the other hand, entirely receded back¹. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the parasmaipada. So e.g. *aḍamāṇe aḍai* (Vivāhap.191); *phusamāṇe phusai* (Vivāhap.

354.355); *paccakkhāi paccakkhamāne* (Vivāhap.607); *haṇamāne haṇai, saddahāi asaddahamāne, saṁvēllamāne saṁvēllei* (Vivāhap. 849 f. 1215.1325); *pehāi, pehamāne* (Paṇṇav. 435); *vigiñcamāne vigiñcai* (Āyār.1,3,4,3); *pāsamāne pāsai, suṇamāne suṇei, mucchamāne mucchāi* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2.3), *āikkhamānā āikkhaha* (Ovav. § 59). As in Pāli in AMg. JM. too, from *as* (to be) is formed an ātmanepada present participle *saṁāna* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.; Thāp. 525.526; Vivāgas. 13.116.239; Paṇṇav. 67; Vivāhap. 263.271.1275.1388; Paṇṇav. 436; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Sagara 4,9; Āv. 29,16;35,25 etc.).—*emāna*=*praviśan* (Deśin.1,144) is=*ayamāna*, AMg. *ējjamāna* (Uvās. § 81.215.261; Vivāgas.229; Nāyādh.487.491.514.575.758.760 etc.; Vivāhap.1207)=*eyamāna*; cf. *ējjantiṁ* § 560.—To the precativ belongs *hojjamāna* (§ 466).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,432.

§ 562. The ātmanepada participle has the same ending in the future: AMg. *esamānā* (Thāp. 178), in the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), intensive (§ 556), the denominatives (§ 557-559). In the passive partly the ending of the parasmaipada is used, particularly in Ś. Mg., partly that of the ātmanepada, especially in AMg. (§ 535-548).—In place of *-māna*, sometimes in AMg. is found *-mīna*: *āgamamīna* (Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 1,7,4,1; 1,7,6,2; 1,7,7,1); *samaṇujāṇamīna* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3); *ādhāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4.5); *aṇādhāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2); *apariggahamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,3,1); *amamāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,3,2); *āsāemīna*=*āsvādayamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,6,2); *aṇāsāyamīna* (Āyār. 2,3,2,4); *nikāmamīna* (Sūyag. 405); *bhisamīna* (Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481.493 [commentary °mā°; cf. 541 *bhisamānī*]), *bhibbhisamīna* (§ 556). The form that is found also in the inscriptions of Aśoka¹ is almost restricted to Āyār., and in many cases has the v.l. *-māna*. Cf. § 110.—Very seldom is the ending *-āna*=Skt. *-āna*: AMg. *buṇyābuṇyānā*=*bruvanto, 'bruvantaś ca* (Sūyag. 334). *vihammāna* stands for *vihammamāna*=*vighnan* (Uttar. 787), in case one does not like to equate it as =**vihammāna* (cf. § 540.550), *vakkamāna* (Nāyādh. § 46-50) for *vakkamamāna*, as c. g. at Kappas. § 74.76.77 stands; the v.l., however, has there also under § 74.76 *vakkamāna*. For *-āna* M. has *-ina* in *melīna* (H. 702) from *melaī* from *mil* (§ 486). Cf. Skt. *āsina*, as also Pkt. has.

1. BÜHLER, ZDMG. 46, 72, whose explanation, however, is incorrect. See § 110.

§ 563. The feminine has the ending *-mānī* according to Vr. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 *-mānī*. In AMg. the ending throughout is *-mānī*: *saṁānī, saṁlavamānī, āhāremānī, abhisiccāmānī, uddhuvamānīhiṁ* (Kappas.); *bhuñjamānī, āsāemānī, uvadamsemānī*, (Uvās.); *paccaṇubhavamānī, parihāyamānī, uddhuvamānīhiṁ* (Ovav.); *visaṭṭamānīhiṁ* (Thāp. 312); *royāmānī* (Vivāgas. 84; Vivāhap. 807); *suṇāmānī* (Vivāhap. 116), *dehamānī* (Vivāhap. 794.795); *viñimmuyāmānī* (Vivāhap. 822); *ējjāmānīo* (Nirayāv. 59); *duruhamānī* (Dasav. 620,33); *jāgaramānī* (Vivāhap. 116); *paḍijāgaramānī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamānī, ḍijjāmānīhiṁ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārījjamānī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *ḍajjhamānī, ḍijjāmānīhiṁ* (Uttar. 284.362); *dhikkārījjamānī, thukkārījjamānī* (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in JM.: *saṁānī* (Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false °nā 53,5); *kāremānī, pehamānīo* (Āv. 11,14; 17,10); *paḍicchamānī, jhāyamānī, paloemānī, kuṇāmānī, khannamānī, nivaḍamānī, ruṇāmānī* (Erz. 8,14; 11,19; 17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), *kāremānī* (Dvār. 503,30). From M. WEBER has in H.: *pasūamānāe* (123), *bhaṇṇamānā* (145), *jampamānā* (198), *majjamānāe* (246), *veamānāe* (312), but *jampamānīe* (389). The recension R has only at 198 °nā, otherwise throughout °nīe, also at 145, where it reads *bhaṇṇamānīe*, the recension of Bhuvanapāla (IS.16,1 ff.), throughout has °nī, °nīe, as also mostly S and T. ī is not merely a characteristic for R¹ and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jaina recensions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with JM. AMg. for M. ī, not ā,

will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the femin. always ends in -ā: *ṇivattamāṇā*, *vattamāṇā*, °*ṇāe* (Vikr. 5,11; 35,11,12); *apadivajjamāṇā* (Vikr. 52,14); *ahibhūamāṇā*, *āulīamāṇā*, *ahīṇandīamāṇā* (Śak. 16,10; 17,12; 79,10); *bādhīamāṇā* (Vikr. 28,1); *aṇunīamāṇā* (Mṛch. 23,23. 25); *siccamāṇā* (Mālatim. 121,2).—P. has *cintayamāṇī* (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla² p. XXIX; cf. on H. 123.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes *-ta* and *-na*. Deviating from Skt. *-ta* in certain cases is added directly to the roots, in which in Skt. it comes after the *i*-stem: *ohaṭṭha* (ridiculed; Deśin. 1,153) = **apahasta* = *apahasita* (§ 155); *khuṭṭa* (torn; Deśin. 2,74; cf. § 568); *laṭṭha* (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśin. 7,26) = **laṣṭa* = *laṣita*. In AMg. the word is *lāḍha* according to § 66.304 (Āyār. 2,3,1, 8; Sūyag. 401; Uttar. 76.453.454), explained by the commentators as *sādhū*, *sādhvanuṣṭhāne tatpara*, *sadanuṣṭhānatayā pradhāna*, etc. Cf. also Skt. *rāḍhā* M. *vuttha* (Pāiyāl. 225; R. 11,88. 90), *uvuttha* (G. 538), *paūttha* (H. R.); JM. *pavuttha* (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), *paūttha* (Erz.); M. *paḍiuttha* (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read *pariuttha* (Deśin. 6,13) or *parivuttha* (G. 540) from *vas* (to live) = **vasta* with secondary transition of *a* to *u* (§ 104. 303). Beside them is found the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G. 484. 933) and from the present stem M. *vasia* (Pāiyāl. 225; G. H.), *uvvasia*, *pavasia* (H.), Ś. *uvavasida* (Mṛch. 54,16).—M. *ṇiattha* = **ṇivasta* (Karp. 46,12) from *vas* (to dress), AMg. *paṇijāttha* = **pranivasta* (Ovav. [§ 38]). JM. *niyatthiya* (Erz. 59,31) is *nivastrita*. Cf. § 337.—JM. *tuṭṭa* = *truṭita* (Erz. 71,28), A. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. *aṇālatta* = **anālapta* (Uvās. § 58); JM. *samlatta* (Erz.).—A. *tinta* = *timita* (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. *guttha* = **guphta* = *guphita* (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10)¹. *grah* adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the *-i*- and not to the *-ī* stem (Hc. 1,101); M. *gahia* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) JM. *gahiya* (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. *gahiya* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.); JŚ. Ś. *gahida* (Pav. 389,1; Mṛch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5) and *gihida* (Mṛch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have *gahida* and *gihida*, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. *gahida* (Mṛch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: *tavia* (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. *samtappida* (Mṛch. 7,18; 8,16) according to the class 4 and the common *tatta* = *taṭta*; AMg. *tasiya* beside *tattha* = *trasta* (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. *jaṇida* = *jāta* (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛch. 28,8); M. *asahia* = *asodha* (G.); AMg. *jaṭṭha* = *iṣṭa* (offered; Uttar. 753); A. *jinia* (§ 473); Ś. *anubhāvīda* (Karp. 33,6) = *anubhūta*; M. *vāharia* = *vyāhṛta* (Śak. 88,1); M. *osaria* = *avasṛta* (G. H. R.), *samosaria* (G. H.); AMg. JM. *samosariya* = *samavasṛta* (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. *niśśalidaśśa* = *niṣṣṛtasya* (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. *sumarida*, Mg. *śumalida* = *smṛta*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JM. *vissariya*, JŚ. *visarida*, Ś. *visumarida* = *vismṛta* (§ 478); Mg. *gāida* (Mṛch. 117,4); Ś. *nijjhāida* (Mṛch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); JM. *acchiya* from *r* (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. *icchia* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *icchiya* (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.); Ś. *icchida* (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. JM. *paḍicchiya* (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161.946; Āv. 39,6); Ś. *paḍicchida* (Mṛch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatim. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to *iṣ*, not to *īṣ* (§ 328); *jigghia* = *ghṛāta* (Deśin. 3,46); Ś.

anucitt'hida (Mr̥ch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15; Mālav. 45,14;70,3; Mud r. 266,3); M. *pucchia* (H.), JM. *pucchiya* (Erz.; Sagar.2,8), Ś. *pucchida* (Mr̥ch. 28,21; Mālav. 6,10), beside AMg. *puttha* (Uttar. 31. 113); Ś. *niñhuvida* (Śak. 137,6); M. *naccia*, *panaccia* from *nyt* (H.); AMg. *paḍi jāikkhiya* (Kappas.; Ovav. § 86) beside *paccakkhā*=*pratyākhyāta* (Ovav. § 87); AMg. *buiya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; 1,8,2,1; Uttar. 509)=**bruvita*, *ahābuiya*=**yathā-bruvita* (Sūyag. 531) from the present stem *bruva*-(§494); *duhia*=*dugdha* (Deśin. 1,7); A. *hañia*=*hata* (Piṅgala 1,85. 146^a) beside *hatta* (§ 194); Ś. *ācakkhida* (§ 499); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ādhatta* (Pāiyāl. 240; Hc. 2,138; G. H.; R. s. v. *rabh*; Thāp. 511; Vivāhap. 34,433; Paṇṇav. 540; Rāyap. 78; Erz.; Dvār. 496,13; 498,14. 37; Sagara 4,5; 7,11; T. 6,20; 7,3. 15; Āv. 12,24; 44,2; Mallikām. 223,12; 252,13); M. *samādhatta* (H.); M. JM. Ś. *viḍhatta* (Hc. 4,258; G.R.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 2,23; Anarghar. 275,7; 290,2), A. *viḍhattāu* (Hc. 4,422,4) from the stem *dadh-* from *dhā*=**dhatta* for *hita*, in case one does not like to drag it to the causative (§ 286). Cf. § 223. **dhatta* perhaps in AMg. sticks to *nidhatta* (v. l. *nihatta*; Thāp. 496, explained by the commentator with *nikācita* [sic], *niścita*; *jadha* (relinquished; Hc. 4,258), AMg. *vijadha* (Uttar. 1045. 1047. 1052. 1055. 1058. 1066. 1071. 1074. 1077. 1095; Jiv. 236 f.), *vippajadha* (Āyār. 1,6,6,6; Nirayāv. § 16; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. 435. 442. 1167. 1444; Vivāhap. 454; Āṇuog. 50. 596 [text here °*ddha*]) from a root *jah* for **jādha*, with a short vowel according to § 67, deduced from the present *jahāi* (§ 500); AMg. also *vippajahiya* (Nāyādh. 1448); AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596); JM. *vitthariya*=*vistrta* (Erz.); Ś. *vicinida*=*vicita* (Mālatīm. 297,5); A. *pāvia* (Hc. 4,387,1); A. *bhañjia* (Piṅgala 1,120^a); AMg. JM. *viuvviya* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 30,18) and *veuvviya* (Āyār. p.127,14; Dvār.507,28) from *viuvvai*(§508); cf. *vikurvita*; M. *jāñia* (Hc. 4,7), *jāñida* (Mr̥ch. 27,21;28. 17. 24;29,14;82,15;148,23;166,9; Mudrār. 184,4; Viddhaś. 29,2), *anabhi jāñida* (Mr̥ch. 153,2), *paccabhiāñida* (Uttarar.61,7; 62,7); Mg. *yāñida* (Lalitav. 566,8); A. *jāñiu* (Hc. 4,377; 423,1; Vikr. 55,1 [so to be read]). M. has *nāa* (R.), JM. *nāya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. in compounds usual *nāda*=Skt. *jñāta*, as *abbhaññāda* (Śak. 84,11; Vikr. 12,14; 29,13; 39,20; 46,3; 84,2; Mudrār. 46,8), *vinñāda* (Mr̥ch. 37,21; Śak. 73,5; 168,15; Vikr. 29,21;80,4; Mālav. 46,16;47,3), *avinñāda* (Mālav. 34,7), *paḍiññāda* (Mālav. 13,9;85,2); Ś. *kiñida*, *vikkiñida* from *kri* (§511).—On *ñia*=*nita* and *composita* see § 81, on *khāa*, *dhāa* § 165, on *āa* § 167, on *chūḍha* and *composita* § 166, on *uvviḍha* § 126, on **vutta*, **vūḍha* and *composita* § 337, on the participle AMg. Mg. in *-da* § 219, on *ūsadha*, *nisadha*, *visadha*, *samosadha* § 67; on causative, desiderative, intensive, denominative § 551-559. The feminine ends in *-ā*, only in A. sometimes also in *-ī*, as *ruddhī*=*ruddhā*, *diṭṭhī*=*dr̥ṣṭā* (Hc. 4,422,14; 431,1).

§ 566. The suffix *-na* is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension¹: *khanna* (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. JM. *khatta* (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)², AMg. *ukkhatta* (Vivāgas. 214), M. *ukkhāa* (H.), *ukkhāa* (G. R.), *samukkhāa* (H.); cf. Vr. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JM. *khaṇya* (Erz.) and *khañiya* (Erz.), *ukkhaya* (Erz.); Ś. *ukkhāñida* (Uttarar. 100,7; so to be read).—M. Ś. *cukka* from **cukna* (Pāiyāl. 191; H. R.; Viddhaś. 63,1) from *cukkaḥ* (Hc. 4,177), Ś. *cukkadi* (Viddhaś. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages³ and stands as *cukk* in Dhātupāṭha too⁴.—M. *chikka* (touched; Pāiyāl. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R])=**chikna* from **chik*, a guttural side-form from **chip*, *chivai*⁵.—M. JM. AMg. *dakka* (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. *daś*; Erz.; Paṇḥāv.65.537; Thāp.431)=**dakna*, also in the sense of “sieved

with teeth" Deśin. 4,6). — *diṇṇa*, JM. AMg. also *dinna*, from **didna* with the old reduplication vowel *i*⁶, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāiṇal. 184): M. (G.H.R.); JM. (KI. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. (Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc.); JS. (Kattig. 402,363,364,366); Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 37,8;44,3;51,23; Śak. 59,7;159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn.291,1); Mg. (Mṛcch.113,20;117,7;126,7; Śak.113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. *dā*). Hc. 1,46 teaches also *datta*, that stands at PG. 7,48 as *datā* = *dattā*, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as *dattajasa* (PG. 6,21), *devadatto* (Hc. 1,46), Ś. *somadatto* (Vikr. 7,2)⁷. — M. *budda*, *ābudda*, *ñibudda* (H. 37; so to be read), *vinibudda* (G. 490) from *brud*, *vruḍ*, with the denominatives *buddaī*, *āuddaī*, *ñiuddaī* (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68). — Ś. *bhulla* for **bhulna* (Karp. 113,1) from which *bhullaī*, occurring in the new Indian languages⁸ (Hc. 4,177). — M. *ummilla* (G. H. R.), *ñimilla* (G. R.), *oimilla* (R.) = **milna* from *mil*. — *mukka* from **mukna* from *muc*, very frequent in the main dialects (Hc. 2,2); M. *mukka*, *ava°*, *ā°*, *ummukka*, *pa°*, *paḍi°*, *ṭari°* (G. H. R.); JM. *mukka* (Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Kk.), *āmukka* (Āv. 38,12), *pa°*, *ṭari°*, (Erz.), *vi°* (Erz.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. *mukka* (Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas.), *ummukka* (Paṇṇav. 136; Uttar. 1037), *vinimukka* (Uttar. 755), *vipṇamukka* (Vivāhap. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [a°]; Uttar. 1; Paṇṇav. 134. 483), *vimukka* (Paṇṇav. 134. 136. 137. 848); Ś. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9;202,16; 204,19 etc.), *ṭamukka* (Bālar. 246,13; Uttarar. 84,2), *vimukka* (Bālar. 170,14;203,14;210,2; Pras. 35,2; Venis. 62,7;63,11.12;65,8;66,9); Mg. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 29,19. 20; 31,23. 25; 32,5; 136,16;168,4; Prab. 50,14; 56,10); Dh. *mukka* (Mṛcch. 31,24;32,1); A. *mukkākā* (Hc. 4,370,1). Hc. 2,12 mentions also *mutta*, that falsely occurs in Ś. *paṃutta* (Uttarar. 20,12). *muktā* (pearl) always becomes *muttā* and *mauktika* always *mōttia*⁹; cf. Ś. *mukka-mōttia* (Bālar. 195,9). — *ragga* (Hc. 2,10) = **rogna* = Skt. *rakta*; therefore *ragga* (dress coloured in saffron; Pāiṇal. 261; Deśin. 7,3); found in the text is only *ratta*: M. JM. Ś. (H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,3; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11); M. *latta* (Mṛcch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6). — M. *rikka* = **rikṇa* from *ric* (Pāiṇal. 218; Deśin. 7,6) = "a little" (H.), *āirikka* (H.), *pairikka*, *pavirikka* = *pravirikṇa* (G. H. R.); M. JM. *virikka* (G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz.), according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings "wide", "exclusive"; *aṇarikka*, *avarikka* (deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin. 1,20); beside it M. *ritta* = *rikta* (Pāiṇal. 218; H.), *āiritta* (R. 14,51; v. l. °*rikka*). — M. *ruṇṇa* (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H. R.), *oruṇṇa*, *paruṇṇa* (R.), but Ś. *rudida* (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttarar. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrtas. 11,12). — M. JM. AMg. Ś. *lukka* (torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted; concealed) = **lukna*, from *luñc*¹⁰ (Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viddhaś. 27,4); *ullukka* (Deśin. 1,92); M. Ś. *ñilukka* (H. R.; Viddhaś. 51,7), JM. *nilukka* (Āv. 23,14) with the denominatives *lukkaī*, *ullukkaī*, *nilukkaī* (Hc. 4,55. 116), JM. *nilukkantehiṃ*, *nilukkanto*, (Āv. 23,17. 19). — M. *lhikka* (concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G.) beside **likka* = **likna* (§ 210), form which the denominatives *lhikkaī*, *likkaī* (Hc. 4,55). — M. *sikka* = **sikna* from *sic* (Karpas. 14,4) beside the usual *sitta* = *sikta*. — *sakka* = **śaśṇa*¹¹ "in osakka (gone away; Pāiṇal. 178; Deśin. 1,149) beside M. *parisakkia* (H. 608). — AMg. *sōlla* = *sūd* + *na* = *sūdita*, *sōllaja* (§ 244). — On *juṇṇa* and composita see § 58, on *ṇumaṇṇa* § 118, on *uvvēlla* § 107, on *hūṇa* and composita § 120. The femin. ends in -ā, in A. only sometimes in -ī, as *diṇṇī* (Hc. 4,401,3).

1. On further extension of the suffix -na in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 8, note 2; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by

JOHANSSON, all the etymologies of S. GOLDSCHMIDT, that come here into consideration, are false, likewise those of P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,520 ff. Cf. also PISCHEL, BB. 6, 85 f.—2. Falsely equated as = *khātra* by JACOBI, Erz. s. v; see § 90. — 3. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 4. WEBER on Hāla 465. — 5. Not correct—WEBER, on Hāla 481. — 6. PISCHEL, BB. 15,126. — 7. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,46. — 8. PISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 9. STENZLER on Mṛch. 29,20; PISCHEL on Hc. 2,2. Cf. § 61^a. — 10. False WEBER on Hāla 49. — 11. WEBER on Hāla 608.

§ 567. *i* with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the 1. class: M. *palāaha* (R. 15,8; so to be read with C), *palāanta-* (G. H.), *palā-inva* (R. 14,12; so to be read with the v.l.), *vivalāi*, *vivalāanti*, *vivalāanta-*, *vivalāamāṇa* (G. H. R.); JM. *palāyaī* (Āv. 19,22; Erz.), *palāyamāṇa* (Āv. 18,1; Erz.), *palāyasu* (Erz. 9,37), *palāium* (Āv. 19,16); Ś. *palāidukāma* (Mallikām. 225,11); Mg. *palāāsi* (Mṛch. 9,23; 11,7; 132,3), imp. *palā mha* (Candak. 73,2), particip. pres. *palāanti* (Mṛch. 16,22), absolute *palāāta*, fut. *palāiśśam* (Mṛch. 120,13; 171,15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in *-ai* and in *-ā* (§ 479. 487): Mg. *palāmi* (Mṛch. 22,10), *palāsi* (Mṛch. 11,21); Dh. *palāsi* (Mṛch. 30,7); M. *vivalāi* (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. *palāia* (H. R.), Ś. *palāida* (Vikr. 46,5), Mg. *palāida* (Mṛch. 12,19) = Skt. *palāyita* is formed, from a contracted stem *palā*, also a present past passive participle M. *palāa* = **palāta*, *vivalāa* = **vīpalāta* (R.), JM. *palāya* (Āv. 23,15; 32,5; Erz.), to which belongs also *palāa* (thief; Deśin. 6,8). Cf. § 129. 243. In JM. the participle has also the suffix *-na*: *palāna* (Erz.), for *ā* of which there appears *ī* in Dh. in *paṭalīṇu* = *prapalāyita* (Mṛch. 29,15; 30,1), as in the pres. participle in *-mīna*, *-īna* (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with *-ta*, which in Skt. have only *-na*: M. *khudā* (Hc. 1,53; G. H. R.), Ś. *khudā* (Mṛch. 162,7; Anarghar. 157,9; Uttarar. 11,10 [so to be read]) = **kṣudā* = Skt. *kṣuṇṇa*¹; M. *ukkhudā* (H. R.); also *khuffa* (broken into pieces; Deśin. 2,74), beside JM. *khunna*, M. *khunna* (Pāiyāl. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong *khunna* (wrapped round; Deśin. 2,75) and Ā. *khudā* (run away; Mṛch. 100,12)². — *chaia* (covered; Hc. 2,17; Triv. 1,4,22) = **chadita*, equated by grammarians as = *sthaḡita*³, beside the usual *chanṇa* = Skt. *channa*. — *viddā* (Hc. 1,107), JM. *viddāya* (Āv. 17,32) = **vidrāta* = Skt. *vidrāṇa*. — AMg. *amilāya* (Kappas. § 102) = **amlāta* = Skt. *amlāna*. — M. *lūa* (Hc. 4,258; Deśin. 7,23; R.) = **lūta* = Skt. *lūna*.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 15,125 f.—2. STENZLER on Mṛch. 100,12 p. 288.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 15,125.

§ 569. A parasmaipada past participle is found in AMg. *puṭṭhavam* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: Ś. *kidavanto* [sic], *sudavandena* [sic], *bhuttavanteṇa*, *uttavanto* (Jivān. 40,26; 42,15; 53,11; 87,3); *bhaṇidavanto*, *gadidavanto*, *calidavanto* (Cait. 38,13; 128,5; 130,18); *peḷkkhidavanto* [text *peḷssi*], *ādavanto*, *adivāhidavando* [sic], *aṇubhūdavando* [sic] (Mallikām. 155,18; 209,1; 222,12); *saṃpādiavando* [sic], *pesidavanto* (Adbhutad. 58,10; 119,25); Mg. *gadidavanto* [sic], *gilavante* (Cait. 150,5. 6); femin. Ś. *padicchidavadi* (Viddhaś. 43,6); *ṇidavadi* (Mallikām. 259,3).

§ 570. The particip. necessitatis in *-tavya* is not seldom built from the present stem: *haseavva*, *hasiavva* = *hasitavya* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39); AMg. JM. *hojavva* = *bhavitavya* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *hodavva*, JS. Ś. also *bhavidavva*, Mg. also *huvidavva* (§ 475. 476); JM. *acchiyavva* (Dvār. 500,9; 501,8); Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avagacchidavva* (Mṛch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *anucitṭhidavva* (Mudrār. 50,4); AMg. *pucchiyavva* = *praṣṭavya* (Sūyag. 986. 989. 992), *pucchejavva* (Kappas.), Ś. *pucchidavva* (Śak. 50,5; Hāsy. 27,13); AMg.

vigñīyavva from *vikrt* (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); *M. rūsiavva* (H.); *AMg. pāsīyavva* from *paś* (Paṇṇav. 667; Kappas.); *Ś. saṁtappidavva* (Mṛcch. 94,3), *ṇaccidavva* (Priyad. 19,11. 12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); *AMg. paritāveṇavva* = *paritāpayitavya*, *uddaveṇavva* = *uddrāṇayitavya* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), *dameṇavva* = *damayitavya* (Uttar. 19); *Ś. sumarāidavva* (Priyad. 14,7); *Ś. āsidavva* (Priyad. 14,3); *JM. soṇavva* = *svaptavya* (Āv. 39,16), *Ś. suvidavva* = *suidavva* (Mṛcch. 90,20; Śak. 29,7); *Ś. dādavva* (Cait. 84,6. 13; Jivān. 43,12. 15; Priyad. 10,23), *suṇidavva* (Mudrār. 227,6) beside *sodavva* (Śak. 121,10), *M. soavva* (R. 2,10), *JM. soṇavva* (Āv. 33,19) from *śru*; *AMg. bhindīyavva* (Panhāv. 363. 537); *AMg. bhuñjīyavva* (Vivāhap. 163), beside *bhoṭṭavva* (Hc. 4,212; Ki. 4,78); *AMg. jāñīyavva* (Paṇṇav. 666; Kappas.), *parijāñīyavva* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7); *Ś. jāñidavva* (Priyad. 24,16); *Mg. yāñidavva* (Lalitav. 565,7); *JŚ. ṇāḍavva* (Kattig. 401,352; text °jā°); *JŚ. munedavva* (Pav. 380,8; text °jā°); *Ś. geṇḥidavva* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst *ghēṭṭavva* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), *AMg. parighēṭṭavva* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699. 783. 789), *ogheṭṭavva* (Kappas.) belong to *ghṛp (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 *vac* forms the particip. nec. *voṭṭavva*, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never *voṭṭum*, but always *vattum* (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāviḍian recension 630,14 ed. PISCHEL = 39,4 ed. PAṆḌIT, *vattavva*, as stands also at Mṛcch. 153,15 and JM. *AMg.* have (Erz.; Sūyag. 994. 996; Vivāhap. 139. 204; Kappas.; Ovav.). *voṭṭavva* is to be assigned to M. — From *rud* is built *roṭṭavva* according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. *M. roiavva* is found in the text (H.). From *kr* are built the forms *M. kāavva* (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), *AMg. JM. kāyavva* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), *JŚ. Ś. kāḍavva* (Pav. 386,11 [text °jā°]; Lalitav. 554,6; Mṛcch. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). *Mg. kāḍavva* (Mṛcch. 161,7) = *kartavya* (§ 62). From *muc* Hc. 4,212 teaches *mōṭṭavva* = *mokṭavya*. — In A. the endings are -iēvvañ, -ēvvañ -evā; *kariēvvañ* = *kartavyam*; *marīēvvañ* = *martavyam*; *sahēvvañ* = *soḍhavyam*; *soevā* = *svaptavyam*; *jaggeṇvā* = *jāgartavyam* (Hc. 4,438; cf. Ki. 5,52). -ēvva is to be considered as the basic form, to which goes back -evā, from which the extended formation is -ēvvañ, with the suffix -ka, nom. acc. neut. -kam. -ēvva is = Skt. -eyya, with transition of *ya* into *va* certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic *stusēyya*, perhaps also *śapatheyyā*; cf. *didṛkṣeya*. According to Ki. 5,55 -evvañ is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. -aṇīya appears in M. JM. *AMg.* as -aṇīja, in Ś. *Mg.* as -aṇīa, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); *AMg. pūja-ṇīja* (Kappas.; Ovav), *Ś. D. pūaṇīa* (Mṛcch. 28,7; 101,13); *AMg. vanda-ṇīja* (Uvās.; Kappas.), *Ś. vandaṇīa* (Mṛcch. 66,17); *M. AMg. JM. karaṇīja* (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 2,4,2,5; Erz.), *Ś. karaṇīa* (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false *karaṇīja* (Śak. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct *karaṇīa* *JM. sārakkhaṇīja* (Āv. 28,16. 17) = *saṁrakṣaṇīya*, *Ś. rakkhāṇīa* (Śak. 74,8); *AMg. darisaṇīja* (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), *daṁsaṇīja* (Uvās.; Ovav.), *Ś. daṁsaṇīa* (Śak. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in *AMg.* in Āyār. 2,4,2,2 *darisaṇījam*, immediately beside *darisaṇīe* (sic; ed. Calc. correct °sa°) and in § 4 *darisaṇīyam*, Sūyag. 565 *darisaṇīja* [sic], *JM. daṁsaṇīo* (Erz. 60,17), *M. dūsaṇāṇīo* (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. *Mg.* very often the forms in -īja, as *Mg. palihalaṇīja* (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly *palihalaṇīa*, as in Ś. *pariharaṇīa* (Śak. 52,15). In Mālav. 32,5 all the manuscripts have Ś. *sāhaṇīje*, at all other places in Mālav. the manuscripts waver (BOLLESEN on Mālav. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem

are built AMg. *vip̄pajahanijja* (Nāyādh. § 138) and *Ś. pucchanīa* (Mṛcch. 142,6).

§ 572. *-ya* is employed essentially as in Skt.: *kajja*, Mg. *kayya* = *kārya* in all the dialects very frequently; JM. *dullaṅgha* = *durlaṅghya* (Sagara 3,16); *dujjha* = *dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); JŚ. *neya*, JM. *neja* = *jñeya* (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. *pejja* = *peya* (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), *kāyapijja* = *kākaṭṭhaya* (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst *pibba* (water; Deśin. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,1,30) = **pihya* is derived from the present stem *piba-*; AMg. *bhava* = *bhāya* (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. *ānappa*, *vinnappa* = *ājñāpya*, *vijñāpya* (Sūyag. 253. 256); AMg. *vacca* = *vācyā* (Sūyag. 553 ff.); AMg. *vojjha* from **vaha* = *vāhya* (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. *Ś. gejjha* (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. *hatthaggejjha* = *hastagrāhya* (R. 10,43), M. *dugghejjha* (R. 1,3; Sāhityadarpaṇa 332,13 = Kāvyaṇṣakāśa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of *duhkhāṇjam* of the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatik. 155,3 [text *°jjam*]; Acyutaś. 62 [text *°gga*]), *Ś. anugējjha* (Mṛcch. 24,21), Mg. *duggejha* (Caṇḍak. 42,8; text *duggejjha*, v. 1. *duggea*), A. *duggejjha* (Erz. 76,19) = **grhya* from the present stem *grha-* (§ 512).

b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in *-tum* is distinguished from that of Skt. inasmuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in *i*. So to the present stem: JM. *gāitum* (Erz.), *Ś. gāidum* = *gātum* (Mudrār. 43,2); *Ś. gacchidum* (Śak. 62,11), *anugacchidum* (Mudrār. 261,2) beside *gamidum* (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and *gantum*, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. *pivium* (Āv. 42,8) beside *pāum* (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,3,7), M. (H. R.) and *Ś. pādum* (Śak. 105, 14) have; *Ś. anucittidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19) beside *thādum* (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. *utthium* (Āv. 33,14); Mg. *khādum* (Mṛcch. 123,7) from **khādi* from **khādi* = *khādati*, beside JM. *khāitum* (Erz.), *Ś. khādidum* (Vikr. 25,19); JM. *nihanium* = *nikhātum* from *khan* (Erz. 66,2); *haseum* (Hc. 3,157) from the *e*-stem beside *hasium*; M. *pucchium* (Sarasvatik. 14,17), *Ś. pucchidum* (Mṛcch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4. 17), Mg. *puṣcidum* (Caṇḍak. 42,9) = *praṣtum*; M. *padimuñcium* (R. 14,2) beside *moṭtum* = *moktum* (Hc. 4,212); M. *naccium* (H.); M. *rūseum* (H.), at the same time according to the *e*-conjugation. On the inf. of *bhū* see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10. class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add *-tum* to the present stem in *-e, -ve*: M. *jāṇāveum*, *ñivvāheum* = *nivvāhayitum*, *pasāveum* = *prasādayitum*, *laṅgheum* = *laṅghayitum* (H.); AMg. *vāreum* = *vārayitum* (Sūyag. 178); *parikaheum* = *parikathayitum* (Ovav. § 183); *paribhāveum* = *paribhājayitum* (Nāyādh. § 124); JŚ. *cāledum* = *cālayitum* (Kattig. 400,322); *Ś. kāmedum* = *kāmayitum* (Māla-tīm. 235,3), *kāredum* (Mudrār. 46,9), *dhāredum* (Mṛcch. 166,14; 326,12), *daṇsedum* = *darśayitum* (Mudrār. 81,4); Mg. *aṅgikalāvedum*, *soṣāvedum*, *soḍhāvedum*, *poṣṭāvedum*, *luṇāvedum* (Mṛcch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: *Ś. niattāidum* = *nivartayitum* (Vikr. 46,17), *tāḍāidum* (Mālav. 44,16), *sabhājāidum* (Śak. 98,8), *sussūsāidum* (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. *mālaidum* (Mṛcch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the *a*-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. *dhārium* (H.), *Ś. dhāridum* (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); *Ś. māridum* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 146,8), Mg. *mālidum* (Mṛcch. 170,2) beside *māledum* (Mṛcch. 158,24), JM. *māreum* (Erz. 1,25); M. *vaṇṇium* = *vaṇṇayitum*, *veārium* = *vitārayitum* (H.); AMg. *samvedium* (Āyār. p. 137,18); JM. *cintium*, *paḍibohium*, *vāhium* (Erz.); *Ś. kadhidum* (Śak. 101,

9; 144,12), *avatthāvidum* = *avasthāpayitum* (Uttarar. 112,9), *nivedidum* (Śak. 51,3); Mg. *paṣṭidum* = *prārthayitum* (Lalitav. 566,8).

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are : *pacācalkhidum* = **pratyācaṣṭum* (Śak. 104,8); Ś. *avacīnedum* (Lalitav. 561,8) beside M. *uccum* (H.); JM. *pāveum* = *prāptum* (Erz.); Ś. *supidum* (Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venis. 99,6; Anarghar. 61,6; 110,4), beside M. AMg. JM. *soum* (H. ; Āyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576); Ś. *bhuñjidum* (Dhūrtas. 6,21) beside M. AMg. *bhoṭum* = *bhoktum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; Nāyādh. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16); AMg. *ubbhindum* (Dasav. 620,15) beside *bhēttum* (Dasav. 634,9); Ś. *jānidum* (Lalitav. 567,18; Śak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22) beside JM. *nāum* (Erz. ; as absol. § 576), Ś. *vinṇādum* (Vikr. 24,13); AMg. *giñhum* (Nirayāv. § 20; as absol. § 576), JM. *geñhum* (Erz.), Ś. *geñhidum* (Mṛcch. 94,12) beside M. *gahum* (H.), whilst M. *ghēttum* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210; R.) belongs to **ghṛp* (§ 212); Ś. *aṇubandhidum* (Mālav. 6,18) beside M. *bandheum* (citation under Hc. 1,181).—From *rud* the inf. is M. *roṭtum* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; H.), but Ś. *rodidum* (Śak. 80,8); from *vid* according to Vr. 8,55 *vēttum*; from *vac* in M. JM. AMg. *voṭtum* (Hc. 4,211; H. ; Erz. ; Dasav. N. 646,21), but in Ś. *vattum* (Śak. 22,2; 50,9; Vikr. 30,2; 47,1); *svap* forms in M. *soṭtum* = *svāptum* (H.), in JM. *soum* (Dvār. 501,7) from **sotum* of *sovaī* (§ 497); *kṛ* has in M. JM. AMg. *kāum* = *kartum* (§ 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R. ; Erz. ; Āv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28), M. *paḍikāum* (H.); Ś. *kādum* (Lalitav. 561,13; Mṛcch. 59,25; Śak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venis. 12,6) and *karidum* (Śak. 144,12); Mg. *kādum* (Mṛcch. 123,7).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the *i*-stem are formed : M. JM. *marium* = *martum* (H. ; Erz.), Ś. *maridum* (Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9); JM. *pariharium* (Erz. 58,24), Ś. *viharidum* (Vikr. 52,6), beside M. *vāhattum* = *vyāhartum* (R. 11,116); JM. *samākarisium* = *samākraṣṭum* (Dvār. 498,31); M. *ukkhivium* = *utkṣeptum* (H.), Ś. *khividum* (Vikr. 25,16), *nikkhi-vidum* (Mṛcch. 24,22); M. JM. *dahium* (R. ; Erz.), Ś. *dahidum* (Śak. 72,12) = *dagdhum*; JM. *saṁdhium* = *saṁdhātum* from the present **saṁdhai* (§ 500), Ś. *aṇusaṁdhidum* (Mṛcch. 5,4); Ś. *ramidum* = *rantum*, *ahiramidum* = *abhirantum* (Mṛcch. 28,4; 75,2).

§ 576. In AMg. the form in *-tum* is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned : *jivium* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1); *adaṭṭhum*, *agghaum*, *aṇāsāum* (Āyār. p. 136,22,31; p. 137,7); *aṇusāsium* (Sūyag. 59); *dāum* = *dātum* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyādh. § 124); *aṇuppadāum* = *anupradātum* (Uvās. § 58) = JŚ. *dādum* (Kattig. 403,380; text *dāum*); *bhāsium* = *bhāṣitum*, *pavium* = *plavitum* (Sūyag. 476. 531. 508). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive : *ujjhium* in the sense of *ujjhitvā* (Sūyag. 676); *tarium* (Sūyag. 950); *gantum* (Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11,12; Kappas. S. § 10); *daṭṭhum* = *draṣṭum* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150); *niddēṭṭhum* = *nirdeṣṭum* (Dasav. N. 643,38); *laddhum* = *labdhum* (Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289,550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26; 636,20); *bhiitum* = *bhēttum* (Kappas. § 40); *kāum* = *kartum* (Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34), *puraokāum* (Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46. 48; Ovav. § 25.126); *āhantum* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); *parigheṭṭum* (Paṇhāv. 489. 495), *gaheum* (Sūyag. 296). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to AMg., but is used frequently in JM. too, more seldom in M. as absol.¹ Hc. teaches thus *daṭṭhum*, *mōttum* (2,146), *ramium* (3,136), *ghēttum* (4,210). Examples from JM. are : *gantum* (Āv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;

Kk. II, 508,18); *daṭṭhum* (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); *jiṇium* = *jetum* (Āv. 36,42); *kahiūm* = *kathayitum* (Erz. 7,11); *kaddheum* (Erz. 74,30); *ṭhaviūm* = *sthāpayitum* (Erz. 7,5); *viheum* = *vidhātum* (Kk. s. v.); *souūm* = *śrotum* (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); *kāūm* (Āv. 7,17); *nāūm* = *jñātum* (Erz. 12,11); *ghēttum* = **ghṛptum* (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: *paliviūm* = *pradīpayitum*; *bhaṇiūm*; *bhariūm*, *mōttūm*; *valiūm*; *lahiūm*; *pāviūm* (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); *jāniūm* = *jñātum* (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in *-ūṇa* (§ 586), therefore, *kāūm* can be traced back to *kāūṇa*, with dropping off of the *a*, as in A. *puttem* = *putreṇa*. The similar change of meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolute, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

I. WEBER, Bhag. I, 433; H.¹ p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in *-tu* before *kāma* and *manas*: AMg. *akkehivikāma* = *ākṣeptukāma*, *giṇhiukāma* = *grahitukāma*, *uddāleukāma* = *uddālayitukāma* (Nirayāv. § 19), *jiviukāma* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), *vāsiukāma* = *varsitukāma* (Thāp. 155), *pāukāma* (from *pā* "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), *jāniukāma*, *pāsiukāma* (Paṇṇav. 666. 667), *sampāviukāma* (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. *padibohiukāma* = *pratibodhayitukāma* (Erz. 3,37), *kaddhiukāma* (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. *jividukāma* (Mudrār. 233,3), *vattukāma*, *ālihidukāma* (Śak. 130,11; 133,11), *viṇṇavidukāma* (Mahāv. 103,9), *sikkhidukāma* (Mṛcch. 51,24), *pamajjidukāma* = *pramārṣṭukāma* (Vikr. 38,18), *daṭṭhukāma* (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); *tāḍiṇmaṇā* = *tāḍayitumanāḥ* (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix *-ka*: *ālēddhuam* = **ālegdhukam* = *āleḍhum* (§ 303; Hc. 1,24; 2,164); AMg. *aladdhujam* = **alabdhukam*, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in *-ṭtu*, *-ittu*, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. *-tvā*, which regularly appears as *-ttā* (§ 582). So AMg.: *kaṭṭu* = *kartu*° in the sense of *kṛtvā* (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2. 11,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21. 3,15. 16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.¹; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); *puraokaṭṭu* (Ovav.); *avahaṭṭu* = *apahartu*° (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); *abhihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), *āhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; 1,7,2,1. 2. 3; 1,7,7,2; 1,8,2,12; 2,1,1,11; 2,1,2,4; 2,1,5,5. 6,4), *samāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 410), *appāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 582), *nīhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,6,2,2), *uddhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222. 243), *sāhaṭṭu* = *samhartu*° (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhap. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. etc.); *adaṭṭu* = *adraṣṭu*° (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); *vandittu* (Kappas.); *caittu* = *tyaktu*° (Uttar. 45. 411); *sahēttu* (Dasav. 614,27); *pavisittu* = *praveṣṭu*° (Dasav. 631,5); *āittu* from *ādiyyate* (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = *ādāya, gṛhītvā*); *tarittu* = *taritū*°, **khaivittu* = *kṣapayitū*° (Dasav. 636,3.4); *pamajjittu* = *pramārṣṭu*° (Dasav. 630,20); *viṇaēttu* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); *uvasaṇkamittu* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 3; 1,7,3,3); *viyāhittu* from *vijahāi* from *kā* (§ 500; Āyār. 1,1,3,2); *sunittu* = *śrotu*° (Dasav. 642, 16); *durūhittu* (Sūyag. 293); *chindittu*, *bhuñjittu* (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); *jānittu* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 1,2,4,2; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34).—JM. *gantu* (Kk. II, 506,34); *kaddhittu* (Erz. 10,38); *paṇamittu*, *ṭhavittu* = *sthāpayitū*°, *vandittu* (Kk. 260,11; 268,4; 276,7); *uttarittu* (Kk. 506,25; 511,7); *jānittu*, *paṇadittu* = *prakatayitū*°, *thunittu* = *stotu*° (Kk. III, 514,16. 17. 20), *viñhittu* = *vinidhātū*° (Erz. 72,23), almost exclusively in verses. The duplication of *t*, since in the inf. it goes back to AMg. *-ttae* = *-tave* (§ 478), can hardly be explained from dependence upon the absol. in *-ttā*

= -tvā. Earlier the forms, in which reduplication must enter on phonetic grounds, such as *kaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu*, had been of influence or there occurred a shifting of the accent. Cf. § 578.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433 f.

§ 578. In AMg. the most usual form of the inf. is that in -*itae*, -*ittae*. Infinitive like *pāyae* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1. 2; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovav. § 96) = Vedic *pātave* beside *pivittae* (Ovav. § 80. 98), *bhoṭṭae* (Āyār.; Nāyādh. l. c.; Ovav. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic **bho'ktave* beside *bhuñjittae* (Ovav. § 86), *vatthae* (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic *vāstave* [in AMg., however, from *vas* "to live"] make it certain that one has not to think with WEBER¹ about the Vedic absolutive in -*tvā*, but rather with E. MÜLLER² about the Vedic inf. in -*tave* occurring in Pāli and in the Lepa-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the *i*- and *ī*-stems: *āvitave*, *cāritave*, *srāvitave*, *hāvītave*³. The duplication of *t* points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on -*tavai*, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMg. *ittae* (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic *e'tavai*, likewise *pāyave* = *pātavai*; with *gamittae* is compared Vedic *yāmitavai*, with *piṇidhattae* (Ovav. § 79) Vedic *dātavas*. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: *hoṭṭae* (Kappas. S. § 53) beside *pāubbhavittae* (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from *bhū*; *viharittae* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); *sumarittae*, *sarittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 17. 20); *tarittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); *uttarittae* (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovav. § 96; *pariccaittae* (Uvās. § 95); *gacchittae* (Ovav. § 79), *āgacchittae* (Thān. 155), *uvāgacchittae* (Kappas.), beside *gamittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag.); *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas.); beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1ff.; Kappas.); *nisittae* from *sad* with *ni* (Vivāhap. 513); *anulimpittae* (Ovav. § 79); *pucchittae* (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); *pāsittae* (Nāyādh.); *kahāittae* (Āyār. p. 135, 6); *dūjjiṭṭae* from *dūtaya*- (Kappas.; Thān. 365); *pariṭṭhāvittae* (Kappas.); *abhisīcāvittae* (Nirayāv.); *pūraittae* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *āghavittae* from *ākhyāpaya*- (Nāyādh.); *dhāriṭṭae* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 2,5,2,5); *dhāreṭṭae* (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); *esittae* (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); *āsāittae*, *sāittae* from *śi* (Vivāhap. 513); *paḍisunēṭṭae* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dhunittae* (Sūyag. 139); *bhañjittae* (Uvās.); *bhindittae* (Vivāhap. 1228); *viuvittae* from *kṛ* with *vi* (Bhag.), beside *karittae*, *karēṭṭae* (Ovav. § 79. 85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); *giṇhittae*, *ge*^o (Bhag.; Nirayāv.; Ovav. § 86); *jāgarittae* (Kappas.).

1. Bhag. 1,434; *pāvāittae* is a false reading. — 2. Beiträge p. 61. — 3. DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum § 203.

§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings -*ana*, -*anahā*, -*anahī*, -*evā*. Kī. 5,55 teaches -*evi*, -*ēppi*, -*ēppinu*, -*anam*, -*alūm*, -*ēvvaūm*. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in -*ana* are clearly infinitively used nouns in -*ana*, from which -*anahā*, according to the form is the genitive plural, and -*anahī* the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: *ēcchana* = *eṣṭum* from *iṣ* (to wish; Hc. 4,353); *karaṇa* = *kṛtum* (Hc. 4,441, 1); also with the suffix -*ka* in *akkhanaū* = *ākhyātum*, properly = *ākhyānakam* (Hc. 4,350, 1); *bhuñjanahā* and *bhuñjanahī* (Hc. 4,441, 1); *lahanaū* (Kī. 5,55). — *evam* is found in *devam* = *dātum* (Hc. 4,441, 1). It is clearly derived from the present stem *de* = *daya* (§ 474) with the ending -*vaṃ*, which goes back to -*vana* = Vedic -*vane*, so that *devam* may correspond to Vedic *dāvḍne*. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in -*tu* is *bhajjiu* (Hc. 4,395, 5), which is derived from the present stem of *bhañj* in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case *bhañjiu* = *bhañjiu* is not read with one of the Pūṇā manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),

as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). Kī. 5,55 has *lahaiūm* [text *lahatuūm*].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive¹: M. *disiūm* from *disai* = *drīyate* (R. 4,51; 8,30), *ghēppiuūm* from *ghēppai* = **ghīpyate* (R. 7, 71), *āhammiūm* from *hammaī* from *han* (§ 540; R. 12,45); Jm. *dijjiūm* from *dijjai* = *diyate* (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. *marijjiūm* from *mriyate* (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual *mariūm*, Ś. *maridūm* (§ 575). On A. *bhajjiu* see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

ABSOLUTIVE.

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in *-tvā*, and *-ya*, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. *-tvā* is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg. Dh. it is limited to the two absolutives *kadua* from *kṛ* and *gadua* from *gam*, which according to Vr. 12,10; Kī. 5,74.75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord¹. So Ś. *kadua* (Mṛcch. 72,6; 74,6.9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11. 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18; 30,3). Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. *karia* and *karidūna*, *gacchia* and *gacchidūna* from which also *karia* and *gacchia* are found in bad texts², *karidūna*, which will belong to JŚ. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether *gacchia* and *karia* are not emended in composita: *āacchia* (Ratn. 308,30); *āgacchia* (Venīs. 35,21); *samāgacchia* (Mudrār. 44,5); *alamkaria* (Mṛcch. 150,13). However, we find also *āadua* (Cait. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); *āgadua* (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); *niggadua* (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15. 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So *kadua* (Mṛcch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dh. (Mṛcch. 36,22). At Mṛcch. 132,25 stands in Mg. *gacchia*, for which we should in any case read *gāscia* with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. *gaḍia*, which is to be equated as = **gatya*. All the MSS. of Hc. too have cerebralisation in 4,272. 302, according to which *kadua*, *gadua* would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach *kadua* and *gadua* it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to **kdduvā*, **gdduvā* with a separation vowel and weakening of the final *ā* (§ 113. 139). On *kāūna*, *āacchiūna*, *āgantūna* and others see § 584.

1. FISCHER, KB. 6,140. — 2. FISCHER, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has *gadua*.

§ 582. The suffix *-tvā*, Pkt. *-ttā*, after nasals *-tā*, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JŚ. too this form is frequent and in Jm. not seldom¹. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. *vandittā* (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); *vasittā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); *caittā* = **tyajitvā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); *avakkamittā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); *gantā* = Pāli *gantvā* (Ovav. § 153) beside *āgamēttā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), *anugacchittā* (Kappas.), *uvāgacchittā* (Vivāhap. 236²; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.), *niggacchittā*, *paḍiniggacchittā* (Nirāyāv.); *vantā* = *vāntvā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); *bhavittā* (Vivāhap. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *jīmittā* (Sūyag. 929); *uvanēttā* = **upanitvā* (Sūyag. 896); *pivittā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); *uṭṭhittā* (Nirāyāv.), *abbhuṭṭhittā* (Kappas.);

pāsittā (Rāyap. 21; Sūyag. 734; Ovav. § 54, p. 59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); *nijjhāittā* = **nidhyātvā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 2); *muṇittā* (Vivāhap. 508), *omuyittā* (Kappas.) from *muc*; *āpucchittā* (Uvās.), *aṇāpucchittā* (Kappas.) from *pracch*; *lumpittā*, *vilumpittā*³ (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; cf. Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *apulimpittā* (Jiv. 610); *mantā* = *matvā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 3, 1, 3; Sūyag. 403. 493 [so to be read throughout]); *uttāsāittā* = **uttrāsāyivā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3); *vicchaddāittā*, *vigovāittā*, *janāittā* (Ovav.); *āmanteṭṭā* (Sūyag. 578); *āphālittā* = **āsphālayivā* (Sūyag. 728); *pagappaeṭṭā* = **prakalpayivā* (Sūyag. 935); *thavēṭṭā* = *sthāpayivā* (Āyār. 2, 7, 1, 5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); *sikkhāvēṭṭā*, *sehāvēṭṭā* = **śikṣāpayivā*, **śaikṣā*^o; *saddāvittā* = *śabdāpayivā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *anupālittā*, *nivesittā* (Kappas.); *ahittā* = **adhivā* = *ādhitya* (Sūyag. 463); *viḍittā* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 1; 1, 2, 6, 2); *saṁṭhūṇittā* from *stu* (Jiv. 612); *hantā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6; Sūyag. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); *parihittā* (Sūyag. 239), *paripihēṭṭā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 27), *ṇhittā* (Kappas.), *paḍipihittā* (Sūyag. 728; text *pe*^o) from *dhā* with *pari*, and *pari*, *prati* + *pi*; *jahittā* (Uttar. 753); *vip̐pajahittā* (Āyār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from *hā*; *huṇittā* (Vivāhap. 910) from *hu* (to offer); *pāṇittā* from *āp* with *pra* (Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235. 968. 969; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *sunittā* (Uvās.), *paḍisunittā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *avidhūṇittā* (Sūyag. 859); *cheṭṭā*, *bheṭṭā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3; 1, 2, 5, 6; Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *viuvvittā* (Bhag.; Kappas.) beside *karēṭṭā*, *karittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *jāṇittā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 1. 3, 1. 4, 2; 1, 6, 5, 2; Dasav. 630, 40), *aparīyāṇittā* (Thāṇ. 42), *viyāṇittā* (Dasav. N. 653, 14; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *jñā*; *kiṇittā* (Sūyag. 609) from *kri*; *abhigīṇhittā* (Āyār. 2, 15, 24), *ogīṇhittā* (Ovav.), *paḍīṇhittā* (Nāyādh.) from *grah*. Examples from JM. are: *gantā* (Āv. 42, 7); *caḍittā* (Āv. 29, 1); *karisittā* = *kr̥ṣṭvā* (Āv. 28, 2); *laṅghittā* (Erz.); *vandittā* (Kk.; Erz.); *melittā* (Kk.); *uṭṭhēṭṭā* (Āv. 10, 41); *ṇhāittā* (Āv. 38, 2); *ussārittā*, *ullēṭṭā* = *ārdayivā*, *thavittā*, *bhuñjāvittā*, *māvēṭṭā*, *vēdhēṭṭā* (Erz.); *paḍigāhēṭṭā*, *pāēṭṭā* = *pāyayivā*, *vāhittā* (Āv. 9, 3; 30, 9; 38, 6); *vinnavittā* (Kk.); *nevaccchēṭṭā* = **nepathyayivā* (Āv. 26, 27); *āhaṇittā* (Āv. 29, 5); *paccakkhāittā* = **pratyākhyāyivā* (Erz.); *suṇēṭṭā* (Āv. 7, 33; Erz.); *bhuñjittā* (Erz.); *jāṇittā* (Kk.); *giṇhittā* (Sagara 2, 17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4, 271 in Ś. the forms in -*ṭṭā* too would be permissible, as *bhoṭṭā* = *bhuktvā*, *hoṭṭā* = *bhūtvā*, *paḍhittā* = *paṭhivā*, *rantā* = *ratvā*. But they are altogether strange to the common Ś⁴. On the other hand they are frequent in JŚ., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: *cattā* = *tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *ṇamamasittā* = *namasyivā* (Pav. 386, 6); *ālocittā* = **ālocayivā* (Pav. 386, 11); *nirūṇhittā* = *nirudhya* (Pav. 386, 70); *nihaṇittā* = *nihatya* (Kattig. 401, 339); *jāṇittā* = *jñātvā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāṇittā* = *viññāy* (Pav. 387, 21); *bandhittā* = *baddhvā* (Kattig. 402, 355). On AMg. *dissā*, *dissam*, *dissa* = *dr̥ṣṭvā*, *paḍissā* = **pradr̥ṣṭvā* see § 334.

1. The statement of JACOBI (Erz. § 61), that this absol. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMg., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolutive very frequently only through *ṭṭā* behind the verbum finitum (WEBER, Bhag. I, 382). So here *uvāgacchanti ṭṭā*, which is to be read as *uvāgacchittā*. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as *uvāgacchantittā*, *niḡacchantittā*, *bandhantittā*, *edantittā* (236), *saṁpeheittā* (152), *pāsāittā* (156), *duruheittā* (172), yet *vip̐pajahāmittā* behind *vip̐pajahāmi* (1231. 1242 ff.), *apuppavisāmittā* behind *apuppavisāmi* (1242 ff.) etc. So also *pāṇantittā* (Sūyag. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogous forms in Āyār. and Sūyag. often nomina agentis in -*ṭṭ*. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 4, 271.

§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in *-ttā* AMg. has an absol. in *-ttānam*, which presupposes one Vedic **-tvānam*¹: *bhavittānam* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.), *pāubbhavitānam* (Uvās.); *vasittānam* (Kappas. § 227); *anupariyattittānam* = **anuparivartitvānam* (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.), *abhinivatittānam* (Sūyag. 593 ff.); *durukittānam* (Ovav. § 79, II. III); *caittānam* = **tyajitvānam* (Ovav. § 169; Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); *pāsittānam* from *paśya-* (Vivāhap. 942. 1322; Nirayāv. § 7; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 32. 47. 70. 74 ff. 87. p. 96; Nandis. 169); *ciṭṭittānam*, metrically for *°nam* (Dasav. 622,28); *āpucchittānam* (Kappas. S. § 48); *phusittānam* from *sprś* (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); *sampajjittānam* (Bhag.), *uvasampajjittānam* (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); *jhūsittānam* (Thāṇ. 56); *paḍivajjittānam* (Āyār. 2,1,11,11); *āyāmēttānam* (Sūyag. 681); *vidittānam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,2); *sāmpihittānam* = **sāmpidhitvānam* = *sāmpidhāya* (Samav. 81; text *°pa°*); *samvidhūttānam* (Ovav. § 23); *karēttānam* (Dasav. 614,27); *oginḥittānam* (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.), *paginḥittānam*, *sānginḥittānam* (Nāyādh.); *caittānam* in JM. (Kk. 272,11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AMg.

1. The form *pitvānam* referred to by the European grammarians (BENFEY, Vollst. Gr. § 914, VI, 3; WEBER, Bhag. 1,423; WHITNEY¹, § 993c) rests, as already noted by WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. XXIV, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7,1,48. The Kāśikā rightly has *pitvānam*. That *nam* is not an appended particle, as meant by WEBER l. c., Hāla¹ p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AMg. texts published by JACOBI, and partly in those published by LEUMANN too, therefore, the *nam* printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by STEVENSON, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143).

§ 584. Instead of *-ttānam* is found according to the grammarians also *-tuānam* from **-tvānam* = *-tvānam* (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal *-tuāna*: *kāuānam* (Hc. 1,27); *haseuānam*, *hasiūānam*, *ghēttuānam* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *kāuāna* (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); *souāna*, *bhēttuāna* (Hc. 2,146); *haseuāna*, *hasiūāna*, *vōttuāna*, *mōttuāna*, *ro'ttuāna*, *bhō'ttuāna*, *daṭṭhuāna* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *ghēttuāna* (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms *-tūnam*, *-ūnam* and particularly in *-tūna*, *-ūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, P. *-tūna* builds the most usual absol. in M. JM. JŚ. P., that is found in AMg. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272 *-dūna* would be existing in Ś. too: *bhodūna*, *hodūna*, *paḍhidūna*, *randūna*, *karidūna*, *gacchidūna*. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in *-tūna*, *-ūna* (seldom in *-dūna*, as would be expected for *-ūna*). So Ś. *āaccahiūna*, *peḥkhiūna*, *kāriūna* (Lalitav. 568,1.2.5), *kāūna* (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatīm. 236,2 [°u°]; ed. Madras *kādūna*), *āgantūna* (Mālatīm. 363,7; text *°attū°* ed. Madras. *ndū°*), *ghēttūna* (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text *ghakkūna*]; 177,21; 191,16 [text *ghēkkūna*]; 219,13 [text *ghakkūna*]; 229,8 [text *ghēkkūna*]) and *gheūna* (Mālatīm. 149,4; v. l. *ghēttūna*; ed. Madras *ghattūna*), *daṭṭhūna* (Cait. 38,7), *dūūna* (Jīvān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. *paviśiūna* (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait.; Mallikām.; Kāleyak.; Jīvān., such forms are met with at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. *ghēttūna* (Mr̥cch. 22,8) and certainly in Ā. D. *bhēttūna* (Mr̥cch. 99,17; 100,5), D. *hantūna* (Mr̥cch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatīm. 236,2 B rightly has *kadua*. Somedeva and Rājasekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11. 22). JŚ. has the absol. in *-dūna*: *kādūna*, *nedūna*, *jāidūna*, *gamidūna*, *gahidūna*, *bhuñjavidūna*, for which the texts mostly falsely have *-ūna* instead of *-dūna* (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.

§ 585. The ending *-tūṇaṃ*, *-ūṇaṃ* is found pro ex in PG. *kātūṇaṃ* = **kartvāṇaṃ* (6,10. 29) = AMg. JM. *kāūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 645,25; Āv. 9,18; 27,18; 31,14,15; Erz. 72,4; 78,3) beside JM. *viuvūṇaṃ* (Āv. 31,13); PG. *nātūṇaṃ* = **jñātvāṇaṃ* (6,39) = AMg. JM. *nāūṇaṃ* (Ovav. § 23; Erz. 85,12); M. *uccariūṇaṃ* (G. 260), *roṭṭūṇaṃ* (H. 869); *gheṭṭūṇaṃ* (Vajjalagga 324,25); AMg. *uvaiṇṇiūṇaṃ*, *hoūṇaṃ* (Vivāhap. 550. 1281); *namiūṇaṃ*, *pannaveūṇaṃ* (Dasav. N. 643,33.35), *bandhiūṇaṃ* (Sūyag. 274. 292); JM. *gantūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,24; 75,31; 76,10; 77,32; 78,9,11; Dvār. 506,16); *bhareūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,13), *hoūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,14), *ṇhaviūṇaṃ*, *dāūṇaṃ* (Erz. 69,30), *daṭṭhūṇaṃ* (Āv. 9,11; 13,3; 25,17.39; Erz. 79,6.21; 82,18), *paribhamiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 74,34), *jampiūṇaṃ*, *paṇjampiūṇaṃ* = **prajalpitvāṇaṃ* (Erz. 83,2; 79,15; 85,28), *viheūṇaṃ* = **vidhayitvāṇaṃ* = *vidhāya* (Kk. 267,16), *nisuṇiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 77,18) beside *soūṇaṃ* (Kk. 260,17), *chindiūṇaṃ* (Āv. 37,40), *bhuṇṇiūṇaṃ* (Dvār. 500,36). The form in *-ūṇaṃ*, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in *-ūṇa*, in prose before *ca*, as JM. *bhaṇiūṇa āpuccchiūṇa ... gantūṇaṃ ca* (Dvār. 496,18), *bhaṇṇiūṇaṃ ca...* *giṇhiūṇa* (Dvār. 500,29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. *niṃantiūṇaṃ gantūṇa* (Erz. 80,23), *peṇchiūṇa kumaro hasiūṇaṃ* (Erz. 82,8). In the sense of the inf. stands *maḷiūṇaṃ* = **mraditvāṇaṃ* (Āv. 12,8); the prose order at 11,2 for it has *maddiūṃ* = *marditum*.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in *-ūṇa*. It is found in AMg. and JŚ. too, where it is spelt as *-dūṇa* (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. *jeūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; G. 1197; R. 8,74) beside JM. *jiniūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; Erz. 22,16), *nijjiniūṇa* (Erz. 82,13); M. JM. *hoūṇa* (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495,30), according to Hc. 4,240 also *hoaiūṇa*; AMg. JM. *caiūṇa* = **tyajitvāṇa* (Uttar. 30.277.303.552; Erz.); *haseūṇa* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39) beside M. JM. *hasiūṇa* (Ki. 4,39; H. R.; Sarasvatik. 135,12; Erz.), M. *vihasiūṇa* (G.); M. JM. AMg. *gantūṇa* (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19,3; Ovav. § 168. 169); M. AMg. JM. *daṭṭhūṇa* (Hc. 4,213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74,7; Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Āv. 24,11; Dvār. 498,28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *vajjiūṇa* (Pannav. 104); M. JM. *pāūṇa* from *pā* (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83,2; Dvār. 496,28); M. *vodhūṇa* (R.); AMg. JM. *vandiūṇa* (Kappas. Th. 13,9; Sagara 2,8; 11,12; Kk.); AMg. *laddhūṇa* = **labdhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 846. 848); JM. *āpuccchiūṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 496,18); M. JM. *moṭṭūṇa* = **muktvāṇa* (Hc. 4,212. 237; G. H. R.; Viddhaś. 11,8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497,18; 498,38; Sagara 7,13; JM. *mariūṇa* (Sagara 11,7.9); AMg. *viddhūṇa* = **viddhvāṇa* (Sūyag. 928); M. *padivajjiūṇa* = **pratipadyitvāṇa* = *pratipadya* (H.); M. *uddeūṇa* (G.); *avahatthiūṇa*, *pajjāliūṇa*, *āphāliūṇa* (H.), *uaūheūṇa* = *upagūhya*, *ṇiameūṇa* = *niyamyā* (R.); JM. *sammāṇeūṇa* (Erz.); *dhakkeūṇa* (Dvār. 499,8), *raṇṇiūṇa* (Ki. 11); *bheseūṇa* = **bheṣayitvāṇa* (Kk.), *ṭhaviūṇa* (Sagara 1,10; Erz.); *thāiūṇa* = **sthāgayitvāṇa* (Āv. 30,4); M. D. JM. *hantūṇa* (Hc. 4,244; R.; Mṛcch. 105,22 [so to be read]; Erz.) beside M. *āhaṇiūṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,16), JM. *haṇiūṇa* (Āv. 17,31); M. *roṭṭūṇa* (Bh. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; R.), M. also *roūṇa* (H.), whilst JM. *roviūṇa* (Sagara 7,11) belongs to *ru* (§ 473); *veṭṭūṇa* (Bh. 8,55); M. *voṭṭūṇa* to *vac* (Hc. 4,211; R.); JM. *piheūṇa* (Sagara 10,17); M. JM. AMg. *dāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; G.; Kāvya prakāśa 343,3; Dvār. 500,19; Erz. 78,1; Pannhāv. 367); M. *dhuṇiūṇa* (R. 6,20); JM. *pāviūṇa* (Erz.); M. JM. *soūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Hc. 3,157; 4,237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7,8; 11,12; Āv. 18,20; 31,23) beside *suṇiūṇa* (Hc. 3,157); JM. *cheṭṭūṇa* (Erz.) and *chediūṇa* (Kk. II, 507,11); JM. *bhaṇṇiūṇa* and *je* (Erz.); Ā. D. JM. *bheṭṭūṇa* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5; Erz.), JM. also *bhindiūṇa* (Sagara 3,1.6.18); AMg. *bhoṭṭūṇa* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; Ovav. § 185), JM. also *uvabhuṇṇiūṇa* (Erz.); YG. *kātūṇa* (101,9), JŚ. *kādūṇa* (§ 21. 584),

M. JM. *kāūna* (Bh. 4,23; 8,17; Hc. 2,146; 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 499,39 etc.), falsely also in Ś. (§ 584), JM. also *viuuiūna* (Dvār. 507,40; Erz.); M. JM. *gahiūna* (G. 282; Vajjalagga 326,9; Erz.; Dvār. 503,1; KI. 17; Kk. II, 505,29) beside JM. *gēñhiūna* (Āv. 43,7; Erz.); M. JM. AMg. *ghēttūna* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 2,146; 4,210; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 5,14; Nāyādh. 960; Paṇhāv. 367), which is found in the verse in Mg. too (Mṛch. 22,8) and falsely in Ś. too (§ 584), AMg. *parighēttūna* (Paṇhāv. 487) and M. *gheūna* (Bh. 4,23; Sarasvatik. 180,4 as v. l. to H. 130, but *ghēttūna* 347,9; Priyad. 33,15; falsely in Ś. § 584) belong to **ghr̥p*; M. *nāūna*, JM. *nāūna* (Hc. 4,7; R. 11,21; Dvār. 496,16; Erz.; Kk.) beside M. JM. AMg. *jāñiūna* (H.; Kk.; Āv. 8,23; Paṇhāv. 394), JM. *vi jāñiūna* (Erz.); M. *ābandhiūna* (R. 12,60); AMg. *bandhiūna* (Sūyag. 285).—In P. the absol. ends, according to Hc., in *-tūna*; *samappetūna* = **samarpayitvāna* (2,164), *gantūna*, *rantūna*, *hasitūna*, *padhitūna*, *kadhitūna* (4,312), *naṭṭhūna*, *natthūna*, *daṭṭhūna* from *naś* and *dr̥ś* (4,313), according to Vr. 10,13; Mk. fol. 87 in *-tūnam*: *dātūnam*, *kātūnam*, *ghēttūnam*, *hasitūnam*, *patitūnam*; Sr. fol. 64,65 permits both the forms: *hasitūnam*, *hasitūna*, *daṭṭhūna*, *datthūna*; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 p. 14,11 has *āgantūna*, Amaracandra in Kāvyaḷapalatāvr̥tti p. 9 *gantūna*.

§ 587. Beside *-ttā* = *-tvā* is found in AMg. JŚ., very seldom in JM. too, also *-ccā*, beside *-ttānam* in AMg. also *-ccānam*, *-ccāna*. Since Vedic *-tyā* stands just metrically for *-tya*, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst *-ccā* always has *-ā* in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace *-ccā* back directly to Vedic *-tyā*. There occurs the change of *-tvā* into **tyā*, of **tvānam* into **tyānam*, that is found otherwise too in AMg. (§ 281. 299). So: AMg. *hōccā* = **bhūtyā* = *bhūtvā* (Sūyag. 859); AMg. JŚ. *thiccā* = **sihityā* (Sūyag. 565; Vivāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402,355); AMg. *suṭhiccā* (Sūyag. 938.941.950); AMg. *ciccā* (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and *ceccā* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from **tiyakyā* (§ 280) = *tyaktvā*, *pēccā* = *pītvā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5), *apiccā* = *apītvā* (Sūyag. 994).—AMg. *pēccā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *piccā* (Sūyag. 28) is also = **pretyā* = *pretya*.—AMg. *abhisamēccā* = **abhisametyā* = *abhisametya* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,7,1); *vaccā* (Sūyag. 565ff.), probably more correctly *vuccā* (Sūyag. 783) = **vakyā* = *uktvā*; *daccā* from *dā* (Vivāhap. 227); *hiccā* from *hā* (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1. 4,1), also *heccā* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and metrical *hecca* (Sūyag. 144); *soccā* from *śru* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1; 1,6,4,1; 1,7,2,3; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154.181.298.322 etc.; Dasav. 631,18; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386,6) and JM. (Kk.; where also *succā*), also *soccam* in AMg. *soccam idam* (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1); *bhōccā* from *bhuj* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1,4,5. 9,4. 10,3; Sūyag. 194.202.203.226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); *abhōccā* (Sūyag. 994), metrically also *abhōcca* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMg. JŚ. *kiccā* from *kṛ* (Āyār. 2,3,1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,4; Kattig. 402,356 ff. 375 f.); AMg. *naccā*, *naccā* from *jñā* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1,3. 4; 1,7,8,1. 25; 1,8,1,11. 14. 15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155.228.237; Dasav. 629,5; 631,35; 633,35). The ending *-ccāna* and *-ccānam* occurs in AMg. *hiēcānaṃ* (Sūyag. 86), *heccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 433), *naccānaṃ* (Sūyag. 43); metrically also *heccāna* (Sūyag. 551), *naccāna* (Sūyag. 188), *soccāna* (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), *ciccāna* (Sūyag. 378. 408). In prose *ceccāna* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has *ceccā*.—On AMg. *bujjhā* = *buddhvā* see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in *-tvī* (DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum. § 221)

and *-tvīnam*, as *iṣṭvīnam*, *pītvīnam* (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above § 583 note) have been retained in A. *-tvī* became *-ppi*, after nasals *-pi* (§ 300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became *-vi*: *-tvīnam*, corresponding to it, has become *-ppiṇu*, *-piṇu*, *-vinu* (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Ki. 5,53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: *jinēppi* (Hc. 4,442,2) and *jēppi* (Hc. 4,440) from *ji*; *jhāvi* from *dhyai* (Hc. 4,331); *dēppiṇu* = **detvīnam* from *daya* (Hc. 4,440); *gampi* = **gantvī* = Vedic *gatvī*, *gameppi*, *gampiṇu*, *gameppiṇu* (Hc. 4,442; Ki. 5,59); *pekkhevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *pekkhivi* (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), *pekkheviṇu* (Hc. 4, 444,4); *dēkkhivi* (Hc. 4,354); *chaddeviṇu* from *chard* (Hc. 4,422,3); *mēllavi* (Hc. 4,353), *mēlleppiṇu* (Hc. 4,341,1) from *mēllai* (gives up; Hc. 4,91, 430,3); *melavi* from *mil* (Hc. 4,429,1); *cumbivi*, *vichodavi* (Hc. 4,439,3,4); *bhaṇivi* (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); *piavi* from **pibatvī* = Vedic *pītvī* (Hc. 4,401,3); *marēppi* (Ki. 5,60); *laggivi* (Hc. 4,339); *buddavi* (Hc. 4,415); *lāvi* = **lāgayitvī* (Hc. 4,331, 376,2); *levi* (Hc. 4,395,1, 440), *lēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,370,3, 404), *leviṇu* (Hc. 4,441,2) from *lā*; *brōppi*, *brōppiṇu* from *brū* (Hc. 4,391; Ki. 5,58); *rundheviṇu* (Vikr. 67,20); *karēppi*, *kēppi* (Ki. 5,59), *karevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *karēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,396,3); *ramevi*, *ramēppi*, *ramēppiṇu* from *ram* (Ki. 5,53); *luṇēppi* (Ki. 5,57); *vuṇēppi*, *vuṇēppiṇu* from *vraj* (§ 488; Hc. 4,392); *gṛṇhēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,394, 438,1), *gēṇhēppi*, *gēṇhēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,62). Forms in *-ūṇa*, as *soṇa*, *hasiūṇa* (Piṅgala 1,61^a, 62^a) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as *laṅhevi*, *peṇchavi*, *nisuṇevi*, *vajjevi*, *jālevi*, that are found in JM. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19, 24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutives are used in the sense of the infinitive too: *samvarevi* (Hc. 4,422,6); *jēppi*, *caeppiṇu* = **tyajitvīnam*, *leviṇu*, *pālevi* (Hc. 4,441,2); *lahevi*, *lahēppi*, *lahēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. *bhājjiu* stands in the sense of the absol. (§ 579). On the absolutely used inf. in *-tum*, *-tu* see § 576, 577.

§ 589. The absolutiva in *-ia* = *-ya* are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending *-ūṇa*. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be *sammīlia* (137); hence we should write *sammīliadāhīṇa-am* = *sammīlitadakṣiṇakam* and take it as an adverb, parallel to *suiram* and *aviṇham*, standing beside it. *pāḍia* (880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise *anuṇia* (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, *anuṇiāpio*. At Kāvyaaprakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of *balāmodia*, with the best manuscripts we should read *balāmodīi* (§ 238), as also Rājānakānanda has in his Kāvyaaprakāśanidarśana; the second best manuscript of Kāvyaapr. reads *balāmodheṇa*. H. 879, where WEBER, earlier (H.¹ Anhang No. 44) read *pekkhiaṇa* with Kāvyaapr. 68,5 and Sāhityad. 102,20, now correctly he has *pekkhiūṇa*, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvyaapr. have and stands at Sarasvatik. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika at Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read *niṇjhāṇehamuddham*, therefore, *niṇjhā* = *nirdhyāta*. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H.¹ p. 67, according to him *gahia* (Kāvyaapr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read *lahia* according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes *vinijjia* = *vinirjitya* (Karp. 8,6) and *vajjia* = *varjya* (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 *oṭtharia*, which the editor translates with *avatīrya*, is = *avastṛta*, whilst *oṭthiarāhu* stands for *rāhuoṭtharia*, as elsewhere too (§ 603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate *bhamia*, *ramia* in Hc. 2,146 and *gēṇhia* at 4,210. Vr. 4,23; 8,16 does not mention for M. the ending *-ya*. Therefore, here too particularly Rājasekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§ 590. The absol. in *-ya* is rare in the old Āv. -texts in JM. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it

enters again the endings *-āṇa* and *-ttā*, as in AMg. against *-ttā*, *-ttāṇam*. In AMg. a number of absol. in *-ya*, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. *kadua* and *gadua* (§ 581) *-ya* is the only prevalent ending in Ś.Mg.Dh. (Vr. 12,9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in *-i*. In AMg. JM. in verses the ending is often *-yā* (§ 73). In JŚ. too *-yā* is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: Ś. *ṇāia* = **ṇāiya* = *nītvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4), but *āṇā* (Mālatīm. 236,3; Pras. 41,2), *avaṇā* = *apaṇāya* (Venīs. 66,21); Ś. *saṃassaia* = **saṃāśrayiya* = *saṃāśritya* (Śak. 2,8); Ś. *daia* from *daya-* (Mṛcch. 51,12), and *deia* from *de-* (Mudrār. 203,7); Ś. Mg. *bhavia*, JŚ. *bhaviya* (§ 475); AMg. *vinikkassa* = *vinikkṣya* (Sūyag. 280); Ś. *odaria* = *avatīrya* (Vikr. 23,17), Mg. *odalia* (Mṛcch. 122, 11); Mg. *aṇusālia* = *anusṛtya-* (Prab. 51,12), *osālia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129, 8); Ś. *pariharia* (Mṛcch. 136,8), Mg. *palihalia* (Prab. 28,16; 51,12) = *parihṛtya*; JM. *sumariya* (Erz.), Ś. *sumaria* (Mṛcch. 8,15; Śak. 63,14); JM. *pe'cchiya* (Sagara 4,2. 11; Erz.), *pikkhīya* (Kk.), Ś. *pe'kkhia* (Mṛcch. 41,6. 10,22; 73,2; 78,25; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 15,16), Mg. *pe'skia* (Mṛcch. 96,23), AMg. *pehiyā*, *sāpehiyā*, *samupehiyā* (§ 323); AMg. *uvalabbha* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *labhiya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2), but Ś. *lambhia* (§ 484. 525. 541; Cait. 125,10; 132,17; 134,9), AMg. *nikkhamma* = *niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), but Ś. *nikkamia* (Priyad. 34,3); AMg. *viukkamma* = *vyutkramya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2), but Ś. *adikkamia* = *atikkramya* (Ratn. 295,9); AMg. *pakkhippa* = *praksīpya* (Sūyag. 280. 282); AMg. *pāsiya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); metrically (§ 73) also AMg. JM. *pāsiyā* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38,36), and AMg. *passa* (Uttar. 222. 239. 240), *aṇupassiyā* (Sūyag. 122), *sāṃpassiya* (Dasav. 642,11); AMg. JM. *pariccajja* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Uttar. 561; Erz.), JM. also *pariccaīya* (Erz.), Ś. *pariccaīa* (Mṛcch. 28,10; Ratn. 298,12) = *parityajya*¹; AMg. *samārabha* (Samay. 81), JM. *ārabha* (Erz.), but Ś. *ārambhia* (Śak. 50,2); AMg. *abhikaṇkha* = *abhikāṅksya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6 ff.); AMg. *abhirujja* = *abhiruhyā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2), but Ā. D. Ś. *ahiruhia* (Mṛcch. 99,19; 103,15; Vikr. 15,5), Mg. *ahiluhia* (Mṛcch. 99,4; 121,11; 164,3); AMg. *pavissa* = *praviṣya* (Āyār. 1,8,4,9); but Ś. *pavisia* (Mṛcch. 18,10; 27,3; 93,2; Śak. 70,7; 115,6; 125,13; Vikr. 75,4), Mg. *paviṣia* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 29,24; 37,10; 112,11; 125,22; 131,18); JŚ. *āpiccha* (Pav. 386,1), JM. *āpucchiya* (Dvār. 495,31 between *cintīṇa* and *paṇamīṇam*), *aṇāpucchiya* (Āv. 11,23); Ś. *siñcia* (Mṛcch. 41,6); AMg. *nisamma* from *saṃ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.); *vissamia* from *śram* (Mālatīm. 34,1); JM. *paḍivajjiya* = *pratipadya* (Erz.); AMg. *paḍucca* for **paḍiucca* from *paḍivaccaī* (§ 163. 202; Vivāhap. 29. 35. 99. 111. 127. 128. 136. 272 etc.; Thāṇ. 185. 186; Āyār. 1,5,5,5; Sūyag. 332. 776; Uttar. 1019. 1044. 1047. 1051 ff.; Nandis. 395 ff.; Jiv. 33. 118 ff.; Aṇuog. 14. 15. 154 ff.; 235 ff.; Dasav. N. 644,17; 649,9 etc.), in verses also *paḍuccā* (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644,13); Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, *thāvia* (Mṛcch. 24,2; 59,7); JM. *āroviya* (Erz.), *samāroviya* (Dvār. 503,33); Ś. *vajjia* = *varjayitvā* (Śak. 52,11 [so to be read]; Mālatīm. 98,6; Ratn. 316,16; Nāgan. 24,4), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,5); Ś. *coria*, *vāvādia* (Mṛcch. 37,14; 40,22); Mg. *paveṣia* (Mṛcch. 140,14 [so to be read with Gopābole]; 158,22), *ohālia* = *apahārya* (Mṛcch. 96,24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. *aṇupāliya* = *anupālya* (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from *tyaj* the attested absol. are: JŚ. *cattā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittāṇam* (§ 583), AMg. JM. *caīṇa* (§ 586), AMg. *ciccā*, *ce'ccā*, *ciccāna*, *ce'ccāna* (§ 587); A. *cae'ppīnu* (§ 588), AMg. JM. *cajja*, JM. *caīya*, Ś. *caia* (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. *caittu*.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. *samecca* = *saṃetya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15); JM. *thuṇiya* (Kk. II. 508,26) from *stu*; Ś. *ṇāsasia* from *śvas*

with *nis* (Mṛcch. 41,22); AMg. *āhacca* = *āhatya* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6. 7,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. *āhanā* (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JŚ. *ādāya* (Pav. 386,6), AMg. *samādāya* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), *paḍisaṁdhāya* (Sūyag. 720), *paṇihāya* = *praṇihāya* (Uvās. § 192); AMg. *jahāya* (Uttar. 635. 914), *viṇṇāhāya* from *hā* with *vi* and *pra* (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhap. 146); falsely Ś. *ṇim-māya* (Lalitav. 554,13), for which **ṇimmāia* would be correct; AMg. *dhunīya* (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), *viḥunīyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), *viḥunīya* (Sūyag. 113), *saṁvidhunīya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5); Ś. *odhunīa* (Adbhutad. 52,12; so to be read), *avadhunīa* (Mālatīm. 351,6; Venīs. 61,5 [so to be read]; 63,9); JM. *suṇīya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *suṇīa* (Mṛcch. 148,10; Śak. 62,11; 70,11; Vikr. 26,1; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mg. *suṇīa* (Mṛcch. 37,10; 38,20). Dh. *paḍissudā* = *pratiśrutya* (Mṛcch. 35,5) must in any case be spelt as *paḍisudā* (cf. v. l.); it is wanting in most of the MSS., in GODABOLE too. AMg. JŚ. *pappa* = *prāpya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thān. 188; Uttar. 1017. 1019; Pannav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5. 8. 11 [°ā]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JŚ. also *pāviya* (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. *samāvia* (Ratn. 323,2); Ś. *bhañjīa* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23; Śak. 31,13; Cait. 134,12); AMg. *chindīya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *chindīyachindīyā*, *bhindīyabhindīyā* (Vivāhap. 1192); Ś. *paricchindīa* (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. *palicchindīya* (§ 257); Ś. *bhīndīa* (Vikr. 16,1) and *bhedīa* (Mṛcch. 97,24; cf. § 586), Mg. *bhīndīa* (Mṛcch. 112,17); AMg. *bhuñjīya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. *bhuñjīa* (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. *abhiñjīya* (Sūyag. 293 [°ya]; Thān. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhap. 178); JM. *niñjīya* (Erz.); AMg. *parinnāya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2. 5; Sūyag. 214) [°nnā°], and *parijāñīyā* (Sūyag. 380. 381), *jāñīya* (Dasav. 641,24), *viyāñīyā* (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. *jāñīa* (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛṣabh. 46,7), *aāñīa* (Śak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. *yāñīa* (Mṛcch. 36,12); Ś. *bandhīa* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read with P. M.]; Ratn. 317,11), *ubbandhīa* (Ratn. 315,28; Caṇḍak. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. *bandhīa* (Mṛcch. 163,16); JM. *geñhīya* (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. *Ā. geñhīa* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [Ā.]; 107,10; Śak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20; Mālatīm. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. *geñhīa* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 20,3. 10; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Śak. 116,2; Caṇḍak. 64,8), JŚ. JM. *gahīya* (Kattig. 403,373; Erz.), but in AMg. JM. mostly *gahāya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2,2. 3. 16; 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136. 491. 783. 1017; Vivāhap. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. *grahāya* (BÖHTLINGK s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since *gahāya* is an absol. from a denominative **gahāā*, **gahāi* (§ 558) = **grahāyati*; in compounds also AMg. *abhinigijjha* = *abhinigrhya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), *parigijjha* = *parigrhya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3. 5) and the double forms AMg. *avagijjhiya*, *nigijjhiya* (Kappas.), *pagijjhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1—3; Ovav.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in *-ttānam*, *-ttāna* beside *-ttā* and *-ccānam*, *-ccāna* beside *-ccā* AMg. has an absol. in *-yānam*, *-yāna* too, beside that in *-ya*, metrically *-yā*¹: *avilīyāna*, *paripilīyāna*, *parissāvīyāna* from *pid* and *sru* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *ussīñciyānam* from *sic* with *ud* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *samsīñciyānam* from *sic* with *sam*² (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *samupehiyānam* metrically for **ppe*^o from *ikṣ* with *samutpra* as *samupehiyā* (§ 323. 590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Āvaśyakaniryukti 17,41)³; *lahiyāna* = *labdhvā* (Uttar. 627); *ārusiyānam* = *āruśya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *takkīyānam* = *tarkayitvā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); *parivajjīyāna* = *parivarīya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12. 18); *oattiyānam* = *apavartya* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *palicchindīyānam* = *paricchīdya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); *palibhīndīyānam* = *paribhīdya* (Sūyag. 243); *abhiñjīyānam* = *abhiñjya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *akīyānam* = *akṛtvā* (Ovav. § 142).

1. There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of *-yānam* from

-*ttāṇam*. JACOBI, in his edition of the *Āyār*, throughout, separates *ṇam* here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in -*jāṇa*.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as *samśicya* of the scholiasts. Cf. *samśiccamaṇā* 1,3,2,1.—3. JACOBI, *Erz.* p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in -*āe*, that are used absolutely: *āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1 2; 2,1,3,6 ff.; 2,1,9,2; Vivāhap. 136; Nirayāv. § 17. 19) = *ādāya*; *samāyāe* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5); *nīsāe* (Bhag.; Kappas.), *nissāe* (Bhag.) = Pāli *nissāya* = Skt. **nīśrāya* from *śri* (cf. *gahāya* § 591); *saṃkhāe* = *saṃkhyāya* beside *utthāya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1); *saṃutthāe* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1. 6,1); *pehāe* from *iḥ* with *pra* (§ 323); *aṇuḥpehāe* (§ 323); *uvehāe* (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), *saṃpehāe* (§ 323)¹. Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in *egam appāṇam saṃpehāe* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2), *āuraṇ logaṇ āyāe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent *utthāe*, *utthēi*, *utthāe utthittā* (Uvās. § 193; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 58.60; Vivāhap. 161. 1246), *utthāe utthēnti* (Ovav. § 61). The scholiasts see in *utthāe* an ins. sing. of a fem. **utthā*², what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words³. Likewise e. g. in *aṇāṇe putthā* = *anājñayā* (in the sense of *anājñānena*) *sprstāḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like *aṭṭam ejaṃ tu pehāe aparinnāe kandaḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that *aparinnāe* is = *aparijñayā*, and not *aparijñāya*, as the scholiasts will⁴, whilst *pehāe*, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = *prekṣayā*. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in -*ā*, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like *annamannavitigimchāe paḍilehāe* too (Āyār. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum *annam*^o points to the nominal nature of *vitigimchāe*, whilst a verbal meaning to *paḍilehāe*, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like *nigganthā paḍilehāe buddhavuttam ahiṭṭhagā* (Dasav. 626,23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. Āyār. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense “to cleanse”, “to wipe off” the absolutive is *paḍilehittā* (Āyār. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or *paḍilehiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,2 [°ya°]); but *paḍilehittā* also in the transferred sense “to discuss”, “to consider” (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). *pehāe*, *saṃpehāe* are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like *āyāe*, *nīsāe* may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can -*e* be equated as = -*ya*⁵. AMg. *aṇuvī* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3. 2,19; 2,7,1,2. 2,1. 8; p. 133.8.10; 134,5 ff.; Sūyag. 474. 531; Dasav. 629,15; 630,1; Dasav. N. 661,3 [aṇuvī]), with privative *a* *aṇaṇuvī* (Āyār. p. 133,9. 10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as *anucinīya*, *anuvicinīya*, *vicārya* by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. *aṇuvīji*, *aṇuvīji*, *aṇuvīti*, *aṇuvītiyā* show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. *aṇuvī* is an adverb = **aṇuvīti* “deeply” “attentively” and belongs to Vedic *vīti*⁶.

1. JACOBI writes sometimes *saṃpehāe*, sometimes *sapehāe*, sometimes *sa pehāe*, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 *saṃpehāe*, in line 14 *sa pehāe*. The manuscripts are not consistent; cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read *saṃpehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *sāpehāe*.—2. WEBER, Bhag. 1,435, note.—3. HOERNLE on Uvās. Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. *utthā*.—4. The ed. Calc. reads *aparinnāyā*, but the scholiasts, as JACOBI, *aparinnāe*.—5. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 63 have. — 6. Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 1,295 ff.; GELDNER, 2,156 ff. *vīti*, requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. -*ya* becomes -*i* (Hc. 4,439), that has originated from Pkt.-*ia*, through the dropping off of *a*: *daḥ* = Ś. *daḥa* from *daya*- (Piṅgala 1,5^a [cf. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 530]. 38. 39. 86^a. 122), also contracted (§ 166) *de*

(Piṅgala 1,33); *parihari*, *pasari* (P. 1,120^a. 143^a); *gai* from *gā* (to go; P. 2, 64); *bhai* = **bhavi* = Ś. Mg. *bhavia* from *bhū* (P. 2,243); *cali* (P. 2,88); *vali* (IS. 15,394; Prabandhac. 159,1); *ko'ppi* = °*kupya* (P. 1,123^a) from the present stem; *māri* = °*mārya* = *mārayitvā* (Hc. 4,439,1); *saṁcāri*, *vicāri* (P. 1,43. 107); *lai* from *lā* (to take; P. 1,37. 86^a. 107. 121); *kari* (Hc. 4, 357,4; P. 1,81. 82. 86); *jāni* from *jñā* (P. 1,119). Beside *ṭhavi* (P. 1,102. 107) = Ś. *ṭhavia* = °*sthāpya* is found *thappi* (P. 1,123^a, 137^a), that may be considered as a case of double formation. The reduplication may be purely metrical too, as probably this is the case in *jinṇi* = **jinia* from *ji* (§ 473) and *suṇṇi* = Ś. *suṇia* from *śru* (P. 2, 112. 242). Whether forms in *-ia* as well are regulated, as *kaḍḍhia laia* (P. 1,107. 121), *ṇisunṇia*, *suṇia* (Sarasvatik. 140,1; 216,9) may be ascertained only by leading critical texts. *multi* (P. 1,116^a) presupposes one **muktya*, hence a hybrid formation from *muktvā* and °*mucya*.

IV. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUND.

§ 595. Besides the suffixes of Skt. Pkt. possesses a number of suffixes, particularly the *taddhita* suffixes, that are wanting in Skt. Others, that in Skt. are little employed, are frequently employed in Pkt. To it particularly belong the *-t*-suffixes. The grammarians (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 and p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36) teach that *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-illa*, *-ulla* stand in the sense of *-mat* and *-vat*. So M. *sihāla* = *sihāvat* (G.); AMg. *saddāla* = *śabdavat* (Bh. 4,25; Hc. 2,159; Ovav.); *dhaṇāla* = *dhanavat* (Bh. 4,25); *jaḍāla* = *jaṭavat* (C.; Hc.), *jōṇhāla* = *jyotsnāvat* (Hc.), *phaḍāla* = **phaṭavat* (C.; Hc.), *rasāla* = *rasavat* (Hc.); *ṇiddāla* = **nidrāvat* (Kī.); *saddhāla* = *śraddhāvat* (C.); *harisāla* = *harṣavat* (Mk.). — Without alteration of meaning *āla* + *ka* occurs in AMg. *mahālaṇṇa* = *mahat* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Uvās.; Ovav.; Bhag.), *femin. mahāliṇṇā* (Uvās.; Ovav.); *emahālaṇṇa*, *femin. emahāliṇṇā* (§ 149), *femin. kemahāliṇṇā* (§ 149; also Jiv. 216. 220 ff.); AMg. JM. *mahāimahālaṇṇa* (Āyār. 2,3,2,11. 3,13; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), *femin. AMg. mahāimahāliṇṇā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.). The form is an intensive formation. To see a double femininum in it (LEUMANN, Aup. S.), as already remarked by LEUMANN himself, is not possible, since the word is used as masc. and neuter. *-mīsāla* (Hc. 2,170) is past passive participle of a denominative from **mīsāla* = *miśra*. — *ālu*, which Skt. too has (WHITNEY¹ § 1192. 1227), occurs in *ṇiddālu* = *nidrālu* (Bh.; Kī.); *isālu* = *īrsyālu* (Hc.; Mk.); *nehālu* = *snehala* (C.; Hc.); *daālu* = *dayālu* (Hc.); with *kaḥ svārthe* in M. *lajjāluā* (Hc.; H.), *saṅkālūa* (G.), *saddhālūa* (H.). — Dialectically throughout frequent is *-illa*, that stands for *-ilā* (§ 194). So *viārilla* (Bh.), *sohilla* (C.; Hc.), *dhaṇailla* (Kī.), *guṇilla* (Mk.), *chāilla*, *jamailla* (Hc.); *phaḍilla* (C.); M. *kidailla*, *kesarilli*, *tulilla*, *thalailla*, *neurilla* (G.), *māṇailla*, *rāilla*, *lohilla*, *sohilla*, *harilli* (H.); M. AMg. *taṇailla* (grassy; G.; Jiv. 355); AMg. *kaṇṭailla* (Paṇbāv. 61; Dasav. N. 660,14), *metri causa* also *kaṇṭailla* (Sūyag. 293), *tūṇailla* (Aṇuog. 118; Paṇbāv. 465. 513. 522; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niṇṇailla* = *nikṛtimat* (Uttar. 990), *māilla* = *māyāvin* (Sūyag. 233; Thāṇ. 582), *amāilla* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16), also in the substantives *niṇṇailla*, *māilla*, *amāilla* occurring with the suffix *-tā* (Thāṇ. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.; cf. § 219), *arisilla* = *arśasa*, *kasilla* = *kāsavat*, *sāsilla* = *śvāsīn* (Vivāhap. 177), *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* (Vivāhap. 1308), *bhāsilla* = *bhāṣīn* (Uttar. 791), *bhāillaga* = *bhāgin* (Thāṇ. 120); JM. *kalānkilla* = *kalānkin* (Kk.), *sattṭhilla* from *sārtha* (Erz.), *gōṭṭhilla* = *gauṣṭhika* (Āv. 26,37). Rājāśekhara and later day writers use *-illa* not in M. only, as in *muttāhalilla*

(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), *thorattapilla*, *kandalilla* (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in Ś. too, as *kodūhalilla* (Bālar. 168,3); *lacchiilla*, *kivāilla* (Kāleṃak. 2,8; 9,7); *tattilla* (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mṛcch. 101,21). As in *tattilla* (Deśin. 5,3), *-illa* occurs also in other provincialisms like *kaṇailla* (parrot; Pāiṃal. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from *kaṇa*; *goilla* = *gomat* (Deśin. 2,98); M. Ś. *chailla* (wise; cunning; Pāiṃal. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [Ś.]; 76,10 [Ś.]; Kāleṃak. (3,7), which is probably rightly connected to *Vchad* by WEBER¹, and is to be completely separated from A. *chailla* (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. languages show², stands for **chavilla*, therefore, belongs to *chavī* (beauty; Pāiṃal. 113) = Skt. *chavi*, *chavī*, whilst *chailla* (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from *chāyā*, as Triv. 2,1,30 teaches falsely from *chailla*. *-illa* stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (*tatrabhave*; *bhave*; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37); *gāmilla* (a villager; C.), *gāmilliā* (a village woman; Hc.), AMg. *gāme'llaga* (Vivāgas. 31); M. *gharillaa* (master of the house; H.); *gharilli* (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M. JM. and particularly in AMg. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (*svārthe*; Hc. 2,164). So M. *mūllaa* = *mūka* (H.); AMg. *bāhirilla* = *bāhira* (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thāṇ. 261 f.), M. *abāhirilla* (H.); AMg. *andhillaga* = *andha* (Paṇhāv. 79); *pallavilla* = *pallava* (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMg. *ādilla* = *ādi* (Vivāhap. 463. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Paṇṇav. 642. 646), *ādillaga* (Vivāhap. 1547); AMg. *paḍhamilla* = *prathama* (Vivāhap. 108. 177), *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624); AMg. *uvarilla* (Thāṇ. 341; Aṇuog. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning "upper garment" M. *avarilla*, *varilla* (§ 123), *savvaūvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879), AMg. *uttarilla* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452. 1518. 1521; Paṇṇav. 103 ff. 478; Rāyap. 68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.), *dāhiṇilla* and *dakkhiṇilla* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), *puratthimilla*³ from *purastāt* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Paṇṇav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 f.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331ff.), *paccatthimilla*⁴ from **pratyastam* (Thāṇ. 264ff.; Jiv. 227ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331 ff. 1869), *uttarapaccatthimilla* (Thāṇ. 268); AMg. JM. *majjhilla* = *madhya* (Thāṇ. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Āv. 46,29; Erz.); AMg. *majjhimilla* = *madhyama* (Aṇuog. 383); AMg. *he'tthilla* (§ 107); AMg. JM. *puvvilla* (Uttar. 764. 770; Āv. 8,46); *purilla* (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163. 164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from *purā* and *puras*, *purilladeva* (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB. 13,12), *purillapahāṇā* (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate ramment probably is *praghāṇa*; AMg. *pacchilla* (Vivāhap. 1118. 1520), *pacchillayā* (Vivāhap. 1593f.). In AMg. *raiḷliya* = *rajayukta* (Vivāhap. 387)⁵, dialectical *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of *rajas*, *stena*⁶. AMg. *āṇilliya* = *ānita* (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that *āṇia* = *ānita* is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before *-illa*, partly it is retained. — *-ulla* stands in the same meaning as *-illa*, but is much more seldom; *viārulla* = *vikāravat* (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); *māmsulla* = *māmsavat*, *dappulla* = *darpin* (Hc. 2, 159); *uvahārulla* from *upahāra* (Kī. 2,140; text *uvahāruraṇam*); *appulla* from *ātman* (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. *aṇullo*]); *piullaa* = *priya*, *muhulla* = *mukha*, *hatthullā* = *hastau* (Hc. 2,164); M. *chailla* (H.) beside *chailla*, *thaṇullaa* = *stana* (G.); AMg. *pāullāim* = *pāduke*

(Sūyag. 253); AMg. JM. *kacchulla* = *kacchura* (Vivāgas. 177; Erz.); *cūḍulla* = *cūḍaka* (Hc. 4,395,2. 430,2), *kuḍullī* = *kuḍī* (Hc. 4,422,14. 429,3. 431,2); *vāulla* = *vācāla* (Deśin. 7.56). — *-alla* occurs for *-ala* in M. *ēkkalla* = *eka* (Hc. 2,165; H.), JM. *ēkkallaṃ* (Erz.), also *ekalla* (Hc.); cf. Māla-tīm. 348,1; A. also *ekala* (Prabandhac. 121,10); M. AMg. *mahalla* = *mahat* (G.); Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11. 12), AMg. *mahallaṃ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,10), femin. *mahalliyā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *sumahalla* (Vivāhap. 246); AMg. *andhalla* = *andha* (Panhāv. 523), beside *andhala* (Hc. 2,173); M. *pāsalla*, *pāsallia* from *pārsva* (G.); *navalla* = *nava* (Hc. 2,165); *mūalla* beside *mūala* = *mūka* (Deśin. 6,137), from which M. *mūallīa* (R. 5,41; so to be read), is a denominative. Also M. *pisalla* = *piśāca* is perhaps explained more correctly from **piśālla* = *piśāca* + *alla* than from *piśācālaya* (§ 232). On *suhallī*, *suhēllī* see § 107. In Mg. *gāmelua* (Mr̥ch. 97,1) = *grāmya*, *grāmīṇa* occurs the suffix *-elua*, that is to say *-elu + ka*.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also *chaulla*, mentioned below.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,412.—3. The texts often have false *puracchimilla*, as in the case of its basis *puratthima*, also *puracchima*—4. The texts often have *pavatthimilla* and *paccacchimilla*. The word perhaps does not belong to *paścāt*, from which originates *pacchilla*. Cf. § 149 and HOERNLE Uvās. s. v. *paccatthima*.—5. *mailiya* = *kaṭhinamalayukta*, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. *mailinti*, M. *mailei* (§ 559).—6. Cf. e.g. Skt. *tundilīta* with *tundila* and AMg. *tundilla* (Uttar. 229). That the reduplication of *l* is associated with accent makes the cases like *kuḍilla* = *kuḍila* (Pāiyal. 155), *kuḍillaa*, *koḍilla* (Deśin. 2,40), *tundilla* = *tundila*, *ganṭhilla* = *granthila* (Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1308) certain.

§ 596. As a kṛt- suffix dialectically very frequent is *-ira* (Vr. 4,24; Hc. 2,145; Kī. 2,138; Mk. fol. 36), which expresses the notion of the root as a “characteristicum” a “duty” or “noble” doing¹. So M. *aggahāri* (femin.) from *ghrā* with *ā* (H.), *andolira* (G.), femin. *andolirī* (H.), *alajjira* (H.), *avalambirī* (femin.), *ullavirī*, *ullāvīrī* (femin. ; H.); *ūsasira* from *śvas* with *ud* (Hc.); *gamira* (Hc. ; Kī.); M. *gholira* (G. H. R.), in later-day writers also in Ś. (Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12), M. *parigholira* (G.); M. A. *jāmpira*, AMg. *ajāmpira* from *jalp* (§ 296); AMg. *jhusira*, *ajhusira* (§ 211); M. *ṇaccirī* (femin.) from *ṇaccaī* = *ṇṛtyati* (H.); *namira* (Hc.); AMg. *parisakkira* from *śvaṣk* with *pari* (Nāyādh. ; cf. § 302), M. *peṇchira* from *ikṣ* with *pra*, femin. *peṇchirī* (H. ; so to be read throughout); M. A. *bhamira* from *bhram* (Bh. ; Hc. ; Mk. G. H. R. ; Hc. 4,422,15); *rovira* (Hc.), M. *roirī*, *ruirī* from *ru* (H.); M. *lambira* (G.), *lasira* (R.); *lajjira* (Hc.), M. femin. *lajjirī* (H.); M. A. in Rājasekhara also in Ś. *veḷlira*, *uvveḷlira* (§ 107); M. JM. *vevira* from *vepate* (Hc. ; G. H. R. ; Erz.), in later day writers in Ś. too (Mallikām. 119,2; 123,15); *sahira* (Mk.), M. femin. *sahirī* (H.); *hasira* (Bh. ; Hc.); M. femin. *hasirī* (G. H.); *apadicchira* (stupid; Deśin. 1,43) from *iṣ* with *prati*. Seldom is *-ira* used as a taddhita- suffix too, as in M. *gavvira*, femin. *ṛī* from *garva* (H.). On *-uka* for *-ika* see § 118. 162 [*ūsuga*]. 326 [*jharua*].

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,145. Cf. WEBER, H¹. p. 68.

§ 597. *-tva* = Pkt. *-tta* (§ 298) can be used in AMg. JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative *-ttāe* (§ 361. 364); *piṇatta*, *pupphatta* = *puṣṣatva* (Hc. 2,154); AMg. *mūlatta*, *kandatta*, *khandatta*, *taṃṇatta*, *sālatta*, *pavālatta*, *pattatta*, *pupphatta*, *phalatta*, *bīyatta* (Sūyag. 806); *āṇugāmiyatta* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162); *devatta* (Uttar. 235; Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas.); *neraiyatta* = *nairayikatva* (Vivāgas. 244; Uvās. ; Ovav.); *māṇusatta* (Uttar. 234 f.); *pumatta* = *pumstva* (§ 412); *rukkhatta* = **ruḥsatva* (Sūyag. 812; cf. 811); *sāmitta*, *bhaṭṭitta*, *mahattaragatta* = *svāmītva*, *bhartṛtva*, *mahattarakatva* (Pannav. 98. 100. 102. 112); JM. *ujjagatta*, *vaṇkatta* = *rjukatva*, *vakratva* (Āv. 46,31. 32), **maṇuyatta* = *manujatva*, *micchatta* = *mithyātva*, *sīyatta* = *śītatva* (Kk.), *asoṃyatta* = *asaucātva* (Erz.). To *-tva* has further been added the suffix *-tā* in *māuttāyā* = **mṛḍukatvatā* (Hc. 2,172). Very

frequent, particularly is M.Ś. in Vedic *-tvana* = Pkt. *-ttaṇa*, A. also *-ppaṇa* (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Ki. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. *amara-ttaṇa* (R.), *alasattaṇa*, *asahattaṇa*, *āulattaṇa*, *garuattaṇa*, *ciraṇivittana*, *niṇṇattaṇa* (H.); *niddattaṇa*, *tucchattaṇa*, *dāruṇattaṇa*, *dihattaṇa* (G.); *piattaṇa* (H.); *piṇattaṇa* (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); *mahurattaṇa* (G. H.); from *ā*-stems: *mahilattaṇa* (G. H.); *vesattaṇa* = **veśyātvana* (H.); from *i*-, *i*-stems: *asaṭṭaṇa* (H.); *juṇṇattaṇa* (G); *maṭṭaṇa* = **matitvāna* (G.); *dūṭṭaṇa* = **dūtītvaṇa* (H.); from *u*-stems: *taruttana* (G.); AMg. *takkarattaṇa* = **taskaratvāna* (Paṇḥāv. 147); *tirikkhattaṇa* = **tirakṣatvāna* (Uttar. 234); *āyariyattaṇa* = **ācāryatvāna* beside *āyariyatta* (Uttar. 316); JM. *pāḍiherattaṇa* = **prāṭihāryatvāna* (Āv. 13,25), *dhammaṭṭaṇa* = **dharmaṭvāna* (Kk. 259,12), *sāvayattaṇa* = **śrāvākatvāna* (Dvār. 506,28), *turiyattaṇa* = **tvaritatvāna* (Āv. 42,21; 43,3), *para-vasattaṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *aṇṇahiaattaṇa* = **anyahṛdayatvāna* (Viddhaś. 41,8.9; Nāgān. 33,6), *paṇḍulahiattaṇa* = **paryākula*° (Karnas. 19,10), *sunṇahiaattaṇa* = **śūnya*° (Mṛcch. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); *ahirāmaṭṭaṇa* (Vikr. 21,1); *nisamsattaṇa* = **nṛśamsatvāna* (Ratn. 327,18); *niṇṇattaṇa* = **nīṇṇatvāna* (Lalitav. 561,1); *dūdattaṇa* = **dūtātvaṇa* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālattaṇa* (Lalitav. 561,2 [vā°]; Uttarar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); *bamhattaṇa* (Ratn. 308,5), *bamhaṇattaṇa* (Pras. 46,12); *sahāattaṇa* = **sahāyatvāna* (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); *aṇṇivittana* (Mahāv. 54,19); *ucidakārittaṇa* (Bālar. 54,17), *gharaṇittana* (Anarghar. 315,10); *bhaavadittana* (Mālatim. 74,3); *medhāvittana* (Ratn. 303,32); *lajjāvittana* (Mahāv. 29,6 [PISCHEL °lui]); *sarasakāittana* (Karnas. 31,1); *pahuttana* = **prabhutvāna* (Mālav. 14,3; 30,5); *bhīruttaṇa* (Pras. 45,5); Mg. *aṇicattaṇa* = **anīyatvāna* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *mahulattaṇa*, *sulahittana* = **madhuratvāna*, **surabhitvāna* (Prab. 60,12.13); *savvaṇṇattaṇa* = **sarvajñatvāna* (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); *sughalinittana* = **sugrhiṇītvaṇa* (Venīs. 35,1); *pattattaṇa* = **patitvāna* (Hc. 4,370,1); *vaḍḍattaṇa* and *vaḍḍappana* = **vaḍratvāna* (Hc. 4,366); *suhaḍattaṇa* = **subhaṭatvāna* (Kk. 260,44); *gahilattaṇa* = **grahilatvāna* (Piṅgala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word *-ka* enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains *-ka*, in AMg. JM. JŚ. it becomes *-ga*, *-ja*, in the other dialects *-a*. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as *bahuaṇa* (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as *ihayaṇ* (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as *ālēddhuan* (§ 303.577), AMg. *aladdhuṇaṇ* (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside *-ka*, we find dialectically also *-kha*, *-ha* (§ 206) and *-ika*, AMg. *-i ja*, as in PG. *vadhanika* = *vardhanaka* (6,9); AMg. *macciṇa* = **martyika* = *martyaka* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1: Sūyag. 351); AMg. *tumbaviṇa* = *tumbaviṇaka* (Ovav.); Mg. *bhālīka* = **bhārika* = *bhāravat* (Mṛcch. 97,19.20); M. *savvaṅgia* = *sarvāṅgiṇa* (Hc. 2,152; R.). — *-kya* occurs in *pārakka* (Hc. 2,148), *-ikya* in *rāikka* = *rājakiya* (Hc. 2,148); *gonikka* (herd of cattle; Deśin. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105)¹; *caccikka* from *carcā* (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Deśin. 3,4 also adjective in the meaning “decorated”²; *mahisikka* (herd of buffaloes; Deśin. 6,124)³.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,243.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,12.—3. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1320f.

§ 599. Like *-ka*, in A. *-ḍa*=Skt. *-ḥa* too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, *-a* = *-ka* enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429.430). So: *kappaḍa* = *kappa* (Hc. 4,432); *davvaḍa* = *dravya* (Śukas. 32,3); *diahada* = *divasa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2); *dūḍaḍa* = *dūta* (Hc. 4,419,1); *desaḍa* (Hc. 4,418,6) *desaḍaḍa* (Hc. 4,419,3) = *deśa*; *dosaḍa* =

doṣa (Hc. 4,379,1); *māṇuṣaḍa* = *mānuṣa* (Prabandhac. 112,8); *māriḍa* = *mārita* (Hc. 4,379,2); *mittaḍa* = *mitra* (Hc. 4,422,1); *raṇṇaḍa* = *aranya* (Hc. 4,368); *rūḍaḍa* = *rūpaka* (Hc. 4,419,1); *hatthaḍa*, *hatthaḍa* = *hasta* (Hc. 4,439,1. 445,3); *hiḍa* = **hṛda* = *hṛd* (Kī. 5,15. 17; Hc. 4,422,12), *hiḍaḍa* (Hc. 4,350,2). In *maṇiḍa* = *maṇi* (Hc. 4,414,2) probably *ka+ṭa* = **maṇikaṭa* is to be assumed, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix *-ḍa*. The femin. ends in *-ḍī* (Hc. 4,431): *ṇiddaḍī* = *nidrā* (Hc. 4,418,1); *suavattaḍī* = *śrutavārtā* (Hc. 4,432). The ending *-ḍī* is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. *-ī*, *-ī*: *goraḍī* = *gaurī* (Hc. s. v. and s. v. *gorī*); *buddhaḍī* = *buddhi* (Hc. 4,424); *bhumhaḍī* = *bhūmi* (§ 210); *mabbhisaḍī* from *mā bhaiṣiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,22); *rattaḍī* = *rātri* (Hc. 4,330,2); *vibhantaḍī* = *vibhrānti* (Hc. 4,414,2); with *-ka*: *dhūlaḍī* = **dhūlaṭikā* = *dhūli* (Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix *-ḍ-* makes its appearance, and not the suffix. *-ḍa*, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as *-ka*. So with *-ulla* (§ 595) in *bāhabalullaḍa* = *bāhābala* and *bāhabalullaḍa* (Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example *-ulla+ḍa+ka*.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt., *-itta* too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes *-mat*, *-vat* (Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for *-inta*]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36): *kavvaṭṭa*, *māṇṭṭa* from *kāvya*, *māna* (C.; Hc.); *roṣaṭṭa* from *roṣa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Kī.); *pāṇṭṭa* (Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]) from *prāṇa*. With insertion of *kaḥ* *svārthe* (Kālidāsa used this suffix in Ś. *-itta*, femin. *-ittā*: *paoharavittāraṭṭa* = *paṇḍharavistārayukta* (cf. Candrasekhara); *ummāḍaṭṭa* = *ummādin*, *ummāḍakārin* (*ittakaśabdo matubarthah*; Candras.); *ucchāḍaṭṭa* = *utsāhasālin* (*matubartha ittakaśabdah*; Candras.); *āṣaṭṭa* = *āyāsakāriṇi* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivvāṇaṭṭa* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇakāriṇi* (Candras.); *bahumānasuhāṭṭa* = *bahumānasukhayukta* (cf. Candras.); *piṇiveṇaṭṭa* = *priyanivedaka* (Candras.); *saṁtāvaṇivvāṇaṭṭa* = *saṁtāpanirvāṇaṭṭa* (Candras.) (Śak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); *icchidasampāḍaṭṭa* = *iṣṭasampāḍaṭṭa* (Raṅganātha; Vikr. 20,19); *juvadeṣaḷaṭṭaṭṭa* = *juvadeṣaḷaṭṭaṭṭa* (Kāt. Mālav. 33,17); *ahilāṣapūraṭṭa* = *abhiḷāṣapūraṭṭa* (Kāt. Mālav. 34,14), *asoaviṣaṭṭa* = *aśkavikāṣaṭṭa* (Kāt. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGER¹ from *-yitra*, *-yitraka*, and not with the Indians and BENFEY² from *-yitr*, *-yitraka*. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One *vittāraṭṭa* is = **vistārayitraka* from *vistāraya*.

1. On Śak. 9,20 p. 161. Cf. BOLLESEN on Vikr. 20,19, p. 244; FISCHER, De Kālidāsa Śak. rec. p. 33 f.—2. GGA. 1856 p. 1226. LASSEN, Inst. p. 134, note has already assumed that the explanation with the help of, *hetuka* that rests on the false reading *-itua*, is wrong. Cf. Chandrasekhara on Śak. 36,12 (p. 180) *utsāhahetav iti saṁskārasyājñānam*.

§ 601. According to § 397 *-mat* and *-vat* become *-manta*, *-vanta* from the strong stems *-mant*, *-vant* (Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMg. *āyāramanta* (Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. *ācāravant*; AMg. *cittamanta* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3) = Skt. *cittavant*; AMg. *vaṇṇamanta*, *gandhamanta*, *rasamanta*, *phāsamanta* = *vaṇṇavant*, *gandhavant*, *rasavant*, *sparsavant* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhap. 144); AMg. *viṇṇamanta* = *vidyāvant* (Uttar. 620); *śīlamanta*, *guṇamanta*, *vaṁmanta* = *śīlavant*, *guṇavant*, *vāgvant* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *pupphamanta* = *pūṣpavant*, *bijamanta* = *bijavant*, *mūlamanta* = *mūlavant*, *sālamanta* = *sālavant* (Ovav); A. *guṇamanta* (Piṅgala 1,132^a; 2,118), *dhaṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,45.118), *pūṇamanta* (Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for *pūṇṇamanta* (C.; Hc.) = *pūṇyavant*. As regards others, the

corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. *paññānamanta-* = **prajñānamant-* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,6,4,1), *paññamanta-* = **paññamant-*, *hariyānamanta-* = **haritamant-* (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix *-maṇa* in *dhaṇamaṇa* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159) = *dhaṇamant*, **dhaṇaman* goes back to *-mant*. — *bhattivanta-* = *bhaktimant-* (Hc. 2,159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the *kṛt* suffix *ima*¹, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in *-bar*. So: *ganthima*, *veḍhima*, *pūrima*, *saṃghāima* from *granth*, *veṣṭ*, *pūraya*-, *saṃghālaya*- (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); *ubbheima* = *udbhida* (Dasav. 625,13); *khāima*, *sāima* from *khād*, *svādaya*- (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhap. 184; Dasav. 639,14; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *pāima* from *pācaya*- (Āyār. 2,4,2,7); *pūima*, *apūima*, *māima*, *amāima* from *pūjaya*-, *mānaya*- (Dasav. 641,14. 15); *bahukhajima* from *khādya*- from *khād* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15) *bahuniḍvaṭṭima* from *varṭaya*- with *nis* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14 [so to be read]; Dasav. 628,31); *lāima*, *bhajima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15; Dasav. 628,34); *vandima*, *avandima* (Dasav. 641,12); *vāhima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *vusima* from *vaṣaya*- (Sūyag. 511); *vehima* (Dasav. 628,30); *saṃtārima*, *saṃpūima* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13. 14). From the adverbs *purastāt* and **pratyastam* are derived AMg. *puratthima* = **purastima* (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and *paccatthima* = **pratyastima* (Bhag.; Uvās.). *Puratthima* also in JM. *uttarapuratthima* (Āv. 14, 10). From it is again derived *puratthimilla*, *paccatthimilla* (§ 595). — In A., according to Hc. 4,443, there enters the suffix *-aṇaa* for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: *māraṇaa*, *boḷlaṇaa*, *vajjaṇaa*, *bhaṣaṇaa* = *māraṇaṣīla*, *bhāṣaṇaṣīla*, *vādanaṣīla* [*vajja* = *vādyā*], *bhāṣaṇaṣīla*². They correspond to the adjectives in *-ana* in Skt. (WHITNEY § 1150) + *kaḥ svārthe*.

1. HOERNLE, JACOBI, LEUMANN and STEINTHAL posit wrongly the substantive in *-iman*. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used. — 2. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65)¹. They enter particularly into M., where the metre is often the cause. So M. *dhaḥavalakavavā* for *kaadhavalovavā* = *kṛtadhavalopavā* (G. 1); *kāsāraviralakumuā* = *viralakumudakāsārāḥ* (G. 271); *virahakaravattadūsaḥaphālījjantammi* = *duḥsahavirahakarapatrasphālyamāne* (H. 153); *daralambigōcchakaikacchusacchaham* = *daralambikapikacchugucchasadrśam* (H. 533); *kañcūābharanamēttāo* = *kañcukamātrābharanāḥ* (H. 546); *muhalaḥaṇapaavijjantaam* = *mukharaghanaḥpiyamānapayasam* (R. 2,24); *saṃkḥohuvvattarantaraapamaūham* = *saṃkḥobhodvittaratnaniryanmayūkham* (R. 5,40); *kaṇṇibbharadasadisam* = *nirbharikṛtadaśadisam* (R. 8,27)²; AMg. *paccannapalāsa* = *palāsaḥapaccanna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); AMg. *lohāgaradhammānādhamaḍḍhamēntaghoṣam* = *dhamāyamānalahākaradhamadhamāyamānaghoṣam* (Uvās. § 108)³; AMg. *taḍdivimalasarisa* = *vimalataḍitsaḍṛsa* (Kappas. § 35); AMg. *uduvaiḍipadīpunnasomavayāne* = *pratipūrṇodupatisaumyavadanah* (Ovav. p. 29,13).

1. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 35, p. 104; BHĀṆDĀRKAR, Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, London 1876 p. 313, note 6; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 206, note 7. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 201. The scholiasts explain this with *prākṛte pūrvanipātānīyamah*, a rule that is wrongly assigned to Vr. by a scholion on H. 546, and which is employed by scholiasts, often without necessity, as can be proved by the collection of instances in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 329 s. v. *pūrvanipātānīyamah*. — 2. So rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 251, note 3. — 3. Cf. Abhayadeva there up on p. 40.

*ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

- § 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.
- § 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.
- § 34, p. 39,6 read *ten'* for *ten'*.*
- § 40, p. 47. *Mṛcchakaṭikā* is mentioned as *Mṛcchakaṭam* by Mk.(fol.82) and *Bhāgirathivardhamāna*, (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name *Kāṭaya vema* is written also as *Kāṭa* and *Kāṭama* and the second also as *Vemaya* in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly *Kāṭa vema* perhaps may not be wrong.
- § 53, p. 55,44 read *Ś. bahappadi* for *bahappai*.
- § 64, p. 64,3 read *JŚ. visarida* for *visariya*.

* These corrections were in the original work itself. Through in advertance they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.

ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

- A. = Apabhraṃśa.
 Ā. = Āvanti (§ 26).
 Acyutaś. = Acyutaśataka. Madras 1872.
 Adbhutad. = Adbhutadarpaṇa ed. PARAB. Bombay 1896 = Kāvyaṃālā. 55.
 AMg. = Ardhamaṅgadhī.
 Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvyaṃālā. 59.
 Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyaṃālā. 5.
 Antag. = Antagaḍadasāo. Calcutta saṃvat 1931.
 Anug. = Anugadārasutta. Calcutta saṃvat 1936.
 Anuttar. = Anuttarovavāiṃyasutta. Calcutta saṃvat 1931.
 Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.
 Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.
 Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig. 1897.
 Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of saṃvat 1936 too has been used.
 Bālar. = Bālarāmaṃyaṇa ed. GOVINDA DEVA ŚĀ'TRI, Benares 1869.
 BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.
 Bh. = Bhāmaha.
 Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī. Berlin 1866. 1867.
 Bharṭṛharinirveda ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvyaṃālā. 29.
 BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
 B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.
 BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.
 C. = Caṇḍa.
 Cait. = Caitanyacandrodaya ed. RA'JENDRALA'L MITTRA. Calcutta 1854.
 Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakaśikam ed. JAGANMOHANAŚARMAN. Calcutta Saṃvat 1924.
 Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogarum.
 CP. = Cūlikāpaśācī.
 D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.
 Dasav. = Dasaveyāliṃyasutta ed. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 46, 581 ff.
 Dasav. N. = Dasaveyāliṃyanijjuttī see Dasav.
 De gr. Pr. = De grammaticis Prācriticis. Vratislaviae 1874.
 Deśin. = Hemacandra, Deśināmaṃālā ed. PISCHEL. Bombay 1880.
 Dh. = Dhakki.
 Dhanamajav. = Dhanamjayavijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvyaṃālā. 54.
 Dhūrtas. = Dhūrtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER O. O. u. J.
 Dhvanyāloka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā; 25.
 Dūtāṅgada ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 28.
 Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatis ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42, 493 ff.

El. = Epigraphia Indica.

Erz. = Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī by H. JACOBI, Leipzig. 1886.

G. = Gaṇḍavaho ed. Sh. P. PAṆḌIT. Bombay 1887.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN. = Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapaśatakam of—. Published by A. WEBER. Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of DURGĀPRASĀDA and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 2, too has been used.

Hāsy. = Hāsyārṇava ed. CAPPELLER O. O. u. J.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracritticae.

IS. = Indische Studien.

Istr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiatique.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBoAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jiv. = Jivābhigamasutta. Ahmedābād saṃvat 1939.

Jivān. = Jivānandana ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 27.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasenī.

Kāleyak. = Kāleyakutūhalam. O. O. 1882.

Kalpal. = Pkl.

Kalpasūtra ed. JACOBI. LEIPZIG 1879; see Kappas.

Kāmsav. = Kāmsavadha ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 6.

Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.

Karṇas. = Karṇasundarī ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1888 = Kāvyaṃālā. 7.

Karp. = Karpūramañjarī ed. KONOW (cf. § 22, note 7). The edition of DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyaṃālā. 4 too has been used.

Kattig. = Kattigeyāṇupekkhā (§ 21).

KB. = KUHN's Beiträge.

KI. = Kakkuka Inscription (§ 10).

Ki. = Kramadīśvara.

Kk. = Kālakācāryakathānakam. By H. JACOBI ZDMG. 34, 247ff. Kk. II. III. By E. LEUMANN. ZDMG. 37, 493 ff.

KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lalitav. = Lalitavivraharājanāṭika ed. KIELHORN, GN. 1893, p. 552 ff.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṃālā. 20.

M. = Māhārāṣṭri.

Mahāv. = Mahāvīracarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAN and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatim. = Mālatīmādhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLENSEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Second edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR. Calcutta 1878.

Mg. = Māgadhi.

Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakatikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnæ 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamayaśarmatarkaratna, Calcutta śakābdāḥ 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRĀYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GOḢABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Mudrārākṣasa ed. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1884. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta saṁvat 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyamālā. 16.

Nāgān. = Nāgānanda ed. GOVIND BAHIRAV BRAHME and SHIVARAM MAHADEO PARANJPE. Poona 1893. Beside it the edition of JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta 1873.

Nandis. = Nandisutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Nāyādh. = Nāyādhammakahā. Calcutta saṁvat 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirayāv. = Nirayāvaliyāo. Benares saṁvat 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirayāvalisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.

Ovav. = Ovavāiṣasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Pāṣāci.

Pāiyāl. = Pāiyālacchī ed. BÜHLER. Göttingen 1878.

Paṇhāv. = Paṇhāvāgaraṇāim. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Paṇnav. = Paṇnavanā. Benares saṁvat 1940.

Pārvatip. = Pārvatipariṇaya ed. MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG. Bombay 1892. Beside it the edition of GLASER, Wien 1883.

Pav. = Pavayānasāra (§ 21).

PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).

Piṅgala = The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvyamālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH

SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prākṛit.

Prab. = Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūṇā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMA, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKATĀCĀRYA, Madras 1884 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.

Pracaṇḍap. = Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER. Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition: The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURGA PRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887. = Kāvya-mālā 4.

Pras. = Prasannarāghava ed. GOVINDADEVAŚĀSTRĪ. Benares 1868.

Pratāp. = Pratāparudriya. Madras 1868. Telugu print.

Priyad. = Priyadarśikā ed. VIṢṆU DĀJĪ GADRE. Bombay 1884. The edition of JIVĀNANDA VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta saṁvat 1931 too has been used.

Proc. ASB. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

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- ZDMG. = Zeitschrift für Deutschen Morganlandes Gesellschaft.
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I. GENERAL INDEX.

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